

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

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—Morris.

Vol. 8.
o. 1.

Single Copy
Annas 4.

Delhi: Saturday, July 4, 1914.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
WEEK	... 1	The "Home" Press and its	...
OUR LONDON LETTER	... 3	Guides	... 7
TITLE PAGE		Tainted Testimony	... 7
A Shavian Theme	... 5	An Object Lesson in Educa-	... 7
Shoo-in Menagerie Lions	... 5	tion	...
A Welcome Withdrawal	... 5	LEADING ARTICLES—	
The Karachi Sacrilege	... 5	Baseless Insinuations	... 8
Indian Emigration	... 6	A Dangerous Pretence	... 9
Mr. Muzahar-ul Haque in		THE HAJ QUESTION I	... 11
Constantinople	... 6	INDIAN EMIGRATION	... 17
The "Plot" and the Nemesis	... 6	THE APPROACHING CRISIS IN	...
		PEBULA	... 17
		ADVERTISEMENTS	... 18-20

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Ulster.

London, July 1.

When the Home Rule Amending Bill came up for a second reading in the House of Lords to-day, Lord Morley pointed out that Ulster's anger at Home Rule and disapproval of it if they remained unabated would lead to a revival of ancient religious dissensions and place the new Government of Ireland at a great disadvantage. Consequently the Amending Bill had been introduced. There would not be a better opportunity of discovering what amount of common ground existed and he did not believe that the House would reject the Bill. Lord Lansdowne said that the Bill was entirely inadequate to accomplish its purpose, but it was clear that something might be done at the present stage to avert a calamity they could not brush aside. Overtures had been made by Lord Morley who had said that amendments would be carefully considered in the House of Commons and they would give the Amending Bill a second reading and introduce amendments to make it adequate with regard to the area to be excluded, the duration of exclusion and the administration of the excluded area, but they would oppose the second reading of the main Home Rule Bill which was hopeless. They entertained the Amending Bill because they were helplessly entangled in the meshes of the Parliament Act. Lord Willoughby De Broke moved the rejection of the Bill.

Albania.

London, June 25.

The Albanian insurgents have captured the towns of El Basan and Fieri and made two Dutch officers prisoners.

London, June 26.

The situation in Albania becomes daily more hopeless. The Queen of Romania has invited the Princess of Albania to send her children to Romania. The Turkish flag floats over the towns which the insurgents have captured.

Durazzo, June 27.

The insurgents have asked for fresh peace negotiations and have requested the Prince to appoint a delegate accompanied by a representative of Great Britain, as they distrust the Government's negotiations.

Turkhan, July 1.

The Albanian Premier has arrived in Rome with the object of persuading Italy and Austria-Hungary to occupy Albania with troops.

Durazzo, July 1.

There are again critical telegrams from Prenk Bibdoda, that the defeated and retreating rebels are advancing with the forces they have concentrated against Prenk.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, June 25.

A motion for habeas corpus in connection with "Komagata Maru" was made in Vancouver to-day but the appeal will be heard in Victoria. Whatever the result the unsuccessful party will appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada and subsequently to the Privy Council.

The charter money for the vessel has been paid until September 20th, the date for her redelivery at Hongkong.

The board of inquiry has suspended its sittings.

The rumour that a Norwegian steamer has left Calcutta with four hundred Hindus on board is creating a fresh stir here.

Lahore, June 25.

In connection with the situation of the Hindus on board "Komagata Maru" the "Khalsa Akhbar" of Lyallpur has received the following telegram which may throw some light on the situation in Vancouver:—

Vancouver, B. C., June 23.

"Komagata Maru" Indian passengers unlawfully imprisoned on board. Provisions, water, legal advisors, friends prevented. Mass meeting protested such brutal unlawful treatment. Hindustanis can never forget nor forgive. Give wide publicity.

Umrao Singh, Secretary.

Victoria, June 26.

The effort to deport the Indians by other steamships has failed. Canadian Pacific Company has refused an offer of the Immigration Authorities to pay the Indians' passages.

Allahabad, June 28.

The Pioneer's London Correspondent cables—The Times correspondent at Victoria says that an order for the deportation of one of "Komagata Maru's" passengers was signed on Friday by the head of the Immigration Department at Vancouver. This action will afford a test case for the courts.

Monday has been fixed for the hearing of the appeal against the refusal of permission to land and an application has been

made for writ of *Habeas corpus* on behalf of the Indians. The object of the application was to anticipate the deportation order. The grounds for the deportation order were that the Hindu had contravened orders in Council by coming indirectly by not having £10 in his possession and by being a labourer South Africa.

Cape Town, June 27.

The Senate has passed the third reading of Indians' Relief Bill.

Sambor, June 27.

The following telegram has been received by His Excellency the Viceroy from the Governor General of South Africa:

"Indian Relief Bill has now passed both houses of the Union Parliament."

His Excellency the Viceroy has sent the following reply --

"Am very grateful for good news."

Baghdad Railway.

Atahabad, June 28.

The *Times*' Berlin correspondent says -- Another section of the Baghdad Railway from Jerablus, on the Euphrates, to Tel Abiad about sixty miles to the east, will be opened on the 1st of July.

London, June 30.

Referring to the Baghdad Railway, Sir Edward Grey said: "We agree with Germany and Turkey that the line shall not proceed beyond Basra or the Gulf."

England and Persia.

London, June 17.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Churchill moved for authority to take up shares in Anglo-Persian Oil Company. He said the Government were determined to secure the best supplies at a reasonable price. Coal would continue to be the main motive of the Fleet. Government would still purchase oil throughout the world, develop the Home shale-oil experiment of oil from coal and support as far as was financially justifiable the search for oil in the Empire. The Admiralty had no fear of oil famine in time of war. Government experience of the oil trusts was a long steady squeeze, doubling the price in a few years. The present action meant that we should be in a better position in the future. He concluded that it was a good business proposition yet it must look nigger (?) from the naval aspect.

Mr. Churchill proposed to rely on the tribesmen's police and Swedish gendarmerie for the protection of the pipe line.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Ponsonby criticised the possible political consequences of the contract and feared that it would reopen the question of the partition of Persia and give Russia an opportunity of making new important moves.

Mr. George Ambrose Lloyd asked -- Had the Government of India been consulted?

Sir Edward Grey replied: "We had never yet tried to protect or control the trade routes because we did not want to commit ourselves to operations which shall at outset might become larger, but in emergency, the protection of 150 miles of pipe line was not a very formidable operation. Such emergency however would be dependent on certain conditions. One of these conditions would be the failure of every effort by the Persian Government to protect the line and the necessity of immediate action to prevent interruption of the Admiralty's oil supply. But it was not intended to put the Admiralty in a position in which it would be dependent on this supply alone. But suppose protection was necessary he should regard the employment of force from India as a most remote contingency. He would prefer the Persian force British-offered. That would be no infringement of the Persian integrity. Even that was not the most desirable or the most probable course as the tribes had already shown that they refuse it is in their interest to protect the working of well. He asked the objectors to name any part of the world where adequate supply could be obtained, where objections raised on political and strategical grounds would apply less than in another, Persia. He dealt at length on the need of maintaining the cordial relations with Russia and explained that neither Russia nor Persia had been consulted because no need for the companies' concession existed before the Anglo-Russian agreement, and the contract had in no way changed it.

London, June 23.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that the intimation, published by an Indian newspaper, that as a result of the Turko-Persian Frontier Commission's discussions the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's oil fields at Chir Surkab are in Turkish territory has been known for months. The paper says British interest has been safeguarded in the Anglo-Turkish negotiations. On the recommendation of the British Government concession of oilfields in Baghdad and Mosul Vilayets was granted to a Turkish Company but the Anglo-Persian Oil Company holds fifty per cent of the capital of the Turkish Company and the right to appoint the President of the Board of Directors.

Persian circles fear that there may be Russian claims for compensation in Northern Persia for British Naval oil deal.

London, June 30.

In his statement yesterday Sir Edward Grey said that Government proposed to advance another £50,000 to pay the Swedish Gendarmerie of which half would be borne by India to prevent the force from collapsing. All agreements with regard to the Baghdad Railway were ready for signature and they only awaited the completion of Turco-German negotiations. Britain had agreed to 10 per cent increase in the Turkish customs which would raise to 15 per cent. With reference to his statement that the line would not go beyond Basra or the Gulf Sir Edward adds that it would not do so without some future agreement between Germany and Turkey and as Morocco.

London, July 1.

The Workers Congress in Madrid has decided on a general strike to protest against the war in Morocco. There have been rumours the several hundred Spaniards have been killed and wounded in the fighting near Cueta.

All-India Moslem League London.

London, June 27.

Sir Edward Grey in reply to the All-India Moslem League, says he is fully alive to the evils that would result from a renewal of hostilities in the Balkans and the League may rely on Government doing their utmost in conjunction with the Powers to avoid such calamity.

Austria.

London, June 29.

The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand to his concert at Sarajevo has caused the most profound sensation throughout Europe.

The King has ordered a week's court mourning and the State ball at Buckingham Palace has been postponed.

Indian Students in England.

Lahore, June 30.

The Punjab Advisory Committee for Indian students has issued a circular calling the attention of the students preparing to go to England for professional or other studies that it is practically impossible to gain admission to the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge in October next unless previous arrangements have been made and that all students desirous of entering one of the Inns of Court must obtain certificates from the local Advisory Committee.

Indian Council Reform.

London, June 29.

The *Times* to-day states that though it has no vital quarrel with the Government's general Indian Policy it trusts that the new Council Bill will be rejected. The real meaning of the Bill is that the Secretary of State aspires to rule India on his own responsibility from Whitehall. The *Times* also objects to the election of Indian members which it considers to be at variance with the whole original conception of the Council.

London, June 30.

There was a considerable number of Indians in the strangers' gallery of the House of Lords to-day, when Lord Crewe moved the second reading of the India Council Bill. He said that it was generally agreed that the abolition of the Council although it had been advocated by some, was not practical politics. The present position of the Council was briefly that its functions were mainly consultative and advisory. It exercised a restricted veto on certain actions of the Secretary of State and was bound by a series of rigid rules of business founded on Act of 1858. Lord Crewe referred to the importance of having the advice founded on administrative experience but pointed out the danger of worshipping administrative experience as the sole idol. It was a valuable thing to obtain the views of the important section of Indian Opinion and for the reason the Bill proposed to make the appointment of two Indian members to the Council a statutory obligation. For some time, there had been a demand in India that these members should be directly elected to the Council but Lord Crewe did not think that demand reasonable. He doubted whether any instance could be found of such a method of appointing members to a mainly advisory body like the Council. The suggestion that they were proposing to make the Council an administrative body was completely unfounded. They proposed to save time and delay by making some kind of more regular attachment of a particular member to a particular department but they certainly did not propose in any way to make the member of Council the head of a department or even the member of the department.

There was no intention whatever of abolishing the procedure of Council. On the contrary, it appeared that it would frequently be necessary to nominate 'ad hoc' committees of Council. Lord

Crewe, ridiculed the suggestion that the Secretary of State was grasping at power by eliminating the Council altogether by the proposals of sub-section six, clause two. He pointed out that many so-called secret matters were purely technical and the sole object of the clause was to put into a formal and reasonable shape what had been found by experience to be the only method by which the business of the office could be efficiently and expeditiously carried out. With reference to the objection that too much had been left to be arranged by the rules made by the Secretary of State and not enough included in the Bill Lord Crewe thought that the provision for laying the rules on the table would have been sufficient to meet any charge of arbitrary conduct.

Concluding Lord Crewe said: "I have endeavoured to show that no addition has been made to my powers and that none will be made to those of anyone who may hold my office after me and I have endeavoured to show that the present arrangements are highly cumbersome and inconvenient. The Bill makes absolutely no difference in the relations of the India Office, Indian Government or the Secretary of State in Council. I defy anybody to point out any respects in which it does make any difference."

Lord Curzon moved the rejection of the Bill. He said that it appeared to him and to everyone of intimate experience with whom he had consulted, to be a bad Bill, radically unsound in principle. The Bill undoubtedly affected, if it did not destroy, some of the principal constitutional safeguards hitherto surrounding the Secretary of State and to introduce the new inappropriate and perilous methods of the appointment of Indian members. He would be greatly surprised if the assent of the Viceroy had been given to some of the principal features of the Bill. It was common knowledge that in its main features, it was the product of Mr. Montague who finding that the existing machinery did not suit his idea set about destroying it to the best of his ability. Regarding the alleged delays in the procedure, it was true that there was for sometimes intolerable delay but his opinion was that the general procedure showed creditable celerity. Lord Curzon asked how reduction in the number of members would work in practice. After deducting two Indian members, one soldier one financial expert and one lawyer from the Council, of seven there would be only two left to represent the interests of the Indian Civil Service. This in the interests of India would be intolerable. Moreover with the Council of seven or eight, committee system would not be worked at all. Lord Curzon did not think that the fears expressed in India that the Council would be returned into an administrative body were altogether unreasonable. The Bill absolutely repealed the fundamental principles of the Act of 1858 and destroyed the financial safeguards under which the administration of India was carried on.

The protection afforded seemed to him to be valueless. The culminating act was the proposal to extend the categorical secret orders and communications.

Lord Curzon concluded the method of election of the Indian members is indefensible. The Secretary of State will not find in the electoral college or panel, members with experience of administrative work which is essential not in the direction of reducing it in the council wanted reform it was power. What is the good of having enlarged councils in India and at the same time establishing an arbitrary and almost uncontrolled authority in the person of the Secretary of State.

Lord Courtney of Penwith urged that rather than being rejected the Bill should be sent to a Select Committee where the points under discussion could be thoroughly examined. If the expectations which had been held out were reduced to nothing the India deputation would return to India as messengers of evil omen for the future contentment, welfare and good government of India. There was a grave unrest at present and the only serious and effective way of dealing with it was to consider as exhaustively as possible all the possible ways of introducing the co-operation of Indians. The Committee could mould the Bill into the shape approved by both the sides.

The Debate was adjourned until July 6th.

London July 1st

During Lord Curzon's speech, and replying to an incidental remark, Lord Crewe interpolated that the provisions regarding election of Indian members were already drafted before he even knew that a deputation was coming to see him.

The *Morning Post* says that if the Bill is to be of any service and not to do mischief it must be carefully and largely amended. The India Council by general admission needs some reform but the present Bill means for all practical purposes the destruction of the Council and leaves the Secretary of State almost undisputed. The journal says that the Government seems to be under the delusion that native members of Legislative Councils represent the people of India whereas they represent certain interests and classes.

The *Daily Telegraph* agrees that the Bill is dangerous in so far that it represents a tendency to regard experience and advice as useless.

The *Daily News* says that as the Lords refuse to pass the second reading Anglo-India will rejoice but the greater Indian public will conclude that the Indian demand for a statutory representation on the Council is rejected.



Our London Letter.

London, June 12.

HOME RULE PROSPECTS.

The Prime Minister stated yesterday, in reply to a question, that if the Opposition leaders desired it, the Amending Bill would be introduced in the House of Lords before the second reading of the Home Rule Bill itself was moved there. There can be no objection to this course, provided the Lords are not allowed to use it to delay the Home Rule Bill. The Prime Minister, when he originally announced the amending measure, expressed the hope that the two Bills might become law at the same time. As the *Daily Chronicle* observes, those who thought rather that the best way to help an amending Bill was to make Home Rule law first, and the likeliest way to embarrass it was to let Home Rule appear dependent on its passage, could not entirely share Mr. Asquith's hope; and the temper subsequently shown by the Opposition leaders during the recess has certainly not been encouraging. Both Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law (the latter as recently as last night) have made it plain that so long as the main Bill is off the Statute-book, its adversaries will think more of defeating than of amending it. But nothing is lost by bringing in the new measure as soon as possible, the more so as its provisions are already known, the Opposition having refused to come to any terms prior to its introduction.

Undoubtedly the most important development beside the revival of Die-Hardism is the phenomenal growth of the Irish National Volunteers, and their official endorsement by Mr. John Redmond. Already their real numbers exceed, it seems probable, those of the Carsonites, and as they include far more old Army men, their efficiency is likely to be higher also. Moreover, they pay for their drilling, instead of being paid for it. Mr. Redmond seems to have acted very wisely, both in the time which he has chosen for endorsing the movement and the grounds on which he has done so. The Nationalists are seeking, and will obtain Home Rule by constitutional means. Neither they nor the Government have given the Carsonites any justification for their threat of lawless rebellion. But the threat is there, it is endorsed by the Unionist party, and practically every Unionist leader and newspaper has been saying that it must succeed, not because Parliament is persuaded by it, but because British Army Officers will refuse to enforce the law against it. They have said freely, that if Nationalist Ireland cared for Home Rule, it would arm as Ulster has armed. In these circumstances, Nationalist Ireland has a justification for drilling and arming, which Ulster never had nor has. The development is not meant to lead to—it will rather avert—any sort of collision. It is meant to show that Nationalist Ireland is in earnest, and it shows that unmistakably.

The Irish are, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, are very much one people. The "two nations" theory of Ireland propounded by the Englishmen who chatter about "Ulster" at Tory clubs has very little support among the Carsonites themselves. Sir Edward Carson has put forward in Parliament the policy of excluding Ulster, and the Unionists have made it their official demand, consequently the Government have made them an offer on those lines, which will be embodied in the amending Bill. But very few Unionists in Belfast want exclusion. They are against Home Rule, but if Home Rule becomes law they want to be in it and not out of it. The Government's proposals for exclusion are of course purely optional, and will never be anything else. Let us hope that they may finally prove unnecessary, and reconciliation be sought on a true basis.

QARI SAIFARAZ HOSEIN ON THE "GOSPEL OF ISLAM"

Qari Saifaraz Hosein of Delhi, who has come over to this country to help Khwaja Kamaluddin in his missionary work, made his first public appearance before the British public at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday last. He delivered an able address on the "Gospel of Islam." The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali occupied the chair at the meeting which was largely attended.

In introducing the Qari Saheb to the audience, Mr. Ameer Ali referred to him as an eminent scholar of Aligarh, who, after having travelled far and wide in the service of Islam, has now come over to England to continue the excellent work that he has taken upon himself as a Moslem missionary.

The lecturer in the course of an excellent address dealt at first with the various schools of philosophy. He proceeded to examine the different ancient systems of religion, not from a "destructive" standpoint—as he was particularly careful to observe—but from a purely

"constructive" point of view he further went on to show the necessity of a religion like Islam, which could only succeed in perfecting the previously existing systems of the various great religions that had prevailed before the birth of Islam. The Gospel of Islam, the lecturer went on, was most simple. It consisted of "our belief in the unity of God, our acceptance of Mohamed as His prophet and our recognition of peace, good-will, and brotherhood towards humanity at large." Islam recognised no colour or social distinctions. A prince and a peasant were on equal footing and every true Moslem looked upon his co-religionist as a dear brother. There was no other religion that showed greater toleration towards those who professed other faiths than Islam and, notwithstanding the popular belief that is erroneously held in certain quarters, the holy Koran has laid it down as an axiom that "there shall be no compulsion in religion." It is thus absolutely against the tenets of Islam to exercise the least degree of compulsion in converting people into the faith of the Moslems. This could take place only voluntarily and of their own free will. Prayers and charity were likewise two of the most important elements that occupied a large share in the Islamic teachings.

The Chairman congratulated the Qari Sahib on his instructive lecture, which, he said, was appreciated by everybody present. He was glad he had been afforded an opportunity of being present on that occasion. He failed to see as to why Christianity and Islam could not both work hand in hand. He had humbly worked for forty years in the service of Islam and he thought he had succeeded in some degree to remove the misunderstandings and misconceptions that unhappily prevail in this country concerning the great religion of the Moslems. It was sometimes very disappointing to find high dignitaries of the Church deliberately attacking Islam, without even having the slightest notion as to its real doctrines and teachings. The Kikuyu controversy had revealed certain very interesting "scenes" in the Christian world, but he would urge the Christian missionaries to devote their attention and zeal primarily to their own people at home. The heathen in the wilds of Africa is naturally drawn towards Islam and that is why in spite of the gigantic missionary efforts, Christianity has hopelessly failed to overcome Islam as its rival in East and other parts of the world. He said one heard a great deal about Islam degrading the position of women. As a matter of fact Islam had done more to raise the status of women in the world than any other creed, religion, or system. As a daughter a woman was not dependent on her father's will. The law provided that she should take a proportionate share of his property—half as much as a son. She received the care and attention of her mother until marriage, and as a wife she possessed definite rights which she could maintain against her husband. She could hold property and there was no law of coverture.

During the meeting, a young English lady, Miss Haire, publicly declared her acceptance of the Islamic faith. Standing on the platform, she declared that she embraced "Islam, completely and finally." She then recited in Arabic the Moslem Formula of Faith, whereupon the Moslem members of the audience offered prayers for the new convert. Mr. Ameri Ali offered his warm congratulations to the lady on her adoption of the faith.

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY PROTEST MEETING

At an emergency general meeting of the Islamic Society, under the chairmanship of Mr. Mubir Husein Qidwai, held in Holland Park on Wednesday night, the following resolutions were unanimously passed. The meeting was thoroughly representative of the Moslem colony in London.

(1) Proposed by Syed Muhammed Taftiq Diah of Egypt and seconded by Mr. M. M. Shafi Assistant Secretary to the Society, "that this meeting of the Muslims representing the different parts of the world, at present resident in London, expresses its deep sense of indignation and resentment at the policy of systematic extermination of the Moslem population of the Balkan, paraded by the various Balkan States, especially Greece, and draws the attention of the whole civilised world to the perilous consequences likely to ensue from this exasperating policy."

(2) Proposed by Syed Abdul Haq Razvi of India and seconded by Mr. Jehul Shah, Hon. Treasurer to the Society.

"That in view of the humanitarian traditions of great Britain; the oft repeated assurances of the British statesmen to help in safeguarding the life and property of the various populations of the Balkans, in accordance with various treaties and conventions, and in deference to the demands of the Muslims of the world, this meeting approaches H. B. M.'s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the hope that the powerful influence of Great Britain would be exerted in putting a stop to the deplorable state of affairs prevailing in Macedonia."

(3) Proposed by Dr. M. Saadi Bey of Turkey and seconded by Dr. Muhammed Sharaf of Egypt.

"That this meeting protests against the attitude taken up by the powers of Europe in forcing upon the people of Albania a Christian sovereign in utter disregard of their wishes, and trusts that Albania will receive the same consideration, as accorded to the other Balkan States, in developing their national ideals."

(4) Proposed by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan of India and seconded by Mr. Nasif of Egypt

"That this meeting assures the Government of H. B. M. the Khalifatul Masulemen of the world in every step that they may take in safeguarding the integrity of Islam."

Copies of the above resolutions have been submitted to His Highness the Grand Vizier of Turkey, the Foreign Office and the Press.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT ON "INDIA'S PLEA FOR JUSTICE."

Mrs. Annie Besant addressed a crowded meeting last night at Queen's Hall on "India's plea for justice," Lord Brassey presiding. Messrs. M. A. Jinnah, Sahay and Ruppah Roy occupied prominent seats on the platform. One of the most noticeable features of the gathering was the large number of Indian gentlemen, who acted as stewards. Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout Mrs. Besant's eloquent address and she was repeatedly cheered to the echo. I have had the privilege of hearing her on several occasions, both here as well as in India, but I had never before so intensely impressed by Mrs. Besant's oratory as I was on this occasion. She spoke with visible emotion and her splendid advocacy of the Indian cause moved every member of the huge audience. Her lecture of last night will yet add another laurel to her magnificent career in the service of India. Mrs. Annie Besant has last night rendered a truly noble service to the Empire as a whole and her words will for ever ring in the ears of all those who had the good fortune of listening to her last night. She has championed the sacred cause of Hindustan with characteristic force and her powerful address on "India's plea for justice" last night as well as the heroic manner in which she is fighting India's battle in the Press, is bound to influence public opinion in this country in regard to Indian matters.

Mrs. Besant, in the course of her lecture, said one heard little of the difficulties and troubles of the people of India, unless, like herself, one had lived years in the country, and were in close touch with Indian friends. Indian admire England and might love her too, if she would only let them. For the first time in history the vast Indian population has been aroused by a question of the outer world, by Indian emigration to other lands. The treatment of Indians in South Africa had for the first time caused the whole population to be stirred, and its voice had been listened to. Similar questions arose with respect to the admission of Indians to other self governing colonies. If white men continued their policy of shutting coloured men out of white countries, coloured would begin to sheet white man out of coloured countries and self-government could not be denied to India, if her children were excluded from every other land. One would understand the point of view of Australian workers, but if they welcomed Indians they would strengthen the Empire, for they could never keep an empty white Northern Australia, with Japan waiting to colonise it. If it made the Pacific an Asiatic lake, why not? India had no wish to throw aside the Crown, and the possibility of empire for Great Britain rested on the co-operation of India.

On the educated classes in India, she said, the stability of British rule depended, and they could only be held by love and understanding. Unrest there was, but most of it was the righteous discontent of a people unfairly repressed by unjust and cruel measures, which could only be removed when India possessed self-government within the Empires. India can only hold India if her rule be just and intelligent.

The party of sugar and anarchy is small, but the party suffering from the recent repressive measures is large. It is willing to go slowly, but demands that progress be made.

Dealing with the Press Act of 1910, Mrs. Besant showed how severe it is. Under that Act 800 prosecutions had taken place since it was passed, 200 being prosecutions of newspapers. The demand for its repeal or at least a sweeping amendment of the Act is now universal and it was one of the first things that, in her opinion, ought to be abolished.

Men, the lecturer said have been deported and imprisoned, honourable gentlemen have been arrested and thrown into prison without trial.

Mrs. Besant touched on the great frequency of flogging as a punishment by certain judges and collectors, and declared that the whole Indian Criminal Law needs revision. The British administration of justice was not so much admired in India as people in this country are apt to suppose. India must govern herself; she begins to realise her strength. England must live up to her old traditions and share her birth right with 300 million Indians, for the price of Indian loyalty is the gift of freedom.

MOSLEM CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE: CELEBRATION OF ANNIVERSARY IN LONDON.

A mass meeting of the Muslims resident in London is to be held to-night at Canton Hall, Westminster, to celebrate the anniversary of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, in union with a similar celebration, which will be simultaneously taking place in the Turkish Capital.

TETE À TETE



In reply to our last letter in which we had submitted a humble protest against another unfounded imputation, and particularly against the tyranny of translators which appeared to us to have been at the bottom of the Punjab Government's baseless allegation against the *Hamdard* we have received the following letter from Lieut. Colonel E. C. Bayley, Private Secretary to H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab —

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th instant. I see no reason to add anything to the remarks made in my previous letters and telegrams."

The reply is brief, and do we not know that brevity is the soul of wit and the embodiment of dignity? But may we be permitted to add that Lieut. Colonel Bayley has placed us in the same situation as the humble submissive weaver who, when thoroughly tired out on his long journey, prayed for a horse. A party of stalwart Pathans whose mare had been delivered of a filly on the way met the weaver a little way down the road and asked him to carry the tender filly on his shoulders. The weaver, as weavers always do, remonstrated, and the Pathans as Pathans always do, hammered him into submission. Fatigued as he already was, the load that he had to carry nearly killed him. He sat down for a while to "take rest" and addressed the following protest to heaven: "O Healer of the Contrary! I had asked for the horse *below*, not *above* me!" Well, our humble protest that must mount up to the heights of Chhoti Simla has to be a similar one. We had begged His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's Private Secretary not to "add anything" to his previous remarks but to *subtract* a good deal therefrom. This latest demonstration of dignity takes us back to Colonel Bayley's first letter in which he told us that "Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have preferred to take no notice of the paragraph in question." Had His Honour persisted in that preference two journals at least would have been spared the expression of unfounded imputations against them and His Honour would have been spared the indignity of being argued with by a common journalist. But His Honour chose to argue, and as it happened, had the worst of the argument and now orders have been issued somewhat late in the day to shut off steam. Only Mr. Bernard Shaw can do justice to the situation. His *Androcles and the Lion* is a play particularly worthy of bureaucratic personal, in which Nero demonstrates "gaping courtiers how Caesar has tamed the lion, and remarks how magnanimous they are in Rome when he announces that he will spare Androcles. But just now we are reminded of another scene in the play. The Roman officer in command of the guards who are in charge of the down-trodden Christians destined for the gladiators and the lions finds a patrician lady of considerable charm among the low-born and despised crowd of Christian prisoners. The patrician wrath as well as sympathy of that officer is excited by her conversion to the faith of the Nazarenes and he makes the fatal mistake of arguing with her about her beliefs. She scores off the pagan patrician at the very outset with the result that the argument is hastily dropped and the guards who are caught listening to it with ill-concealed amusement are lectured to on the subject of their duties, the sermon ending with the newly discovered sapience that, above all, the soldiers should on account enter into an argument with the disrespectful Christian prisoners, as it is against the dignity of Roman soldiers besides being entirely at variance with military discipline.

To the Punjab Government we have still something to say. His Honour is mistakenly led to believe that we published an unfounded insinuation against him and he invited us to publish a contradiction. We do so in full and at once.

Shootin Menagerie Lions.

But in stating the facts of the case His Honour's Private Secretary gives expression to even more unfounded imputations against the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* and when he begs him to withdraw them, we are told with more dignity than relevance that he sees no reason to add anything to his previous remarks. And yet it is the wretched Indian Press that is a reckless critic of the officials and must be taught to respect truth and accuracy

of statement by means of the Press Act. What would have happened if we too had declined to see any reason to publish Lieut. Colonel Bayley's letter or add anything to our previous remarks? Very probably Mr. Tollinton's threat to the *Zamindar* would have applied to us also. "A refusal by you to publish the correct facts, after having published what was intended to mislead people and arouse feeling against Government will be taken as evidence of your attitude towards Government, and Government will then proceed on that understanding." Does it not mean that the Press Act gives indignant officials the power to bring home to independent journalists the consequences of their independence of character, while there is no law to give to ill-used journalists the power to bring home to unjust officials the consequences of their unjust dealings? Let us now appeal to the sense of fair-play ingrained in the British character and ask if this is fair. Would an Englishman ever think of shooting a menagerie lion and then bragging of it? But are not official dealings with Indian journalists often on a par with it? We have no right of appeal to law courts, and even if we had, it is the Executive and not the Press that often appoints the Judges, promotes them and honours them with titles. We thought we had a right of appeal to the British Parliament and the British public, but the British Parliament and the British public seem to think far more of pheasants and mangel-wurzels than of the fate of the Indian Press, or even of the fate of India. The essence of Indian governance is the absolute reliance of Great Britain on the official conscience and on little besides. This is the weakness of British Imperialism, for obviously the proud boast and we acknowledge, a just one — "*Ei Occidente tu*" absolutely fails here. But we must, take things as they are and even though the Indian climate has a deadening effect on everything, our only resource is the official conscience. It is to this that we appeal, and it was time that Lord Hardinge received a deputation of Indian journalists and frankly discussed with them their wrongs and trials as well as their sins and shortcomings.

We are happy to publish the following extract from a letter addressed by the Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda to us about the famous project of a Behar Moslem Association which would ask for only that which the officials want it to ask for and that too when and where and as it pleases the benign officials. He writes: "As jurred to you I never signed either the Urdu or the English manifesto of this Association. Once in a moment of hurry the draft of the English (manifesto) was read over to me by a friend or mine and then certain explanations were submitted to my objections. Believing in the word of my friend and the organisers of this Association, I permitted my name to go and to appear in the manifesto. I had taken no other interest in the matter. As the permission was given under some misconceptions, I have withdrawn my name and am no longer a member of that idiotic Association. All's well that ends well. We certainly recognise the features of our simple, unpretentious but genuine and often courageous representative of Moslem Behar in this picture far better than we could in that of the manifesto published by what sort did you say it was? — Association. But what a farce, and what wretched methods "the friends" of our love and friendless bureaucracy adopt. Never mind, better luck next time.

It is a source of some gratification to us that it was the *Hamdard* or Anglo-Indian paper which first discovered and immediately announced in its columns that the lovers in the Karachi dramatic film bore the same names as the lover in the first poem in Moor's *Lalla Rookh*, and that its title, *The United Prophet of Khorassan*, could with some degree of plausibility be said to give a clue to the unnamed "prophet" in the description of the scenes given in the body of the film. The telegrams have given the hero's name as "Azim" and the heroine's as "Sahika." From a casual reference to the *Sind Gazette* of the 8th June we found that in the description of the film as witnessed by the Maristate, the jury and the representative of that newspaper the heroine's name was spelt as "Selica." That immediately led to the conclusion that probably Sahika was "Zahika," which is the way that the Arab name "Zulakha" (also the name of Potiphar's enterprising wife so famous in Eastern literature) is spelt in Tom Moore's well known poem. Those who know that poem need not be reminded that the villain of the piece is Ibn i-Magna, literally, "the Son of the Veil" spelt in the poem as "Mokanna." He takes his name from the silver veil with which he covers his extremely ghastly and repulsive countenance. In the poem he exhibits his features only to Selica and in the final scene to the victims of his extraordinary blood-lust assembled and poisoned by him in a feast. At all other times

"O'er his features hung
"The veil, the silver veil, which he had hung
"In mercy there, to hide from mortal sight
"His dazzling brow, till man could bear its light.
"For, far less luminous, his votaries said,
"Were even the gleams miraculously shed
"O'er Moussa's cheek when down the Mount he trod,
"All glowing from the presence of his God."

In the film the "prophet" wears no veil, and, although Mokanna is by no means free from lust, the two "prophets" have little in common, the chief passion of Mokanna being hate of his Makers and revenge through His creatures.

"Upon the hand, whose mischief or whose mirth
Sent me thus maim'd and monstrous upon earth."

The two stories also are absolutely dissimilar. But what is in common, as we have explained, is sufficient to give a degree of plausibility to the possible contention that the theme was borrowed from Thomas Moore's famous poem. It would no doubt, in that case be claimed that the word "prophet" in the film has no reference whatever to the prophet of Islam, and the Mussalmans, as the *Sind Gazette*, with even less ground for the assumption, has already said, have made "much ado about nothing." But it must be remembered that the characters in the film wear an Arab costume. More people have heard of Mohammed than of Mokanna, though there is no similarity between "the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" in *Lalla Rookh* and the "prophet" of the film, as we have already explained, to indicate that it is Mokanna that is meant by the authors of the film. Everything that could distinguish the particular "prophet" in the film from any other is wholly absent. This being the case, if it is possible that the film was based on the poem, and the circumstances that gave rise to the Moslem suspicion that the Holy Prophet of Islam was being revealed were merely accidental, it is, at least, equally possible that the whole thing was the outcome of deliberate malice, and a diabolic cunning had chosen the names of the characters in such a way that the Prophet of Islam could be traduced nightly, but if the Moslems suspected this and protested, they could be laughed at for their pains and told it was "much ado about nothing", for the "prophet" was "the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan."

In its present form the film is grossly foul and its exhibition cannot be tolerated. But even if the "prophet" was qualified in some way it would be no better than the "loyal toast" drunk by the Royals of England in the 17th Century by lifting the wine over jugs of water meaning thereby that it was "the King over the Waters" that they toasted and not William of Orange. The film must not be exhibited any longer, but it indicates how accommodating the people believe the Press Act to be that they suggest a confiscation of the film "under the Press Act." This is what Government must do. But the Mussalmans must do something more. They must set to work systematically to collect evidence about the authorship of the film with a view to make sure that it was not designed to be one of the weapons in the war declared by Bishop Lefroy against the creed of Islam. We are really amused at the unoriginal lie that there are some Mohamedans who rouse the passions and prejudices of Mussalmans against Christians and aim at kindling a conflagration of fanaticism. Can the convenient memories of these good people so easily forget all the praise of missionary effort in India in the *Times* Indian Correspondents' article of 7th October and in the 'Indian Peri' of December last? Can they forget Kikuyu? Can they forget the Sunday Schools' Convention with its black boards and slates for weapons in the threatened struggle? Can they forget the Calcutta Metropolitan's declaration of war? Last but not least, can they forget Lord Sydenham's cheering prospect for Indian Nationalism after his dealings with the Haj Question? If all these mean nothing, how maladroit and stupid all these good people have been in giving a handle to celebrated Moslem rogues for rousing the fire of their fanatical brethren! We would in this case humbly advise Government to appoint a small Committee with three or four Moslem members—the genuine article and no "nearest approach"—and the same number of officials, and to depute them to make a searching inquiry into the authorship of this film and its purpose. If Moslem suspicions are advanced, Government will reap an ample harvest of confidence and tranquillity. If they are only too well founded, Government would still reap an ample harvest of confidence and gratitude by following the inquiry with a salutary lesson to those whose methods of propagating their faith are as certain to ruin Britain's Empire in India as they are opposed to the spirit of Christ's teaching. It is for the Government to choose whether things should be left in their present unsatisfactory posture or improved out of all shape. We may add we offer this suggestion in the full belief that we add thereby another item to our account—on the wrong side of the book! When shall we learn to suggest only such honest praiseworthy measures as the appointment of Commissions to inquire whether prisoners in jails are not being overfed and whether the Indian Civil Servants are not being starved?

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON in a letter to the *Times* makes a rapid survey of tracts suitable for Indian colonisation in Africa and elsewhere, and arrives at the conclusion that it would be on the whole the best plan if the promoters of genuine emigration schemes in India first endeavoured "to colonise to its fullest extent some 200,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated

India." Sir Harry may have succeeded in putting forward a point of view which, according to him, has not been prominently dealt with in the Press. But his "contribution to the discussion on this question of Asiatic emigration" has little relevancy to the problem with which India, at any rate, is concerned. There may be large tracts within India itself which might be made productive and populous, just as there are in European Russia. The issues involved in the present controversy have nothing to do with this point. They relate, on the contrary, to the right of Indians as British citizens to free access in any part of the British Empire. This right is denied to Indian emigrants in several British colonies, which have enforced harsh and repressive laws to exclude Indians and drive out those that are domiciled within their limits. Sir Harry Johnston, instead of offering any solution of this problem, quietly proceeds to distribute places fit for colonisation in Africa and elsewhere on the basis of white, black and yellow colours. The treatment meted out to Indians in the self governing colonies of the Empire is the core of the Indian emigration problem. This was the crux of the difficulties in South Africa and this lies at the heart of the brave struggle which is going on close to the shores of Canada. What Indians desire is not a knowledge of the places in India still awaiting their inhabitants, but a clear enunciation of their right and status as citizens of the British Empire. The situation in Canada has brought this question to a head in a prominent form, and we shall deal at some length with its general aspects in our next.

Our special correspondent in Constantinople writes to us — "Few of the Indian Moslem leaders have paid a visit to this country to study the national crisis on the spot and witness the great changes that are coming over the Ottoman Empire, and fewer still have produced a deeper impression of cordial relations by their visits than did Mr. Mazharul Haq. At a time when the heart of Islam is stirred to its depths and when India with her 70 million of Moslems is passing through an eventful crisis, is it not worth while for their leaders to come over here to study the actual situation for the benefit of their unfortunate country and to strengthen the bond of union and fellowship with their co-religionists? Few in India really understand the larger meaning of Ottomanism and fewer still realise the hindrances that stand in the way of national progress. Turkey at the present day has entered a period of transition and is evolving a new order of things. During such an eventful time it is not unnatural that the Turks should extend their hand of sympathy and love to receive a brother Moslem from Hindustan. Mr. Mazharul Haq was warmly received at the station by the members of *Itidal Ahmar*, the Turkish National Defence Association, *Dumyat Kariya Islamia*, etc. His tall figure, his clean-shaven face, his courtesy, his deep and penetrating eyes proved an object of attraction to those who waited on him, and he was accompanied to the Pera Palace Hotel where he stopped during his sojourn. He paid a visit to Prince Said Halim Pasha, the Grand Vizier, who cordially received him as the nation's guest, with unusual courtesy and hospitality. He was taken to the Ministers of War, Marine, Finance Public Works and Owqaff. He visited the warships which had been an object of attraction to him, the Military and Naval Schools, the boys' and girls' schools, the Sultan's old and new palaces, the museum and other places of antiquity and interest. He was highly pleased at the education of girls, who welcomed him by singing the National song. He won the respect and admiration of all whom he met by his suavity of manners, his jovial disposition, his patriotism and love of Islam."

We had discovered and announced the existence of a 'plot' last week which had for its object the condign punishment of the person or the thing responsible for cutting off at most inconvenient moments the electric supply in Delhi. We little thought at the time that our great joy at the discovery of a set determination in several breasts including our own to track down the arch-schemer or the perversé something, of whose practical jokes we seemed to be the most marked victim, would be attended with our own discomfiture. We have, with Mr. Griffin's help, gone through a sobering experience and have had to repent with at leisure of our haste to search for the miscreant everywhere in the outside world while the imp of mischief lurked within our doors. We now find that the fuse of our own motor had been spoiled, thanks to the irrepressible pranks of a budding *Mistri* who is learning his craft at our expense. Now we assure the Electric Tramway Company and the world at large that, so far as we are concerned, the "plot" is at an end. We have found the culprit and, though we knew him to be a mischievous sprite that caused everybody around him no end of worries, we little suspected that he would one day overtake us in the shape of our Nemesis. But after so much contrition may we remind the Company that not all the milk that disappears from the Kitchen goes to fill the stomach of the act.

When Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali were in England last year they were forcibly reminded of certain feature of the London Press, which was one of the four *tufas* of the ill-fated *Zamindar* article that caused so much ado about nothing.

The "Home" Press and its Guides.

The Tory Press publishes nothing about India but news of isolated outrages in which very few people in India are now interested, but with which Reuter is constantly spoon-fed from Calcutta mostly by the gentleman associated with the "Newmania" of the *Englishman* and the *Times of India* six or seven years ago. The Liberal Press is occasionally moved to refute the charges of weakness in dealing with India levelled at the Liberal Government by the Tory section of the Press and is at times ready to publish the views of Indians themselves, as for instance the publicity given to the views of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and the generous invitations of the *Nation*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News and Leader* to Mr. Mohamed Ali to put forward the cases of Indian Mussalmans and the Indian Press, which, however, Mr. Mohamed Ali could not respond to while correspondence was going on with the India Office on those subjects. But the space devoted to India even in the Liberal papers is meagre when compared with the importance of India's relationship with the British Empire. This necessitates an unceasing current of Indian deputations to England and the establishment of an "India House" more or less on the lines suggested by our esteemed correspondent the O'Donnell of O'Donnell. The little activity already shown in this direction has induced the Anglo-Indian party to use every effort to misguide the British public.

If the Anglo-Indian dream of the British public's "judicious indifference" cannot be realized, the party earnestly hopes that its laboriously developed and newly created hunger for information about India would be gratified by the supply of faked up facts and half truths masquerading as "Truths about India." When we were informed that two old journals, the *Overland Mail* and the *Homeward Mail*, would be amalgamated and would re-appear as the *Indiaman*, and that the new journal would be "a weekly link with India", we little thought that it would be only a link with "Anglo India." We were anxious to see how the *Indiaman* redeemed its promises of creating a better understanding between the *Englishman* at home and his fellow-subjects in England's Dependency, would and have with this object read the first five issues of the paper from cover to cover. Well it did not take us long to discover the cloven hoof, for if we may say so, our

Indiaman, alias *Anglo Indian*, is apparently suffering from elephantiasis. The cloven-foot is certainly the most prominent feature in the *Indiaman's* anatomy. We shall review some of its statements and comments later, but the following extract will suffice for the present. This new guide of the "Home" Press writes as follows on the subject of sacred buildings in India: "The home Press is inclined to take the question of interference with sacred buildings in India far too seriously. Is there anything particularly new about it? Without stopping to inquire how the ancient rulers of India dealt with such difficulties, we may take it that the extensions of canals and railways during the British occupation have constantly occasioned interference with isolated tombs and temples. The procedure has generally been quite simple, the neighbouring priest has been approached, and in due course has had a dream indicating the 'wish of heaven' in favour of removing the structure to some more convenient spot, where it has been duly set up at the expense of the authorities, and nothing more has been heard about it. The recent agitation about the Cawnpore Mosque, for instance, was quite dishonest. There was no real question of disturbing religious susceptibilities: it was merely a case of any stick being good enough to beat a dog with—not a difficult thing to do when it happens to suit the purpose of astute pleaders to trade on the religious prejudices of their more ignorant countrymen."

Will it surprise this misinformer of an uninformed and ill-informed Press very much if we tell it that the "quite simple" and "general" procedure described by it was tried at Cawnpore? Why the wretched accomplices in this arduous business of faking up the "wish of heaven" have only recently been paid for their labour. As for the lie about the Cawnpore agitation, it has not improved by repetition, and we may as well tell its authors and their friends that we mean to nail to the counter every coin that comes from their counterfeiting mould. The essence of agitation is repetition, and if they intend to go on repeating their lie we also intend to go on repeating that it is what the Shavian heroine would call a "bloody lie." We must perforce follow the fashion in agitation as well as polite speech. As for the "astute pleaders," we thought the miscreants belonged to the more ignoble profession of journalism. But we see that the journalist was back in India and the "pleader" was just then in England so the lie had to be duly amended. All this is good, but after all the solemn declarations of respecting the religious sentiments of the people what a confession to make! To think that Government officials "approach"—isn't that the word, Lord Willoughby de Broke?—the neighbouring priest and "in due course" extract from him—whether by promises of the honours list heaven or by threats of police court hell we are not told,—a dream indicating the 'wish of

heaven' in favour of removing the structure to some more convenient spot." May we ask the *Indiaman*, that *ghar ki bhedi*, whether all officially secured testimony is equally tainted?

These problems of India are so colossal that people with modest ambitions and ordinary capacities only too often shrink from doing even that which lies near their hand and is entirely within their powers. While we cannot give up

An Object Lesson in Education.

dreaming great dreams and hoping that some titanic genius would rise from the midst of our common breed of pigmies, we must not close our eyes to the useful work quietly done by a number of people who have no ambition to match the work of Titans. We hope our readers will not accuse us of "booming" a retiring personality that we so often drag out into the glare of publicity, but really we can ill afford to keep her work hidden behind the *zenana* screen when there are so many to advertise their shoddy wares and so few to be exemplars to their brethren and sisters. We have been privileged to obtain possession of a letter of Tyeba Begam in which in her own simple manner she has told the story of a modest educational endeavour to an uncle who is deeply interested in education, and who must have hankered for the life of a schoolmaster while he was condemned by some evil fate to be a surgeon. (Of course we refer to Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami who suggested to his niece the idea that has borne such excellent fruit. It seems that like her grandmother and great aunts and other ladies of an elder day, who did not know how to knit red and green woollen socks and purple and orange crochet neckties—who on earth wears them?—in order to be able to call themselves "accomplished" and every one of whom maintained without being known as a "leaderess" a very democratic girls' school in her own house where her own daughters and nieces and the children of her servants and poor neighbours were taught under her own watchful eyes not only reading and writing, but also cooking and sewing and other things which most certainly existed even at the time, but for which such name as Domestic Economy, Deportment and Discipline did not then exist,—well, it seems that like all these good ladies on whom the Honorary Secretaries and Honorary Joint Secretaries of our Ladies' Conferences perhaps look down, Tyeba Begam had a school in her house. It is about this that she writes to her uncle. "I must tell you that the little school I had for poor children in my house came to an end by one of the boys having whooping cough, and my husband turning all of them out of the gate." We wonder whether this is due to the brutality of the sex or is the worst of having a doctor for a husband. But in the days of Tyeba Begam's grandmother and great aunts even Hakim husbands did not insist on segregation and disinfection. Well, we must put up with the blessings of civilization, including cruelly careful doctor husbands. But was Mrs. Khedive Jung dismayed? Not a bit. Let us hear what she says. "I afterwards took a small house on hire and had the school there, but now it is exactly one year since we have placed the school on much firmer bases, and we have three instead of only one. There is one girls' school in *Top ka-Sancha* which had 35 girls, but now has 25. A reduction has been brought about by there being a good deal of small pox about and some girls having died of it." This is sad and shows the doctor husband in a better light. He would perhaps have insisted on repeated vaccination. But let us proceed. "We have a boys' school in the same locality with 15 boys. In the heart of the city there is another school of ours. This is the first school that has ever been opened in the city. There are 75 girls in this school and two teachers. We keep two *shikrims* for the girls to be brought to school, and all of them receive free instruction in Urdu, Persian, sewing, network, cooking, arithmetic and writing. One teacher stays in the school house and looks after the feeding of the bullock and then horse and keeps the house clean. Will the Hon. Mr. Sharp ever permit such degrading economies in Government Primary Schools? We wonder. Ed. *Cymrade*. The children are also taught the Quran. They are now being prepared for the prize distribution for which they will be taught Iqbal's national songs. In the school house we have a reading room and papers and magazines supplied by the ladies are kept for the girls to read. The expenses of the school come to Rs. 125 monthly and of the *Top ka-Sancha* schools to Rs. 30. These expenses are defrayed by the fees the members of the *Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam* pay monthly. We have only *fush* in the school and the girls sit on the ground and read." Isn't this a perfect picture of a sturdy young plant growing out of a tiny seed planted by tender hands and watched by anxious eyes, a plant growing bigger and yet bigger without fuss or advertisement, and owing its life and growth all to an honest impulse? No wonder that Mrs. Khedive Jung writes "We have received letters from other Provinces in India where ladies want to follow our example and open an *Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam* and spend its fees in giving free education to the poor." We promise Tyeba Begam that we shall not lift the veil often from her schools, and shall let them grow in their numbers and usefulness without the killing glare of too much publicity. But we thought so many of us badly wanted the glimpse of the steady normal growth of a tender plant put in the soil by honest clean hands and watered and looked after with genuine care by women who love their kind.

The Comrade.

Baseless Insinuations.

It is not difficult to understand the organised opposition that a section of the Anglo-Indian Press has set up against the widespread public demand in India for an extension of Lord Hardinge's term of office. It would, indeed, have been surprising if the proposal had uneventfully come to birth—without even so much as causing the *Statesman* & Co an acute fit of hysterics. Thanks to certain well-known acts and measures of his administration, Lord Hardinge has never been a *persona grata* with a notorious Calcutta clique that presumes to speak in the name of Anglo-India. Whether the presumption is something more than a mere swagger of vain, little men who have not yet been wholly cured of their habit to take themselves seriously, no one would be particularly anxious to inquire. The fact is that the presumption exists, that it is boundless, that it has often survived exposure and ridicule and that one of its most modest implications is that the Government of India should meekly take its orders from certain newspaper offices in Calcutta. It was a misfortune of Lord Hardinge that he early failed to take a lesson or two in Indian statecraft at the feet of the old, benignant sages who have their dwelling in Hare Street and Chauringhee. Nothing could save him from the consequences of that initial blunder, and it is no fault of the political *rishis*, who keep a sleepless watch over the fortunes of British Rule in India, if he has not been able to shake off the influence of his evil star. To repudiate the authority of the occult powers behind the Viceregal throne is a rank heresy, yet he attempted this without the least thought of consequences. Nay, he even went further and planned a secret *comp* to confound the old deities. This was an act of supreme defiance and Lord Hardinge's case has since then been hopeless and utterly beyond redemption.

The head and front of Lord Hardinge's offending is that he deserted Calcutta without consulting the wishes of the *Statesman*, the *Englishman* and the interests of which they are the aggressive champions. The Delhi change has hit them at some vital part, and the fury and wrath to which they have been giving vent has been amazing. A demand was loudly made for Lord Hardinge's recall just after the Durbar announcement, and though such a peccadillo was treated as it deserved it at least gives a measure of the hostility and prejudice that move the opponents of Lord Hardinge's measures and policy. No opportunity has been missed to belittle the value of his personal efforts to govern India in sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the people. No pains have been spared to discredit the policy underlying the Delhi change, and those responsible for the development of this wise and liberal policy have been pursued with a malignity that is truly astonishing.

It is easily intelligible, therefore, why the *Statesman* & Co are opposed to any extension of Lord Hardinge's term of office. We may note as well that a few other Anglo-Indian papers outside Calcutta have joined in the hoarse cry against the general popular demand in India. To crown all, we find even the *Times*, that had paid only the other day a glowing tribute to Lord Hardinge's work in India, taking up the tune apparently supplied to it by its Calcutta henchmen. We would like to ask the *Statesman*, if this Press demonstration against popular wishes in India lacks the deft fingers of the whippullers. The rule limiting the term of the Indian Vicerealty to five years may be a sound and prudent rule, but may we ask why "the invidious innovation" was demanded with loud insistence in the case of Lord Curzon—a very "energetic" but admittedly a very unpopular Indian Viceroy? Lord Hardinge enjoys a measure of popularity and confidence that never fell to the lot of "the most brilliant and energetic Viceroy who ever came to India." The measures of his regime have on the whole met with public approval. Much of the tranquility and optimism of public feeling is due to the trust that his personality has evoked among the people. His name has become associated with a policy that holds out abundant promise for the ultimate fruition of India's hopes. If, therefore, the Indian public has asked for the extension of the term of a ruler of this stamp it has surely been actuated by the sole desire to have Indian affairs, at least for two years more, under the control and guidance of a well-tried and trusted statesman. Yet a section of the Anglo-Indian Press dislikes this public demand in India, and the *Statesman* declares in round terms that Lord Hardinge's retention for a longer period would be of no tangible benefit to the country and that his administration of affairs has so far been of little practical value. The opposition, then, amounts to this, that no Viceroy should be allowed to remain a moment beyond his allotted time in India who has won the confidence of the Indian people and has thus proved his fit-

ness for his responsible office. It also incidentally means that the real interests of India have come to hold a position of permanent antagonism to the interests which the Anglo-Indian Press claims to represent. Are we to be told, then, that the non-official European class and a number of European officials, who together form the clientele for whose service the Anglo-India Press mainly exists, are to be the sole arbiters of India's destinies? We trust no British statesman worth the name would consent to subordinating the welfare of 310 millions of India to the European commercial interests in Calcutta or elsewhere if, indeed, he wants to hold the British Empire together. As for the body of British officials, their obvious duty is to carry on the administration in the spirit of the policy laid down by Indian Government, and we have no reason to doubt that the disciplined body like the Indian Civil Service, whose great sense of duty forms a theme of perpetual delight and admiration in Anglo-Indian journalism, has faithfully served the great statesman who is responsible for the good government of India.

The *Statesman*, however, has no liking for Lord Hardinge and the slummy grounds on which it bases its antagonism are unworthy of serious notice. But in its hurry to discredit the movement in favour of the extension of Lord Hardinge's term it has distorted the facts and chosen to make certain wild and baseless insinuations. It says that the movement has been engineered through certain prominent Mussalmans and that the Hon. Sir Ali Imam, the Law Member, has been pulling the strings from behind the scenes. It argues somewhat as follows: Lord Hardinge would welcome an extension of his term of office, for he is anxious to push on the Delhi scheme to a stage when "a return to sanity and economy" would be impracticable. He has a devoted adherent in Sir Ali Imam, who is ready to anticipate his wishes. The Law Member has used his influence with a number of prominent Mussalmans to hold public demonstrations in favour of Lord Hardinge. This, according to the *Statesman*, is the genesis of the movement. A very simple and smooth explanation of the whole affair, only the "prominent" Mussalmans have publicly declared it as an "ingenious fabrication." The *Statesman* regards it as incredible that "the impulse" to pass resolutions should have sprung up simultaneously in several breasts. We know many facts in recent Indian history, familiar even to Indian schoolboys, which a section of the Anglo-Indian Press has chosen systematically to ignore. The incredulity of the *Statesman* is a part of the habitual pose that every "friend" of India loves to assume whenever the spontaneous activities of the people rouse his particular dislike or alarm. To a person that still retains his mental balance and whose judgement has not been warped by a peculiarly strong obsession, there seems nothing in the "demonstrations" in favour of Lord Hardinge that might put the least strain on his credulity. They are as natural and genuine as anything of the kind that has ever happened in the public life of this country. On an occasion like Lord Hardinge's birthday one does not usually talk of the monsoon but of the man. Lord Hardinge's term of office is rapidly drawing to a close. The people have full confidence in his statesmanship and entertain the utmost regard for him as a man and a ruler. What could be more natural, we ask, than that they should feel an instinctive desire for a prolongation of his connection with India and should express their desire in the shape of a general public demand on the occasion of his birthday celebrations? It is a deliberate perversion of the truth to say that "a few prominent Mussalmans" have engineered the show to please the Law Member. Important meetings have been held in various parts of the country in which both Hindus and Mussalmans co-operated with equal degree of enthusiasm; and almost every influential organ of Indian public opinion has powerfully supported the demand of the people. If the Law Member can "parvey enthusiasm" on such a scale and electrify the whole country by simply pressing a button, he must have invisible wires under his thumb and command occult sources of power, and it is a matter of genuine pride and thankfulness that an Indian possessing such miraculous gifts is associated so prominently with the government of this country.

The insinuation against the Hon. Sir Ali Imam has, however, a peculiarly unworthy motive behind it. The *Statesman* says that friendly relations between the Viceroy and the Law Member are well-known. We hope the existence of such relations is not regarded a crime, and we trust as well that every colleague of Lord Hardinge, who has tried to help him faithfully and to the best of his power in the government of this country, has not incurred the odium of Chauringhee. According to the *Statesman*, the main fault of Sir Ali Imam would seem to be that he has proved by his character and capacity to be a useful and trustworthy servant of the Crown and enjoys the confidence of the Head of the Indian Government. The fault was perhaps first discovered towards the close of the Cawnpore mosque troubles, when Sir Ali Imam helped the Viceroy in smoothing the path to settlement and peace. Every observer who knew the character of the troubles and the state of Moslem feeling at the time could not fail to appraise the Viceroy's action at its proper value, and even Sir James Meston regarded the achievement as worthy of his congratulations. We have no desire to rake up memories that should be best buried in oblivion. But

the Press firebrands in Calcutta and elsewhere need frequently to be reminded of their attitude towards the Cawnpore settlement, which proved them to be the worst enemies of this Empire. Nothing could satisfy them short of a demand for the head of every Moslem agitator and a drastic suppression of public excitement, and if they could have their way, they would have succeeded in plunging the country in a turmoil the consequences of which one shudders to contemplate. Fortunately for the Mussalmans and the Empire, the Head of the Government of India was not a blood-and-thunder journalist from the depths of Anglo India, but a statesman of wide outlook who saw the danger and saved the situation. His opponents have neither forgiven him nor the Hon. Sir Ali Imam, whose ripe judgement and unrivalled knowledge of the people were freely placed at his service. The Law Member's personal gifts and the value of his co-operation with his colleagues and the Viceroy and of his services to the country are known both to the Government and the people, and his career has shown how far an Indian member of the Executive Council can be of real help and service in the successful governance of India. The *Statesman's* insinuations only emphasise that paper's aversion to Lord Haile and Sir Ali Imam. This aversion is apparently due to the fact that both the Viceroy and the Law Member have deserved and entirely won the confidence of the people of India and are both inspired with a due sense of responsibility for their common task.

A Dangerous Portent.

We publish elsewhere an article entitled "The Approaching Crisis in Persia", which recently appeared in the *Times*. The article is charged with alarming significance and wears that suspiciously solemn and portentous air which the Printing House Square habitually assumes when it utters prophecies of evil to set design. The method is the *Times'* very own, it has been cultivated to perfection. Its sole virtue lies in quietly preparing ground, so to speak, for *coups de-main* of diplomacy. And it ends can justify me as the *Times'* method offers the most facile way to success in the game of organised deception which Europe has learnt to practice with a view to satisfy its lust for power and dominion.

The method deserves a brief study, it only to illustrate its latest application. It has naturally a long history, and various factors have contributed to its development before it has found its most complete expression through the *Times*. A student of modern Europe notes impressive organic changes in the constitution of modern States, but finds little difference in the tone and spirit of international relations. The old, brute struggle for power is as remorseless to-day as ever, though its outward naked aspects have been draped in a peculiar ethical phraseology. This is in most part due to the great upheaval of the humanitarian sentiment in the 19th century, which unnerved diplomacy to some extent and blurred the intellects of hard, seasoned statesmen by its smooth optimism and pacific moral conceptions. The unique success of Bismarckism, with its methods of blood and iron, shattered, however, the 19th century utopia of peace on earth and goodwill among mankind. Brute force has been recognised, under new conventions, as the essential basis of international relations. Within the last forty years a new cynicism has come to dominate international politics which derives its strength from the pseudo-science, pseudo-philosophy and the vast group of complex economic phenomena of the age and has given birth to a new doctrine of Imperialism. While humanitarianism has been struggling to live and perfecting its catchwords, diplomacy has re-dressed its phrases to placate a young, sentimental democracy. Brute force itself has gathered a mass of polite vocabulary and learnt to roar as gently as a sucking dove. The rival States have pitched themselves behind the "Balance of Power" and are armed to the teeth "to maintain the peace of the world." A slight weakness in one group sets in motion among its rival group a whole train of diplomatic acts of the most correct description—conscientiously beginning with a press campaign and ending peacefully at last when the final stage known as "compensation" is reached. The rivalries of Europe have to be paid for by the weaker States of Africa and Asia. They are the helpless pawns in the game. For the peace of Europe they have to bear the burden and become the sacrifice. If the Powers of Europe quarrel among themselves, they are to be made the scapegoats. If France and Germany, for instance, are to live as neighbours, some dusky millions of Africa with their lands are to be thrown into the bargain as the last bid for neighbourly peace. Modern European statecraft would be an elaborate process of bungling with out its "inferior races." It thrives on the weakness and simplicity of the unsophisticated millions whose colour is said to have condemned them to eternal servitude and whose primitive virtues lend themselves to easy exploitation. They have to bear meekly and even with some show of contentment the entire pressure of the two imposing modern doctrines—the doctrine of Imperialism and the doctrine of Compensation. According to the doctrine of Imperialism, there are to be no more open, direct, honest conquests, no outright crushing of the weak by the strong, no straight challenge to open fight. That was the method of the savage past. Modern Europe has a "civilising" mission to fulfil

and it can best be fulfilled through "peaceful penetration." The savage areas to be civilised are accordingly "developed" by throwing them open to business syndicates, and the inhabitants of those areas are tamed under various influences and gradually qualified to bear the yoke. If they show signs of impatience or revolt at the tightening grip, they are, of course, perverse and lawless savages, who can be expected to feel little gratitude for those that so selflessly bear their thankless burden and who should be dealt with firmly in the interests of "progress and order." The doctrine of Compensation provides the most useful safety-valve for the mutual jealousies and greeds of Europe. If one Great Power has been unusually successful in acquiring fresh areas for its civilising mission, its rivals, too, must have something to share in the toil and burden of the great, altruistic task that an inscrutable Providence has imposed on the shoulders of weary Europe.

It is in the atmosphere of these doctrines that the *Times'* method can best be seen at work. Take Persia—a weak country, inhabited, according to the Imperialist philosophy, by an "inferior" race. Clearly it was a fit object for the civilising mission of Europe. The people of Persia might not like it, but they could not be the best judges of their own needs. The two Great Powers of Europe, Russia and Great Britain, flanked Persia respectively on the north and the south, and they possessed vast "interests" within the country. They recognised their obvious duty and individually heard its insistent call. But they had their own mutual jealousies and suspicions which hampered them at every step. The safest method for them was to make a solemn pact between themselves and forth with set about to work. England had enough Imperial "burdens" already on hand and was not particularly anxious to add another, but Russia's missionary zeal to uplift a fallen race was boundless and fresh outlets were needed for such boundless energy. The famous Anglo-Russian Convention was framed in due course on the basis of the doctrine of Compensation and was cast in the most approved and up-to-date style of Imperialist phraseology. Persia's integrity and independence were guaranteed in the most emphatic terms. Both the Great Powers righteously bound themselves in the hearing of the world to keep a fair ring and let the Persians proceed calmly and confidently with the work of their national reconstruction. As the *Times* puts it, the Convention gave Persia "a chance to rehabilitate herself—free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without." At least this was the ostensible aim of the Anglo-Russian understanding. It looked as if a great moral act had come to birth when the great Convention was signed. Every cynic was confounded by the spectacle of two chivalrous and powerful States of Europe constituting themselves as the guardian angels of an ancient people struggling to be free.

Such was the Convention and such the hopes that were supposed to have moved its authors. But the fates—or the agents of the Muscovite diplomacy—have been busy spinning secret threads, and the history of the working of this Convention for the past seven years has been a mine of amusement to the cynics. Incidentally it has wrought the utter undoing of Persia. The Convention is practically dead, and the *Times* has at last pronounced its funeral oration. No one can of course expect the *Times*, which has become to all intents and purposes a Russian mouthpiece, to denounce this discredited diplomatic instrument. It still talks of its more "exalted" purpose and "infinitely greater issues" than the mere preservation of Persia. But it finds it just now expedient to state that "the Convention, we fear, has brought no tangible benefit to Persia." The concession is a calculated move and is not as innocent as it looks. For certain reasons, to which we will presently refer, the *Times* wants to get rid of the Convention in its present form, and it applies its best method for the purpose. It begins by claiming that the Convention was a glorious piece of diplomatic achievement. In its main object—the preservation of Persia's integrity and independence—it has, however, failed. The failure has been due to the folly and incompetence of the Persians themselves. A studied reference is then made to the existence of certain factors which will soon plunge the affairs of Persia in an acute crisis. After detailing these factors, the paper sums up its elaborate argument with an urgent declaration that the problem of the better maintenance of order in Persia must be grappled afresh. It urges, in short, for the revision of the Convention, though it does not expressly lay down the lines on which it should be revised.

The *Times'* article is a dangerous portent, for there is in all likelihood more behind it than meets the eye. The Persian affairs are no better and no worse to day than they have been since the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. Yet the *Times* wants the old Convention to be recast and for this purpose it has got to produce a "crisis." Russia is in need of a "crisis" for its own ends and the *Times* desires one for a different purpose, and let us be very sure that we shall have it as soon as the *Times* predicts. Russia holds Azerbaijan in her grip and rules the province through her virtual agent, Shuja-ud-Daula, the nominal Persian Governor at Tabriz. She wants to establish over Northern Persia a direct and open protectorate. For this purpose she is anxious to eliminate the Swedish gendarmerie from the northern provinces and insists on the increase

of the Persian Cossack brigade and its employment for the collection of revenues and on police duties. It is already known that the brigade is to be increased from 3,500 to 6,000 men. The additional force will be recruited from time-expired Russian soldiers in Azerbaijan and will be officered by Russians. The brigade will be a Russian legion in a Russian Protectorate and the Russian exchequer will be its paymaster. In the development of the Russian scheme the existence of the Swedish gendarmerie is an intolerable nuisance. The Persian Treasury officials are not allowed to collect taxes in Northern Persia, and a number of gendarmes on duty in Tabriz were beaten and unceremoniously bundled out of the city by Shuja ud-Dawla, not long ago, at the instance of the Russian authorities. Can the force under the Swedish officers succeed in the teeth of such opposition? In the rest of Persia the work of the Swedish officials and their men has been on the whole successful, and independent and competent observers have borne testimony to their efficiency and the duties they have been performing under very trying circumstances. Yet the *Times* thinks that the force is unequal to its task. Russia wants to strike at the last remnant of Persian sovereignty by trying to do away with the only body of trained men responsible to Persian Government for the maintenance of law and order. And the *Times* must echo the Muscovite wish by condemning that body as inefficient for it cannot afford to incur the wrath of its Russian patrons.

For some time past it has been a matter of common knowledge that Russia is planning to colonise Northern Persia with a view to its complete Russification. A correspondent of the *Near East* recently called attention to scores of Russian agents who are touring in districts and villages, making minute inquiries about the inhabitants and the amount of cultivable areas. Another item of news furnished by the same correspondent relates to the interference of the Russian consul of Asphahan in the local elections for the *Majlis*. The consul insisted on the inclusion of one of his proteges among the seven supervisors that are elected to control the general elections, and he eventually had his way. Shuja-ud-Dawla has under Russian direction forbidden Parliamentary elections to be held in Tabriz. All this does not exactly look like giving Persia a chance to rehabilitate herself, "free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without." We need not, however, set about seriously to show how far Persia has been given a "chance." In face of all that has happened since the framing of the Convention—the steadily increasing interference of Russia, her threats, her petty persecutions, her brutal assassinations, the enormous influx of Russian troops who hold Northern Persia in their grip, the bombardment of the sacred mausoleum at Meshed, the expulsion of Mr Shuster, the establishment of the virtual Russian dictatorship in Azerbaijan, the systematic suppression of the Persian Government authority, and other thousand and one acts of Russian high-handedness and intrigue—to talk, in face of all this, of Persia's incompetence and her failure to maintain law and order is a hideous mockery. As the *Daily Graphic* said in a recent issue, the new Russian intervention is not military at all. It has taken the form of a wide-reaching assumption of administrative functions. "What possible justification there can be for this outrageous invasion of Persian rights—not to speak of the guarantees of the Anglo-Russian Convention—is impossible to understand. Some explanation is obviously needed, and when it comes we trust it will be studied by Sir Edward Grey with the seriousness it obviously demands."

The interesting question is: Why does the *Times* want the Convention to be revised? The reasons are not far to seek. The *Times'* excessive concern about the maintenance of law and order in the neutral zone is worth noting. One can easily recall the not distant time when this faithful henchman of Russia admired the provision of a vast strip of territory between the Russian and the British spheres as a stroke of far-sighted statesmanship. To day it would have this zone abolished in the interest of law and order. We recently had occasion to refer to the *Punch* humourist who had noted the conjunction of two remarkable circumstances: the discovery of oil in Somaliland and the sudden recollection by His Majesty's Government of their duty to the friendlies. The *Times'* sudden anxiety about law and order in the neutral zone has some occult relation with Persian oil. What it desires, in plain fact, is that Persia should be divided again in such a way that the neutral zone, which almost entirely contains the oil tract, should fall within the British sphere of influence. All pretence about Persian integrity and independence should be dropped. Russia should be openly allowed to have a free hand in Northern Persia and the Protectorate that she has virtually established there should be formally recognised. In return for this recognition the neutral zone, at least in greater part, should be taken in the British sphere. This is the path of the "crisis" that, we are assured, is imminent in Persian affairs. This is the true significance of the bare-faced declaration of the *Times* that the Swedish gendarmerie has failed.

We are familiar with the tactics of the *Times*, and we know as well that its prophecies about Persia are usually based on

Russian inspiration and not unoften anticipate the British Foreign Office. It now foretells in so many words the dismemberment of Persia in the very near future. The British policy in regard to Persia has been the most melancholy chapter in the recent history of England. Russia has been steadily establishing her control over the northern provinces and has practically eliminated the authority of the Persian Government. The fiction about the utility of the Convention in regard to Persian interests has long since been exploded. Sir Edward Grey has helplessly looked on while the Russian schemes have developed step by step and the Convention has been made a dead letter. Is the fate of Persia now entirely beyond redemption? Are the British statesmen still oblivious of the many vital British interests that the destruction of Persia would involve? They may not care to inquire what the passing of Persia may mean to the stability of the British power in India, but we must remind them that there are seventy million of Indian Mussalmans to whom the fate of Persia means a good deal. It would not be a wise statesmanship to ignore this volume of deep and abiding sentiment. We do not think it is beyond the strength of British diplomacy to stop Russian aggression and save Persia. Sir Edward Grey's obsession about the balance of power in Europe has been exploited by his Muscovite friends to the full. What British policy has gained in Europe has been more than counter-balanced by its enormous losses in Asia. Can the past be retrieved? The *Nation* has little hope about it and proposes the following solution for the future—

Friendly observers of course are not agreed as to policy. But some of them hold that Northern Persia is gone to Russia, and that it is as well to reckon with that pretty well accomplished fact. What, then, is to happen to the centre and the south? There are two courses. We can go shares with Russia, advance our Indian border, infuriate native India, and spend millions of money on a new section of the frontier and a great army to guard it. Or we can aim at a new Persia with a capital shifted from Teheran (now almost a Russian city) to Isfahan or better still to Shiraz, and at making this country secure in all the rights of national liberty and yet signifying it is under our protection. In other words, we can constitute something like a second Afghanistan. Is not that the best deal? Would Russia oppose it? There is reason to suppose that she would not.

But why should it be necessary to cut out the northern provinces and hand them over to Russia? Such was not the object to which the authors of the Anglo-Russian Convention had given a wide publicity. Sir Edward Grey may not himself cherish any designs of territorial expansion in Persia, but the patent weakness of his policy has facilitated Russian aggrandisement in a thorough-going fashion. Has it become impossible to deal straight with Russia and compel her to respect her pledges? The British diplomacy has not surely become so bankrupt that British protests would fail to make any impression on Russian policy. An independent Persia is or should be the aim of the British foreign policy in the Middle East. If Russian support is necessary for England to keep the balance of power in Europe, British support is equally indispensable to Russia in her efforts to keep her weight and prestige unimpaired in European politics. The Convention about Persia was concluded by England with an obvious desire to remove the most fruitful source of friction in Anglo-Russian relations. Russian menace to the security of India could best be averted by guaranteeing the independence and integrity of Persia, and it was, accordingly, on this basis that the Convention was framed. The British entente with Russia aimed at the removal of the Muscovite danger to British interests and power in the East and forcing British diplomacy for concerted and vigorous action in Europe. Through an irony of fate, the very instrument of peace and concord has stuck at the roots of the principles which have guided the British policy in the East for several generations. The integrity of Persia has disappeared and with it has also vanished the security of the Indian frontier. The pressure of Russian advances through northern Persia has been unceasing since 1907, and the British Foreign Office is powerless to stem it. An unfriendly Russia would have never ventured to do what a friendly Russia has been doing, and Sir Edward Grey, however perturbed and anxious he may be, has dared not utter a bold and unequivocal word of protest. Even the *Nation*, that has never been under any illusions about the Russian methods and policy, is forced to take the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan as an accomplished fact, and thinks of constituting the rest of Persia as an independent kingdom under British protection as the only practicable solution of the Persian problem in the existing circumstances. But will the Russian pressure be evicted even then? Will not the Colossus move gradually on, swallowing Persian territory bit by bit, till the boundaries of Russia march with the Indian frontier? And will the monster stop ever there? The *Times* sees a crisis coming over Persian affairs, and wants the Convention to be revised as it new crisis would mean much or a revised Convention would be a panacea for Persia's ills. The crisis is already in existence and we are waiting with evident concern all future developments. We trust the British Foreign Office realises its responsibilities, for the passing of Persia would mean much more than the national extinction of an ancient and gifted race.

The Haj Question.

I.

On the 27th November, 1905, the Government of India invited the opinions of Local Governments on the subject of the desirability of introducing the system of compulsory return tickets for the voyage between India and the Hejaz, which had been introduced by the Egyptian, French, Dutch and Straits Settlements Governments. The opinions of the leading Mohammedans and Anglomans obtained by Local Governments showed that the majority of the community were opposed to the proposal. In consequence of this, the Government of India decided in their letter to Local Governments No. 73,712 dated May 18th, 1907, to abandon the proposal. The object aimed at was the termination of a state of affairs which has been described as lamentable created by the alleged dereliction of Jeddah of hundred of indigent Indian pilgrims stranded either through their own folly in proceeding to the Hejaz on the chance of begging their way or in consequence of a combine of shipping companies at Jeddah resulting in sudden and exorbitantly enhanced rates of passage. The annual reports of the recently honoured British Vice-Consul at Jeddah, Dr. Abdul Rahman (describing these conditions) have been insistent on the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets, but circumstances have not been wanting to create the belief that these reports cannot be wholly relied upon. On the 18th August, 1910, the Government of India called for suggestions from the Bombay Government for remedying these evils and on the 15th March, 1912, the Bombay Government wrote back that the Haj Committee of Bombay were of opinion that the system of compulsory return tickets could not be effectively introduced without fixing the fares for passage to and from Jeddah. The Haj Committee strongly urged Government to fix a maximum rate and then invite tenders annually from shipping companies giving the exclusive right of carrying all pilgrims during that year to the Company whose tender was accepted. The Governor in Council however doubted whether there was any one firm in Bombay who could undertake the contract. On the 17th May and again on the 19th July, 1912 His Majesty's Consul at Jeddah addressed lengthy complaints to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in reply to his cypher telegram of the 5th May, 1912 regarding the repatriation of destitute Indian pilgrims and enclosed the report of Dr. Abdul Rahman for 1911-12. He doubted if any shipping company would bid for the monopoly of traffic for one season and suggested a monopoly for five years, at the same time expressing his belief that the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company would undertake the pilgrim traffic for a number of years at from Rs. 105 to Rs. 120 per head return. He also said he was convinced in regard to all the objections to the return ticket system that "there are certain Muslim pilgrim-non-pilgrims in whose interests it is to stir up the fanaticism of their co-religionists against it." It may here be remarked parenthetically that the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company was then owned by a well-known Persian gentleman living in Bombay, and it will be of interest to know that we believe the company's vessels had occasionally been utilised during the war for transporting Ottoman troops from the Yemen. In consequence of the complaints of the Consul at Jeddah His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople also made representations regarding the necessity for taking steps to ensure the repatriation of indigent Indian pilgrims in the Hejaz, and the Secretary of State for India addressed the Government of India on the subject on the 21st June and again on the 23rd July, 1912. The Government of India was thus moved to write to the Government of Bombay on the 5th August, 1912 requesting that the further consideration of the question be expedited, and that the Government of India may be informed what immediate measures could suitably be taken for the purpose of mitigating the evils complained of other than remanding intending pilgrims widely and urgently of the extreme desirability of either securing return tickets or depositing money sufficient to cover the cost of the return journey to the British Consulate at Jeddah on their way to the Holy Places. On the 28th December, 1912 the Bombay Government reported to the Government of India that there was a possibility of a well-known firm of good standing entering for this pilgrim traffic after buying up or otherwise meeting the two companies which at present absorb about the greater part of this traffic. It would appear that this well-known firm of a good standing bought up the Persian Muscovite ships early in 1913 for Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company made an offer to the Government of Bombay on the 20th January, 1913 stating the terms on which they wished their willingness to accept a monopoly of the Haj traffic to which they referred in their letter of the 4th February, 1913 to the Government of India. There is no reference in the correspondence published last year (see the Comrade of 31st May, and 7th and 11th June, 1913) to any consultation with any body of non-officials and it would appear that even the Haj Committee was not consulted, though it was later that the officers concerned in the pilgrim traffic and particularly the Commissioner of Police, Bombay whom the Haj Committee was designated to advise were consulted. In a letter dated 11th April, 1913 the Government of Bombay addressed a momentous communication to the Government of India in which they stated that with reference to the question of entrusting the monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to a single firm, and the adoption of a system of compulsory return tickets, the Government of India Council was satisfied that in the interests both of the pilgrims and Government it was preferable that any arrangement which may be concluded on the lines indicated above should be with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company who as the present controlling Agents of the Bombay Persia Steam Navigation Company and in their capacity of a local firm of high standing were in a better position to handle satisfactorily the Haj Pilgrim traffic than any outside firm. It need hardly be added that only a year ago, on the 15th March, 1912 when the Bombay Persia Steam Navigation Company of course existed but when the Persian owners' interest in it had not been bought up by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. the Government of India was informed that the Governor in Council, however, doubted whether there is any one firm in Bombay who could undertake the contract. The Bombay Government deputed one of the new controlling Agents of this Company submitted on the 25th January, 1913, with confidential letters, and with proposals, seeking recommendation to the Government of India the acceptance of the following main conditions, among others, of an agreement at which they had previously arrived and which they declared were accepted as satisfactory by the Commissioner of Police.

- (1) The agreement to be for a period of five years, terminable on the part of Government on one year's notice.
- (2) The agreement to extend to Jeddah and K. and at which ports only ships which will be licensed under the Pilgrim Ships Act will be those put forward by the Company.
- (3) Return tickets alone to be issued to pilgrims from these ports.
- (4) Maximum rates to be fixed at present for the first two years, the rates for subsequent years will in no case be lower than these, and Government will consider whether the improved conditions of service do not justify an enhancement.
- (5) The maximum rates for the next season to be

(a) From the 26th September to the 10th October	Rs.
(b) From the 27th August to the 25th September	160
(c) From the 1st August to the 26th August	140
(d) Before the 1st August	120
(In each subsequent year the date to be 10 days earlier)	100

- (8) Each ticket to carry a guarantee of a return passage from Jeddah within 14 months of the last date of the Haj provided the holder thereof presents the return voucher at Jeddah within 2 months of such date.
- (10) Ships to leave Jeddah within 7 days, and in some cases within 10 days of advertised date of sailing.
- (11) In the case of each holder of a ticket who is certified by the British Consul at Jeddah to have died in the Hejaz the Company will on production of the unused return voucher pay Rs. 10 to the Commissioner of Police for disbursement to the heirs of the deceased.

These wholly new and extremely far-reaching conditions, never before disclosed or even distantly suggested to the people to whom they were proposed to be applied, were urged on the acceptance of the Government of India and sanction was sought by telegram. In anticipation of such telegraphic sanction the Bombay Governor in Council also took steps to have the terms of the agreement put into legal form ready for signature. Although

2. In reply I am to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying synopsis of the opinions elicited through the Collectors and Political Agents and, in the case of Bombay City, through the Commissioner of Police from the various Musalman Anjuman and Associations and the local leaders and influential members of the Mahomedan community in the several districts and political agencies of the Presidency and in Bombay itself. The synopsis contains also a statement of the views of the Haj Committee.

3. I am to state that, after the opinions thus obtained had been considered, this Government thought it advisable to hold an informal conference with a small number of the leading representatives of the Musalman community for the purpose of the frank and full discussion of the whole question. The conference was held on the 31st July last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill. I am to submit herewith a copy of the notes taken of the discussion.

4. In accordance with the intention expressed at the close of the proceedings of the Committee, the opinions elicited in the course of the discussion, together with those referred to in paragraph 2 above, were communicated to Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Syed Mian Kadri, Collector of West Khandesh, who may be regarded as adequately representing the more enlightened and advanced section of the Mahomedan community of the Presidency proper, with a request that he would state his personal views with regard to the several objections urged against the proposals of this Government and would make any suggestions or recommendations that he might think proper for dealing with the problem of the Haj pilgrim traffic. I am to submit for the information of the Government of India a copy of the note which has been received from him in response to this reference.

5. One consideration of the recommendations embodied in Mr. Kadri's note is that the Government entered into communication with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company with a view to ascertaining whether they were prepared to fall in with the principal feature of those recommendations, namely, the substitution of an optional for a compulsory return ticket system, combined with a tariff in which the rates for the return passage were so preponderantly favourable as to provide a very strong inducement to the pilgrims to purchase return tickets, and, if so, what scale of maximum rates they were prepared to quote. The opportunity was also taken of discussing with them the more important of the objections urged against the original proposals, with a view to discovering what, if any, means they could suggest for overcoming the difficulties on which they were based.

6. The representative of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, with whom these questions were discussed, was not in a position to give any definite reply regarding the new proposals until he had referred the matter to his home firm. The Governor in Council has now, however, received the firm's reply to these proposals, and having also had an opportunity of watching events connected with the recent outward pilgrim season, is in a position to present his views on the objections that have been urged against the original scheme and to formulate certain revised proposals as the result of the discussions that have taken place.

7. In the first place I am to observe that the most striking point which emerges from the large body of opinion collected from all parts of the Presidency is the apparent absence of any general or emphatic opposition to the principle of the compulsory return ticket system. Mahomedan opinion on this side of India would appear to have undergone a very considerable transformation in regard to this question since the discussions of 1908. Another noteworthy point is that the opposition to the

Sany A. January 1908
p. 155

grant of a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to a single shipping company and that, too, one controlled by a European firm, is apparently by no means so strong as might have been anticipated. On the whole, it may be said that so far as any conclusions can be formed from these opinions, the original proposal of this Government have met with a more favourable reception than could have been expected. The points of objection, where there is objection, have reference for the most part to matters of detail, such, for instance, as the alleged costliness of the rates proposed, the shortness of the period during which a speedy return passage is guaranteed, and the absence of provision for the refund of the value of the return half of a ticket in the case of pilgrims returning to India by another route. In fact the objections are, generally speaking, such as could to a considerable extent, if not entirely, be met by a modification of the scheme in certain of its subsidiary features.

8. This view of the attitude of the Mahomedan community towards the scheme must, however, be largely discounted by the results of the conference with its leading representatives, which give proof of so determined and uncompromising an antagonism

to the main principle underlying the scheme, namely, that of compulsion in the matter of return tickets, that it would be in vain to expect that the adoption of the scheme, even if the practical difficulties incidental to the latter could be met in an entirely adequate and satisfactory fashion, should proceed without incurring the danger of provoking considerable popular opposition and resentment. This antagonism may, not improbably, be due to influences originating outside this Presidency and permeating Mahomedan opinion as a consequence of recent events elsewhere; but it is nevertheless a factor in the case which it would not be wise to ignore. Further, the Governor in Council fully appreciates the fact that it is not safe to draw any conclusions, applicable to the whole of India, from the attitude of the Mahomedan community in this Presidency alone. Recent experience shows that causes for excitement which are susceptible of control in this Presidency are more liable to disturb the community elsewhere, and the Bombay Government recognize that the present is not a time when it is desirable to introduce measures which can by any possibility be misunderstood.

9. Moreover, it has to be admitted that the presence every year in the ranks of the departing pilgrims of a very appreciable proportion of persons who either never return to India from the Hedjaz, or return by an entirely different route, introduces another factor of real difficulty in the consideration of the problem. In view of the number of them it is impossible to ignore their case. At the same time any means that could be devised for meeting it, by a system of refunds or otherwise, would create conditions which would facilitate the evasion of the restrictions which the scheme seeks to impose, and would result in the frustration of its essential object. The discussion which has taken place with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company's representative has not led to the suggestions of any expedient which could be regarded as satisfactorily surmounting this serious practical difficulty.

10. In the circumstances described in the foregoing paragraphs it now remains to consider what measure, if any, can be taken, in substitution for, or modification of, those advocated in my letter No. 2896 of 11th April, 1913, to secure the desired improvement in the conditions of the pilgrim traffic. In the first place I am directed to say, in explanation of the withdrawal of certain of

the proposals formulated last April, that those proposals have secured one object, in that they have aroused an interest in a subject which has long suffered from complete public apathy. Further, they have had a most stimulating effect upon the shipping community. Competition for the traffic, though not very effective as yet from rivals of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, has been brisker than was anticipated or has been the case for years past. The foreshadowing of the grant of a monopoly has no doubt been the cause of this, but, whatever the cause, the result has served to disclose the fact that, whether there be fixity of rates and compulsory return tickets or not, the shipping companies catering for the traffic will be compelled, in the ordinary course of business, to supply improved vessels before long, and this circumstance, almost as much as the political factor, has operated to mollify this Government's view, not only in respect of the question of making return tickets compulsory, but also as regards the grant of a monopoly to any one shipping firm. In the light of the discussions which have resulted from my letter of the 11th April, 1913, and of the experience of the last pilgrim season, I am to say that, provided that certain changes are effected which will be dealt with at length below, and on the understanding that the formation of Haj Committees in all the provinces of India is pressed forward in a manner calculated to secure concrete results, this Government thinks that it will be possible to effect real improvement in the conditions of the pilgrim traffic without resort either to a monopoly or to compulsory return tickets.

11. The object aimed at in the preceding discussions have been the following —

- (i) The creation of efficient committees throughout India to organise the pilgrimage from the several provinces
- (ii) Greater efficiency in the actual organization of the pilgrimage at the port of departure
- (iii) The improvement of the conditions in which the voyage from India to the Hedjaz and back is performed.
- (iv) The establishment of facilities at Jeddah for the Indian pilgrims on return from the holy places pending re-embarkation for the return journey.
- (v) The fixation of the rates of passage money, by means of the grant of a monopoly for a term of years.

12. In regard to the first of the objects specified in the above paragraph I am to invite the attention of the Governor-General in Council to my letter No. 978, dated the 4th February, 1913, and

to the remarks of the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhai as reported in the précis of the proceedings at the conference referred to in paragraph 8 above. As pointed out also in paragraph 10 of the memorandum drawn up by Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Kadri, the organization of businesslike committees at the headquarters of each province, with, if possible, sub-committees at other important centres and an agency at Jeddah, is an essential preliminary to any real improvement in the lot of Indian pilgrims. The Pilgrim Department in Bombay, consisting of the Commissioner of Police and his staff and the Protector of Pilgrims, is at present able to deal with pilgrims only as they arrive without having the benefit of any reliable preliminary notice of the extent to which its services will be required. It has to meet emergencies on the spur of the moment as best it can, and, when the flush of pilgrims is at its height, it is almost impossible for the Department to cope adequately with the work or to deal effectively and promptly with the pilgrims. The formation of efficient committees up-country, in touch with the local Musulman population, would not only render the task of the Bombay authorities easier, by communicating to the latter information as to the numbers of pilgrims and the dates of their departure, but would enable the authorities to organize departures in advance and so prevent the congestion which is, at present, so difficult to cope with at the busiest period of the season. The Governor in Council, I am to say, cannot too strongly emphasize his conviction that the organization of such committees is the first essential of any real improvement in the conditions of the pilgrimage to the Hedjaz, and he desires again to urge upon the Government of India the grave importance of pressing upon local Governments the necessity of taking early steps in this matter.

13. The steps necessary to render the actual organization of the pilgrimage more efficient at the port of embarkation may be briefly touched upon here, for the information of the Government of India, though they are matters for detailed arrangement hereafter and can be given effect to without troubling the Governor-General in Council.

At present the pilgrim traffic of Bombay is controlled by four separate departments or agencies—

- (1) The Port Officer, who surveys the pilgrim ship.
- (2) The Port Health Officer, who disinfects the ship and baggage and inspects pilgrims and medical stores on the ship.
- (3) The Police, who look after the interests of the pilgrims while in Bombay, supervise the sale of tickets, and control the traffic at the times of embarkation, with the assistance of the Municipality they also arrange for the vaccination of pilgrims.
- (4) The Customs Department, who measure the ship, inspect the fittings and count the pilgrims.

Now all these duties, except—

- (a) the survey of the ship by the Port Officer for seaworthiness, and
- (b) the disinfection of the ship and baggage and the medical inspection by the Port Health Officer,

could equally well, and with a resultant increase in smoothness of working and co-ordination of functions, be carried out by a single authority which should, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, be what has been referred to above as the Pilgrim Department, namely, the Commissioner of Police and his officers and the protector of pilgrims.

The Governor in Council has now under consideration specific and detailed proposals for the re-organization on this basis of the work connected with the pilgrim traffic. He is not as yet in a position to pass final orders in respect to them, but, as he approves the general principle of concentration of authority which underlies them, I am to communicate for the information of the Government of India, the main features of the scheme which they embody.

The principal duties which are susceptible of being readily transferred to the police are those under (1) above which are now performed by the Customs Department. Of these the measurement of the ship and the inspections of its fittings have hitherto been carried out by one of the Assistant Collectors and an Inspector, while the counting of the pilgrims on embarkation has required the services of an Inspector and two European preventive officers. In substitution for this agency, which deals with duties which do not call for any special technical knowledge, it is proposed to create an additional appointment of Deputy Commissioner of Police who would replace the Commissioner of Police as *ex-officio* President of the Bombay Haj Committee, and would, subject to the general control of the Commissioner, be responsible for all the work in connection

with the pilgrim traffic now performed by the Police and the Customs Departments. Apart from his pilgrim duties this officer would also be placed in charge of the Dock, Water, and Government Dockyard Police, thus being responsible for the whole police administration of the Harbour and docks, a responsibility which the new dock extensions will in the immediate future very largely increase. With regard to the agency of a more subordinate character required for the execution of the other duties referred to above, it is contemplated to add to the additional staff already proposed for policing the new docks two sergeants who will, during the pilgrim season, be specially detailed for pilgrim work, and at the same time to raise the pay of the present Protector of Pilgrims, now only Rs. 150 a month, to Rs. 250 a month and place him directly under the orders of the new Deputy Commissioner. There will thus be constituted a single self-contained organization which will be entrusted with the sole responsibility for all those duties connected with the pilgrim traffic which are not of a purely technical character. At the head of this organization will be the new Deputy Commissioner of Police, who, as President of the Haj Committee, will be in close touch with that advisory body and in a position to obtain its advice and guidance in all matters relating to the welfare of the pilgrims and the organization of the pilgrimage generally. The more essentially police duties of the officer will be of such a character as to bring him in constant relation with the interests and forces which most potently influence the conditions of the pilgrim traffic. For the present system of divided responsibility necessarily involving lack of definition and continuity of co-ordination of effort, there will thus be substituted management by a single expert and specialized department which, in course of time, as it acquires experience and develops increased efficiency, may be expected to be instrumental in bringing about very material improvements in the arrangements for the transit of the pilgrims through Bombay and their embarkation for Jeddah and in the conditions in which they perform the journey to and from that port.

14. The improvement of the conditions in which the voyage to and from the Hedjaz are performed involves alterations in the rules. It was to render possible—or at all events equitable—the exaction of more stringent requirements from shipping companies that the monopoly system with fixity of rates and return passages was recommended in my letter of April 1918. As has already been indicated, there is now (partly as a consequence of those proposals) reason to hope that the desired objects can, to a considerable extent, be attained without resort to either of these measures. The shipping company with whom this Government has been conducting negotiations (Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company) are committed to the Red Sea traffic. The ships which they took over from the Bombay-Persia Steam Navigation Company are old boats which must, within a very short period, be replaced, and their own interests in retaining the cargo traffic will compel them to replace them with better, larger and faster steamers. These circumstances discount, to a large extent, the value of the undertaking, offered by them in return for the monopoly, to provide a better service. Finally, competition (again, no doubt, in part as a consequence of the proposals formulated by this Government) has been brisker this year. In short, it is quite possible for Government now to exact better ships, more space, and greater speed quite apart from any question of concession to any individual company.

15. The Governor in Council is prepared to recommend immediate action in the following ways.

- (a) The question of the provision of more space per pilgrim on pilgrim ships has come up and will be settled automatically in connection with the deliberations of the Life Boats Committee.
- (b) The requirement of better and faster ships can and should be secured by a change in Rule 4 of the Pilgrim Ships Rules which at present prescribes a minimum of only 500 tons.
- (c) The provisions of the Protection of Pilgrims Act dealing with the notification by the shipping companies of the dates of sailing of their ships require to be strengthened. A definite obligation should be imposed on the companies to despatch their ships on the dates notified. The rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act dealing with certain matters which affect the interests, health and convenience of the pilgrims should be made more effective and added to in some respects.

The development of shipping, coupled with the reasons advanced in paragraph 14 *ante* justifies the raising of the minimum of size and speed which was fixed nearly 20 years ago; and the Governor in Council is advised that it is possible and legitimate immediately to raise the minimum tonnage from 500 to 2,000, with a warning

that after 5 years it will be further raised to 2,500. I am to forward, as an indication of the reasonableness of this requirement, copy of a statement which His Excellency in Council has caused to be prepared, of the ships recently engaged in the traffic which shows that, of 24 ships, only 9 were below this standard.

It has not escaped attention that an alteration of the rules in the direction of requiring a higher standard in respect to speed and tonnage may be made the pretext upon which shipowners will endeavour to charge higher rates of passage money, and some of the leaders of the Mahomedan community in Bombay have suggested that, if there is good ground to apprehend that this will be the result, the minimum, at all events for tonnage, should be placed rather lower. Enquiries made from sources other than the shipping companies lead the Governor in Council to the belief that this fear is not well grounded and that an increase in the minimum tonnage requirement to 2,000, though it may have the effect of a protest on the part of shipowners, will, owing to competition, fail to affect the price of tickets in any way. As already indicated, few of the ships engaged in the traffic have a lower tonnage, and these are being rapidly replaced.

As regards speed, Rule 4 of the Pilgrim Ships Rules prescribes a minimum speed as well as size for ships sailing in the monsoon. The requirements as regards speed are as antiquated and inadequate as those regarding size. There are difficulties and drawbacks in the way of requiring ships to be certified as "capable" of steaming so many knots. In practice they are often found to be capable of doing so only for a few hours. His Excellency in Council is advised that the most satisfactory form in which to place this requirement is to demand that a vessel shall contract to reach Aden in so many hours and to require a deposit to be made or bond to be given for the fulfilment of the contract.

With regard to (c) I am to invite attention to my letter No. 3098 of to-day's date, with which certain specific proposals for the amendment of the Act and Rules above referred to in the direction indicated are being submitted for the approval of the Government of India. It is believed that the provisions enacted by these amendments will, among other things, introduce companies' advertising with impermissibly sailings a very material improvement in the conditions under which the pilgrims purchase their passage tickets and effect their actual departure by sea for Jeddah. The present state of the law admits of the shipping which they know they cannot possibly adhere to and rates of passage money which they have no intention of accepting if, by thus inducing a rush of applications, they are enabled subsequently to raise them. These unscrupulous manoeuvres on the part of the companies are a source of intense harassment and annoyance to the pilgrims and of serious anxiety and embarrassment to the authorities charged with their care and supervision during their stay in the port of departure.

16. The fourth of the objects specified in paragraph II above, namely, the establishment of facilities at Jeddah, is dependent for its efficient realization upon the creation of the Haj Committees dealt with in paragraph 12. Under present conditions the Consul at Jeddah is the only effective agent for watching over the interests and welfare of pilgrims disembarking and re-embarking. He does what is possible so secure for them fair treatments when once they are ashore and to facilitate their departure. But in the numerous cases which annually occur of pilgrims reaching Jeddah in a destitute condition on the return journey he is practically unable to do more than represent their case, as last year, to the Government of India or of Bombay. He has no general fund at his disposal for their repatriation.

It was this aspect of the case which drove the Government of Bombay, in the interest of the credit of the Muslims of the Indian Empire, to propose a system of compulsory return tickets, and it is this problem for which I am now to propose an alternative solution.

It is believed that certain charitable Muslims occasionally proceed to Jeddah partly, if not mainly, for the purpose of helping indigent pilgrims, not only with funds, but also with advice and direction. Such unorganized charity can of itself do but little but it seems to point out a direction in which proper organization can convert casual relief into a systematic alleviation of a growing scandal. With this end in view the Governor in Council proposes that there should be established, at Jeddah, a British Indian Agency affiliated to (or rather emanating from) the Bombay Haj Committee, and working in conjunction with the British Consul, for the express purpose of effecting the repatriation annually of indigent pilgrims at the close of the pilgrim season. The Muslim community in Bombay recognize the grave discredit, which is reflected on all Indian Muslims by the recurring scandal. They have shown, however, that there are difficulties in the way of, and strong opposition to a system

of return tickets. There is reason to believe that they realize (and willing to help in discharging) the responsibility of the community for co-operating with Government in devising and financing measures of relief. Funds, or rather a fund, will be necessary to render efficient the working of the proposed British Indian Agency; and His Excellency in Council desires to suggest, for the consideration of the Government of India, that such fund shall be formed by a non-recurring grant from Imperial revenues not to exceed, at present, Rs. one lakh, conditional upon the Muslim community throughout India raising at least an equal sum. It may reasonably be hoped that the community will be able to raise a sum very largely in excess of a lakh, but even assuming for a moment that it failed to respond generously, a Repatriation Fund of two lakhs, yielding an income of Rs. 8,000 approximately would to a very large extent solve the problem. This fund would be administered primarily by the Haj Committee in Bombay, whose annual grant, varying according to the necessities of the case, would be disbursed by the Jeddah British Indian Agency under the control of the British Council. It is possible that the Bombay Haj Committee acting through the proposed Pilgrim Department could successfully arrange each year with steamship companies for the carriage of destitute pilgrims at special rates; but it is in any event quite certain that an organization of the character described, working in conjunction with a local committee in Jeddah controlled by the British Council, and possessed of a nucleus fund of the character described, would be in a strong position to end the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs; and I am to express the hope that the Government of India will view the matter favourably and see their way to make a grant of one lakh of rupees towards the fund, on the condition that the Muslim community collect at least one lakh rupees within a reasonable period.

I am to add that the Governor in Council has not overlooked the probability that, as soon as it is known that a Repatriation Fund exists, many pilgrims who could really afford the return ticket will represent themselves as being indigent. It is, however, hoped that the Council, by associating with himself certain of the respectable Indians, whether permanently or only temporarily resident in Jeddah will be able to require a knowledge of the circumstances of such persons, so as to be in a position to resist such claims when not genuine. At all events the Governor in Council thinks the experiment to be well worth a trial, and has ascertained that, pending the discovery of a better method, the Bombay leaders of the Muslim community concur in this view.

17. The abandonment of the proposed system of compulsory return tickets and the substitution of the proposal detailed in the foregoing paragraphs still leave it desirable to encourage as far as practicable the purchase by pilgrim of return tickets; and for this reason the Governor in Council considers that it should be made a rule that pilgrims who desire to purchase a return ticket shall be entitled to receive one at a certain fixed ratio in excess of the cost of the single ticket.

In the course of the negotiations with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company on the subject of the fixing of maximum rates of passage money single and return, that firm expressed its willingness to have the following rates fixed. (It should be explained that their proposal was made on the assumption that they should have a monopoly of the traffic).—

	Single Ticket.	Return Ticket.
	Rs.	Rs.
(a) From 26th September to 15th October .	120	150
(b) „ 27th August to 25th September ...	100	130
(c) „ 1st August to 26th August ...	90	120
(d) Before 1st August ..	75	100

It will be seen that the proposed rates contemplated conveying on the return journey (on return tickets) at rates only 25 per cent. in excess of the single ticket; and the Government of Bombay propose that the rule should fix this rate, coupled with a guarantee to refund the excess in the event of the pilgrim dying or failing to utilize it. The latter provision will require safeguards, and the guarantee would be enforced only on a representation certified to by the Haj Committee.

18. The attainment of the fifth object (paragraph 11 ante) originally aimed at by this Government must, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, be foregone. He does not disguise from himself that the fixation of passage rates was, in many ways, the most important object and the one which would have benefitted the pilgrims more materially than any other. The Mohamedan community, as

represented by their leaders, has in the opinion of the Bombay Government, deliberately preferred to sacrifice a great material boon to the pilgrims for the sake of a sentiment. It may be doubted whether any of the benefits aimed at by the present alternative proposal will in the eyes of the pilgrims, be of the value which fixed fares and certainly of return would have possessed for them; and the Governor in Council has therefore out of deference to the views expressed, abandoned, with reluctance, the monopoly proposals coupled with the fixing of passage rates.

19. It will be convenient to summarize here the substance of the proposals contained in this letter,

They are, briefly stated, as follows:—

1. The creation of an agency, embracing every local centre from which pilgrims make their departure, for the proper and control organization, in India, of the pilgrimage.

This agency will consist of—

- (a) the present Bombay Haj Committee working as a board of advice to the executive official referred to in proposal II and controlling the Repatriation Fund referred to in proposal IV.
- (b) a Provincial Haj Committee (assisted, where necessary, by local sub-committees) constituted for each province in India on the lines of organized Bombay Committee; such Provincial Committees to be in close communication with Bombay Committees for the purpose of keeping the latter informed as to the numbers and dates of departure of pilgrims leaving from their respective areas.

II. The constitution of a re-organized Pilgrim Department under a Deputy Commissioner of Police which will discharge the functions connected with the arrangements for the embarkation and transport of pilgrim which are now divided between the Police and the Customs authorities, the object in view being to secure greater efficiency in the actual organization of the pilgrimage at the port of departure.

III. The amendment of the Pilgrim Ships Act, the Protection of Pilgrims Act and the rules under the former enactment with a view to the improvement of the condition in which the pilgrims effect their back: these amendments being in the direction—

- (a) the prescription of a higher minimum of space per pilgrim on board ship.
- (b) the raising of the minimum of tonnage for pilgrim ship from 500 to 2,000 and eventually 2,500, tons.
- (c) the fixing for each pilgrim of a contract time limit for the voyage from the port of departure to Aden, excess over which will render the shipping company liable to the forfeiture of a deposit previously exacted.
- (d) the strengthening of the provision with regard to the notification of the date of sailing of pilgrim ships, and the imposition on the shipping Companies of a definite obligation to despatch their ships on the date notified,
- (e) the introduction of improvements in certain matters affecting the health and convenience of the pilgrims.

IV. With a view to the establishment of improved facilities for securing the return of Indian pilgrims from Jeddah.—

- (a) the constitution at that port of a British Indian Agency of the Bombay Haj Committee working in conjunction with the British Consul
- (b) the organization of a Repatriation Fund composed of subscriptions collected from the Mahomedan community in all parts of India and of an Imperial non-recurring grant, not exceeding one lakh, equal to the total amount thus collected, the latter grant to be advanced immediately on the understanding that the equivalent amount will be subscribed within a reasonable time.
- (c) the administration of this fund by the Bombay Haj Committee the allotments made from time to time

from its proceeds being disbursed by the Agency at Jeddah under the supervision of the British Consul;

- (d) the imposition on the shipping companies of an obligation to issue, on demand by pilgrims, return tickets at a cost representing an excess of not more than 25 per cent. over the cost of the single ticket, such return tickets carrying a guarantee of the refund of the excess in the event, which would be certified to by the Haj Committee, of the death of the holder or the non-utilization of the return half.

20. In conclusion I am to observe that the proposals herein put forward have been discussed with prominent leaders of the Mahomedan Community in the Bombay Presidency and, subject to the remarks contained in paragraphs 15 and 16, meet with general acceptance. These gentlemen also expressed confidence that a far larger sum than one lakh of rupees can be collected from the Muslims throughout India, and suggested that no limit should be placed upon the amount up to which (*vide* paragraph 16) the Government of India would contribute an equivalent. I am to say, however, that while the Repatriation experiment is under trial, it is the opinion of the Governor in Council that the State contribution should have a fixed limit, though it is to be hoped that private contributions by wealthy Muslims will greatly exceed that limit.

Statement referred to in paragraph 15 of the letter to the Government of India, No. 3097, dated the 21st April, 1914.

Name of ship.			Registered tonnage.
S. S. Shah Jehan	...	...	2,635.32
" Khosrau	...	...	2,410
" Islami	...	...	1,604.58
" Homayun	...	...	2,154.70
" Mohammadi	..	..	1,251.81
" Naxari	...	...	1,168.92
" Rahmani	...	..	1,872.78
" Falhri	...	...	2,555.08
" Saifi	...	...	501.71
" Mansuri	.	..	2,121.50
" Maadi	...	...	1,857.89
" Safala	...	...	3,436.44
" Nawab	..	...	2,041.38
" Narkoowa	...	...	1,074.18
" Shah Amir	...	...	2,028.70
" Lawee	...	...	1,817.18
" Alari	...	...	2,324.12
" Kuwait	*...	...	2,386.07
" Firazi	...	...	2,006.61
" Purnea	...	..	2,126.73
" Kan-ler	...	...	1,865.42
" Nurani	...	...	2,870.43
" Itonus	...	...	3,401
" Budris	...	...	1,618.18

Indian Emigration.

(To THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.)

Sir,—May I make a small contribution to the discussion on this question of Asiatic emigration and immigration? I have been surprised that many who have written and spoken on the subject have not dealt at any rate prominently—with the point of view I now put forward.

I am well aware that many districts of India proper, India between the foothills of the Himalayas and Cape Comorin, between the Indus and the Brahmaputra are overcrowded in population, and that in these districts there is an eager desire not merely to shift from one part of tropical India to another but to try for a new life outside Indian conditions. But why in such cases should the Indian emigrant only think of the southern parts of Africa or the western part of North America? Personally I think British South Africa as a unit—if “unit” can be applied to a region so vast—could never be wholly a white man’s country; and that it is to be white and black jointly, it might just as well be white, black, and yellow. But even then the regions which are appropriate for Indian immigration would not be those that by their comparatively cool and temperate climate are suited to the white race; they would be the sparsely inhabited yet fertile districts of South-East Africa, and still more of Eastern Zambesia; similarly, the Portuguese dependences of Mozambique, Nyasaland is perhaps too thickly populated and too small for the reception of any large Indian contingent, but there might be more space available in parts of Northern Rhodesia. Much of German East Africa is still open to Indian colonization. The inception of the idea of a “British East Africa” was essentially that it should be “an America for the Hindu”—as the phrase went in the eighties. But after it was taken full possession of by the British it was found that there were areas of considerable extent well suited to white colonization, while other areas were in all good faith strictly allotted to the indigenous negroes or negroids. Still there remains the coast belt between the Umba River and the Juba, wherein, surely, there is not only a considerable Indian population already, but another hundred thousand might be located without difficulty. It has, however, of late years been complained of—privately, if not publicly—that such Indians as were already admitted to British East Africa had developed a great capacity for political intrigue and secret societies and had made themselves very objectionable in other ways. With every desire to defend the Indians (since I was one of the pioneers of treaty-making in East Africa, and had myself considered it to be a land which might well be offered to some degree of Indian settlement). I was obliged to admit that these complaints were well founded, on the evidence which was adduced.

On the other hand, I believe, I have in past years described the excellent work which was being done by Sikhs in Cuba. Indian coolies do not seem to have prospered much in Jamaica, but apparently have done well in Trinidad. The population of the West Indies—independent, American and British—is comparatively speaking so small compared to what it might be that there is surely an opening in this direction which might better appeal to the Sikhs, as well as to the people of Southern India, in preference to British Columbia.

But the most curious phase of the whole struggle is the sparse population of many parts of India itself—mountain regions in which, from the accounts of English and German travellers, there are paradises still awaiting their inhabitants: or healthy deserts which might be made as productive and as populous as Egypt if modern schemes of irrigation were applied. If the British Government were actively furthering a European colonization of the sparsely populated hill States and mountain kingdoms of India (and one or two books have recently appeared with strong pleas for franchising in such regions) I should understand the bitterness of feeling that our Indian fellow-subjects entertain. But we do not favour such a policy: we strive as far as possible to keep the Indian Empire for the increase of its indigenous inhabitants. Therefore (perhaps foolishly) I should like to know why the promoters of genuine emigration schemes in India do not first endeavour to colonize to its fullest extent some 200,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated India.

Your obedient servant,
H. H. JOHNSTON.



The Approaching Crisis in Persia.

The affairs of Persia appear to be approaching a crisis of unusual gravity. Cynics may observe, with perfect truth, that the internal politics of Persia, and the external issues associated with them, have presented this appearance any time these thirty years past. We may reply that cynics were wont to make a similar observation about the Balkans, and were confounded when at the end of three decades a crisis of terrible gravity swiftly came to a head. We do not look in Persia for a parallel to the Balkan troubles, but it seems obvious that some very marked developments are probably not far off. It has been customary at intervals for eminent statesmen, in their surveys of international politics, to observe that Persian affairs “continue to drift,” but “are no worse,” and may perhaps become a little better. In a sense it is perhaps true that Persia is in most respects not much worse off than she was five years ago, but the real trouble, the trouble which may soon produce a crisis of some sort, is that she is no better off. We

believe the framers of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 to have been broadly sincere in their attitude towards Persia. They divided the country into spheres of influence, with an immense intervening neutral zone. They made mutual protestations, to each other and to Persia (who would not listen), that their intentions, while not entirely disinterested, were really and honestly aimed towards the maintenance of the integrity of Persia and the revival of her vanished prosperity. Had there been sufficiency of capable statesmen in Persia, had the Persian populace shown a cohesive purpose, had all the fluent oratory poured forth in the Mejliss been supported by real work, we hold that the intention of the Convention towards Persia would in the main have been fulfilled. Even as it is, the Convention has up till now amply substantiated its higher and more exalted purpose, which did not relate to Persia at all, but to the maintenance of peace between world-powers. Had there been no Convention the internal condition of Persia would have produced intense rivalry, have accelerated active intervention on an ambitious scale, and have brought about consequences which might have reverberated through the world. These things did not happen, because, although the Convention was imperfect instrument, it induced a spirit of mutual forbearance. Its value in that sense remains unchanged; and those who framed it are still bound to think, not of Persia alone, but of the infinitely greater issues they had in mind when it was drained.

But the Convention, was fear, has brought no tangible benefit to Persia, save that it gave her a chance, which was not taken, to rehabilitate herself—free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without. It brought the Persians new grievances and on these they concentrated their attention without much regard to their own regeneration. They complained, in the first place—that the Convention was concluded over their heads. Their complaint was accurate, but on the whole irrelevant. Had they tried to help themselves Russia and Great Britain, working in amity, would have tried to help them. They did not do so, and the best that Persia was able to produce was an eruption of freebooting chieftains from her highlands to the cities of her plains. There has been incessant internal strife, sometimes amounting to revolution. In the north the disorder has led Russia to send forces, occasionally extremely numerous, into her sphere of influence. The complaint is made that these temporary Russian garrisons in the north have sometimes exceeded their functions, and perhaps are specially prone to do so just now. It may be so, but it has to be remembered that Great Britain sent a considerable force against gun-runners in Persian Mesopotamia, as well as a regiment of cavalry to Shiraz. The substantial difference is that while in the North Russia has been exercising a fairly free hand, we told our cavalry in the south, in effect, not to reply if attacked.

There are two broad features in the present situation which must be disentangled from a mass of detail. The first relates to the preservation of order in Persia. This has been done in the north chiefly by the Russian garrisons and by a so-called Persian Cossack Brigade, largely under Russian influence. In the south small British forces have intermittently “operated,” chiefly on the coast, and a Persian Gendarmerie, trained and led by Swedish officers, has in recent years tried to maintain order. The Swedish Gendarmerie has on the whole had very limited success, and this fact has now incidentally assumed great political importance. The Persian Government want the Swedish Gendarmerie, in an enlarged form, to be introduced throughout the north. Russia is understood to prefer an enlargement of the Persian Cossack Brigade. The Persian Government object, on the ground that whereas the Swedish force is under their control, the Cossacks never have been so, except to a limited extent. It seems to us that the whole of this technical question is governed by the degree of success which the Swedish force has attained. We believe that the Swedish officers have worked ardently and gallantly, but on the whole have not succeeded, and are not now likely to succeed. The whole problem of the methods and principles by which order must be restored and preserved in Persia will probably have to be tackled afresh. That is one aspect of the approaching crisis. The other relates to the neutral zone. When the neutral zone was constituted, those who drew its boundaries thought less of Persia than of the desirability of keeping the Russian and the British spheres of influence far apart. During the intervening period, while the central authority at Teheran has steadily weakened, the neutral zone has become an Alsatia in which, save only in a few cities, freebooters are almost supreme. Moreover, such British interests as exist lie almost exclusively in the neutral zone, and not in the British sphere. If the problem of the better maintenance of order in Persia is to be grappled with afresh, as we think it soon must be, it cannot be separated from the question of the neutral zone. A revision of the Convention on the lines of an enlargement of the spheres would raise complex and important issues regarding which we are not at present prepared to express definite views. Our point is that the Persian question cannot be allowed to drift for ever, that it solely concerns Great Britain and Russia (and the Persians), and that the problem of the maintenance of order may soon bring it to a head. The “Persian crisis” we no doubt have always with us, but this time it is probably destined to be exceptionally grave and complex.—
The Times.

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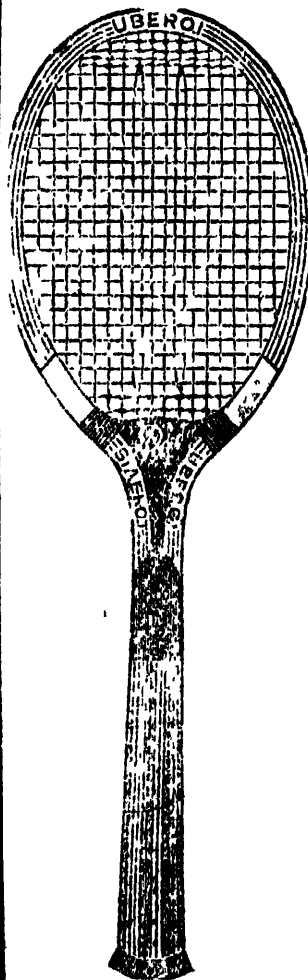
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I am in receipt of all your communications for which I am much obliged. Herewith I send you two dozens of Gent's socks, knitted exact to your kind instructions and trust these will meet with your kind approval. Will you please allow me to add that after a long and continued forbearance and obedience I have now been in a position to offer my sincere thanks for your kind treatment, and shall be glad to recommend you to any of the enquirers, and you may rest assured to refer me to your new constituents. I am also ready to teach and give every possible help in my power to those who might stand in need of it. Thanking you in anticipation of the same.

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By Mr. Mohamed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.)

(Published in 1907.)

Price, As. 8.

Some Press Opinions.

... Mr Mohamed Ali has read widely, and has thought well over the present conditions of India. He has the ardent temperament of the East, controlled by knowledge, and he wields a powerful and attractive pen. Above all he is absolutely honest. We recommend the study of his brochure, because it is a frank statement of the views of many educated Indians, and without the sympathetic appreciation of those views it is impossible to approach that great problem in the governance of India—the position of educated Indians in the State. ... Mr. Mohamed Ali has found so strong a supporter as the Secretary of State. We believe that his diagnosis of the complaint is substantially accurate. —*The Times of India*

... The reader will find much that is fresh and excellently put on the perennial topic of Indian discontent. The style of the book is piquant all through, and carries the reader through without becoming prosy. We find here a combination of culture and common-sense, and knowledge of both East and West. The originality which we have mentioned as a distinguishing character of his book appears not in his thesis but in his presentation of it. ... —*The Madras Times*

... Mr Mohamed Ali is right in his prescription for the present fever. We commend the booklet to the thoughtful. —*The Empire*.

... He is particularly frank in certain of his views, what he says being well worth the careful attention of Englishmen and others who are really desirous of getting at the point of view of men whose minds are not always open books at Garden parties and mere ceremonial gatherings. —*The Morning Post*.

... Racy and thoughtful articles. Their literary merit is by no means their least attraction, and the piquancy of the style will stimulate thought. —*The Indian Spectator*

... We accept his assurance that he made a conscientious effort to set down what he and many of his countrymen feel, without malice and also without cowardice. ... —*The Bombay Gazette*

Every thoughtful Indian and Englishman who would like to see India well and wisely ruled might learn something and profit much by a perusal of the "Thoughts on the Present Discontent," as written by a Mohamedan gentleman who shows no bias either on the one side or the other. He takes a common-sense view of the questions and bestows praise or blame either on the rulers or the ruled as he thinks it is necessary. His remarks are generally pungent and witty. The pamphlet contains a good deal of honest straightforward criticism which makes it a most valuable addition to that mass of literature which the present situation in India has evoked in the public press. —*Hindu Patriot*.

... Mr. Mohamed Ali disclaims allegiance to any of the political parties or prejudice on either side, but he justifies his outspokenness which is put into print quite regardless of anybody's uneasy conscience. ... An opinion if no good unless it is strong, but it is not necessarily strong—in fact it is essentially weak—if it is violent or delirious. In Mr. Mohamed Ali's little brochure we have strength, but we have neither delirium nor violence. —*The Press*.

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Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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CONTENTS

	Page.		Page.
WEEK	... 21	The Council of India Bill	... 27
OUR LONDON LETTER	... 24	Official Patronage of Views	27
OUR CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER	25	Sir James Meston's Approach	... 27
TEST & TEST—		ing Visit to Abgah	... 27
The Death of Lady Hardinge	26	A Well-Deserved Honour	... 27
"A. U. P. Civilian and the Calcutta High Court"	... 26	LEADING ARTICLES—	
The Late Mr. Joseph Cham- berlain	... 26	Derehet Pilgrims at Jeddah	... 28
The Karachi Sacrifice	... 26	Turkey and the Arab "Que- stion"	... 29
"War Against War"	... 26	AN ARAB KHILAFET	... 31
		THE HAJ QUESTION—III	... 32
		ADVERTISEMENTS	... 36 10

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Turkey and Greece.

Constantinople, July 2.
A Mixed Turco-Greek Commission to settle the question of emigration from the respective countries and to fix compensation for losses will leave for Smyrna to-morrow. An arbitrator of a neutral European State will also proceed to Smyrna to decide disagreements between the Commissioners.

The newspapers state that on the 2nd instant, Turkish destroyers bombarded and captured a Greek sailing vessel which was transporting refugees from Turkish territory:

Albania.

Durazzo, July 1.
There are again critical telegrams from Prentk Bisdoda, that the defeated and the retreating rebels are advancing with forces concentrated against Prentk.

Epyrus.

Athens, July 1.
Austro-Hungarian, German, British, French, Italian and Russian Governments officially approved the agreement embodying concessions made to the Epirotes.

Turkish Budget.

Constantinople, July 5.
The Minister of Finance made a Budget speech lasting four hours in the Chamber. He criticised the acts of preceding Cabinets and emphasised, the necessity of strict observance of the laws on which Turkey's future depends. The Minister gracefully acknowledged France's assistance in the recent loan.

Greece.

Washington, July 3.
Greece is paying 12,000,000 dollars for the battleships "Mississippi" and "Idaho."

Persia

London, June 2.
Bear-Admiral Sir Edmond Slade has been appointed one of the Government Directors of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. It is expected that the second appointment will be given to a Civilian.

The *Noroye Vremya* says that the British oil concession in Persia will necessitate a revision of the Anglo-Russian Treaty. Persia, declares the journal, is the cornerstone of the Anglo-Russian entente. If the 'entente' is too weak it must be abandoned.

In a letter to the *Times* referring to the journal's criticisms of Swedish Gendarmerie in Persia the Persian Minister maintains that since the formation of the Gendarmerie two years ago it has become a well-disciplined efficient force. Referring to the Bakhtiari the Minister says that they have been unremitting in their efforts to help the Persian Government to maintain order.

Persian Oil Concession.

St. Petersburg, July 7.
The Press continues to discuss the Persian oil concession. Both Liberal and Conservative papers allege that there has been at least a breach in the spirit of the Anglo-Persian Convention. The *Bourse Gazette* says that the Convention was concluded when Russia was externally and internally exhausted. A revision is necessary, but it must not be one-sided.

By 228 votes to 18 the House of Commons adopted the resolution authorising the acquisition of the capital of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Replying to criticisms regarding lack of information, Mr. Churchill said that the Admiralty was unanimous as to the paramount importance of this question and it would be detrimental to the public interest to give details. He said that no alternative source of supply could at present be found. Government would use its controlling power to guide the Company exclusively to develop the British Persian zone near the coast. There would be no difficulty in getting oil in large quantities and in bringing it home by alternative routes.

London, July 7.
Replying to Colonel Yate in the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey said that Great Britain had not stipulated that there should necessarily be a break in the gauge in any railway connecting North Persia with the coast outside or on the edge of the British sphere.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, July 1.

Mr. F. H. Fisher has introduced a Bill in the House of Representatives designed to prevent the right of entry to the Hindu and other Asiatics from countries within the Empire. The Bill provides that the intending immigrant must fill in an application in the form of any European language selected by the Customs officer and also write not less than fifty words, the substance of which shall be dictated by the officer. There shall be a time allowance of twenty minutes.

The Government has announced that it will take not further steps in connection with the passengers on board the "Komagata Maru" pending the decision in the test case to be brought on the 6th. The authorities anticipate that there will be trouble on board the vessel if the decision goes against the Indians.

Yesterday the immigration officials permitted five Indians to leave the "Komagata Maru" to confer in a launch with three local Hindus who were relatives of those on board. Immediately the Hindus left the ship the Indians on board pulled up the ladder and prevented the captain from taking the others on board again. The captain was helpless. The officials refused to allow the launch to proceed to shore and are keeping her moored in midstream. They have given the captain until to-morrow to enforce the men's return to the vessel or to give up his command and hand his ship over to the Canadian authorities.

The "Komagata" Habeas Corpus appeal was dismissed to-day, the Court holding that the British North America Act gave Canada power to deal to the extent of restricting or excluding with any British subject even with those from United Kingdom. The contentions of the Indians' Counsel were defeated on every point.

The Court of Appeals dismissed the appeal of Gurdit Singh against the adverse action of the Immigration authorities on three grounds:—First, that the Hindu is Asiatic and does not possess two hundred dollars in his own right; secondly, that he does not come to Canada by continuous journey from his native country; and, thirdly that he is not a skilled labourer. The Court empowers the Immigration authorities to order the deportation of many but not all Hindus on board the "Komagata Maru".

South Africa.

Smithfield, July 2.

General Hertzog has definitely launched a new national party in opposition to General Botha's Imperialist policy. Criticising the policy General Hertzog said that an organised British Empire did not exist. The aim of Imperialism was to produce such an Empire. The danger lay in the idea of establishing a Central Parliament for Great Britain and the Dominions which he considered would reduce the latter to the position of Crown Colonies.

The citizens of Johannesburg yesterday gave a farewell banquet to Lord Gladstone. The Mayor presided. Lord Gladstone in his speech said that the teaching of the last four years had demonstrated that the Union was deep rooted. The settlement of the British Indians' question showed that a free and responsible Government was not inconsistent with the discharge of Imperial obligations. There was no common principle in South African Colonies before the Union regarding the admission of the Indians; and the situation last November would have been a critical one if the settlement had depended on an agreement between four separate Governments. The Union Parliament overcame the difficulties, realising that the highest consideration was the magnitude of the Imperial difficulty in controlling 800,000,000 Indians. He had officially assented to the Indian Relief Bill with the deepest sense of gratitude to the Union Government and Parliament.

Home Rule.

London, July 1.

An announcement was made this afternoon in Belfast that it had been decided that at the discretion of the Commanding Officers of the Ulster Volunteers, the time has come when arms may be carried openly and that any attempt to seize arms is to be resisted openly.

Telegrams announce that the crisis is fast approaching. Families are largely laying in provision on every town in Ulster and several machine guns are being held in readiness.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Birrell said that in the present state of the controversy, it would be unwise for the Government to take action against Ulsterites for carrying arms.

Mr. Sherwell: Is Irish executive to take no action?

Mr. Birrell: Government must always have discretion as to whether to take proceedings even where there is admitted breach of law.

When the Home Rule Amending Bill came up for second reading in the House of Lords to-day, Lord Morley pointed that

Ulster's anger at Rule and the disapproval of it if they remained unabated would lead to the revival of the ancient religious dissensions and place the new Government of Ireland at a great disadvantage. Consequently, the Amending Bill had been introduced. There could not be a better opportunity of discovering what an amount of common ground existed and he did not believe that the House would reject the Bill.

Lord Lansdowne said that the Bill was entirely inadequate to accomplish its purpose but it was clear that something might be done at the present stage to avert a calamity they could not brush aside. Overtures had been made by Lord Morley who had said that the amendments would be carefully considered in the House of Commons and they would give the Amending Bill a second reading and introduce amendments to make it adequate with regard to the area to be excluded, the duration of the exclusion and the administration of the excluded area but they would oppose the second reading of the main Home Rule Bill which was hopeless. They entertained the Amending Bill because they were helplessly entangled in meshes of the Parliament Act.

Lord Willoughby De Broke moved the rejection of the Bill.

The conciliatoriness of Lord Morley's and Lord Lansdowne's speeches in the House of Lords to-night has created a much more hopeful feeling that an Irish settlement will be reached even if it be a temporary one. Importance is being attached to a passage in Lord Lansdowne's speech, declaring that the Opposition would confine its amendment to broad principles, leaving it to Government to work out details. It is thought that this will make future private conferences between the parties inevitable.

The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Amending Bill was continued in the House of Lords to-day. Lord Londonderry said that Government's exclusion proposals were worthless. For Mr. Asquith to go to His Majesty for his assent to Home Rule which would produce civil war and which the country did not want would be the act of a traitor and coward.

Lord Halsbury stated that his inclination would certainly have been to vote for the rejection of the Bill; but in order to avert a civil war, it was best to agree to the second reading. Then they would get their amendments and would ultimately see what the Commons returned to them. He hoped that Lord Willoughby De Broke would withdraw his motion for rejection.

India Council Bill.

London, July 1.

During Lord Curzon's speech and replying to an incidental remark Lord Crewe interpolated that the provisions regarding the election of Indian members were already drafted, before he even knew that a deputation was coming to see him.

The *Morning Post* says that if the Bill is to be of any service and not to do mischief it must be carefully and largely amended. The India Council by general admission needs some reform but the present Bill means for all practical purposes the destruction of the Council and leaves the Secretary of State in almost undisputed command. The journal says that the Government seems to be under the delusion that the Indian members of the Indian Legislative Councils represent the people of India whereas they represent certain interests and classes.

The *Daily Telegraph* agrees that the Bill is dangerous in so far that it represents the tendency to regard experience and advice as useless.

The *Daily News* says that if the Lords refuse to pass the second reading of the India Council Bill Anglo-India will rejoice but the greater Indian public will conclude that the Indian demand for statutory representation on the Council is rejected.

The delegates from the Indian National Congress have issued a statement expressing regret at a motion to reject the new India Council Bill. They consider that the rejection would create a very unfortunate impression in India and weaken, if not paralyse the constitutional party.

The debate on the India Council Bill will be resumed on the 7th instant.

The *Daily Telegraph* says that responsible Indian and Anglo-Indian circles in London are gravely concerned at the attitude of House of Lords towards the India Council Bill and hope that their Lordships will bear in mind the very mild character of India Office proposals in to-day's debate. The Indian Government, the paper adds, is understood to be in full agreement with the suggestion that at least two Indian members shall be elected and if three had been proposed, it is unlikely that official objection would have been raised. The Bill represents the minimum concession to the suggestion of several prominent Indians who have held high office under Government.

Replying in a letter to the *Times* to criticisms passed on the India Council Bill by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords last week Mr. Montagu says that he has no cause to be ashamed of on his part in initiating the Bill. His object is not ruthless destruction nor satisfaction.

of his personal predilections but the adaptation to modern conditions of a system petrified in statute founded upon conditions over half a century old. There is grave danger in lack of sympathy between the Executive Government in India and the controlling office at Home. Such lack of sympathy is due not to the Secretary of State's exercise of his functions of revision and determining of policy but to the intolerable procrastination inevitable under the India Office system and the tendency to undue interference from Home in minutiae of administration which comes not from the Secretary of State but from the Council whose energies are naturally turned in this direction by their Indian formed and regularized habit of mind. Hence Mr. Montagu's preference for a smaller and more modern advisory body working upon more elastic, more adaptable and speedier system.

The *Times* hopes that the mischievous Council of India Bill will be rejected by the Lords without even receiving the compliment of a reference to a Select Committee. The paper says that this Government has done enough constitution wrecking nearer home and should be stopped from scuttling the constitutional system under which India has for so long been successfully ruled.

The debate on the India Council Bill was resumed in the House of Lords this evening.

Lord Amthill supported rejection on the ground that the time was inopportune for proceeding with the Bill. Indian opinion would not be disappointed if it were not passed. The House was offered a Select Committee but it wanted the opinion of the Government of India, Provincial Councils and public bodies. When it had these it would be time to consider a revised bill. The scheme revolutionised the whole conception of the Council. It converted it from an advisory into an administrative body. The result must be departmental tyranny which in case of India must at all costs be avoided for Imperial power and the prestige of the Viceroy and his Council.

Lord Morley said that Lord Amthill predicted that immense friction was sure to follow the passage of the Bill between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State but there was no reason whatever to anticipate this. Bill had not any connection with relations between those officials. There was no possibility that changes proposed would in the least degree affect their relations. With reference to Lord Amthill's desire for the views of the Government of India, Lord Morley pointed out that the Bill did not directly concern the Government of India. It was a Bill relating to the regulation of constitution business and the procedure of the Secretary of State in Whitehall. The Government of India was not directly or even indirectly affected.

All I can say continued Lord Morley, is that if there has been an important change in the constitution of the Council of India, it is a change made by me involving the introduction of two Indians. That change was made not without consultation with Lord Minto but independent of the judgment of the Government of India. The latter was affected undoubtedly but to give the Government of India authority over the constitution and procedure of Council in Whitehall, which was created to control the Government of India would be contrary to the Act of 1858. He did not mean that the Secretary of State would not be careful to correspond with the Viceroy and ascertain his views on anything that passed; but it was private correspondence in his judgment and experience. After criticising Lord Curzon's attitude, Lord Morley denied the allegation that Mr. Montagu had inspired the scheme for the India Office re-adjustment. He then proceeded to describe the present routine of the India Office.

Replying to a question from Lord Middleton as to whether the numerous processes connected with the arrival of a paper from India—except sending it to the Council—could not be brought to an end by a stroke of a pen, Lord Morley said that he thought not. The process, he described, under the most favourable conditions took the best part of a month whereas under the Bill instead of going to the Committee the paper had to go to a Member of the Council or if money was concerned, to two members of Council. A single member reported to the Secretary of State meeting of Council was not what Lord Curzon supposed a namely deliberative assembly it was in nine cases out of ten not very much more than a formality.

Lord Curzon's suggestion regarding the change of the Council from an advisory to an administrative body was really moonshine.

Continuing Lord Morley said that he thought they might improve the Council by introducing men who had not had administrative experience. The principle on which he acted was that whenever fresh light was wanted, administrative experience must not be solely regarded. It was true that hostile telegrams had been received from the Chambers of Commerce and other bodies in India and adverse opinion had been found in the press. Surely that was the very reason for considering and sifting the measure and for not taking such precipitate step as to throw it without examination. He urged the House to consider

the effect in India. After expectations aroused, it would be some thing like a disaster and a great blunder to take this step.

Lord Islington urged that all criticisms could be dealt with effectively in a subsequent stage.

Lord Sydenham complained of lack of information. He admitted that the India Office needed reforming and suggested that Lord Crewe should appoint a small independent body to examine the whole question.

Lord Reay said that he thought the Bill was needed. He had not urged a single argument justifying its rejection.

Lord Inchcape did not approve of some of the provisions of the Bill but considered that it would be a great misfortune if it were rejected. If would be better to press the details in the Committee.

Lord Harris opposed the Bill because he thought that it did not contain the spirit of impartiality which was the key-note of just administration in India.

Lord Middleton said that he did not consider that any man should have such responsibility as the Secretary of State. His power would be almost unlimited. It would be a sham hypocrisy to tell the natives of India that they had been given anything under the Bill. As a matter of fact they would be losing much which they had at present.

Lord Crewe replying said that the Council would lose absolutely note of financial control. The Act of 1858 was not going to be repealed. There had been much criticism of the Bill. He turned to assume the autocracy of the Secretary of State. As a matter of fact, countless checks had been proposed to anything approaching autocratic action.

It was to be presumed that the Council would contain as past men of first rate ability. Moreover there was perpetual control over Parliament ever increasing in public opinion in India and increasing volumes of press. The main purpose and subject of the Bill had been to regularise and accelerate the proceedings of the India Office. Referring to the objection to the election of Indian members, that demand would immediately be made for some form of election to the Viceroy's Council and other Executive Councils Lord Crewe said that the answer surely was that those were administrative bodies whereas the council was not in any sense an administrative body.

Their Lordships had been asked not to pass the second reading of the Bill. Lord Crewe thought that they would be unwise in declining to consider any change regarding the effect of the rejection in India. He did not profess to be able to judge; but some section of the Indians were not particularly enamoured of some of the Bill's provisions while some considered that it marked a considerable advance. If their Lordships declined to pass the second reading they would be making a blunder. The motion for the second reading was rejected by 96 votes to 38.

Lord Lamington has sent a letter to the press opposing the Indian Council Bill, under which he considers the Secretary of State will become practically an autocrat. We are not told, he adds, whether the Indian Government has approved the Bill or even been consulted upon it. Moreover, if the Bill is passed, it almost necessarily follows that it will be copied as regards the Executive Councils of India.

Sir John Jardine, in a letter to the *Times* urges that the Bill should be sent to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament. He asks whether any Member of Council will care or dare to criticise the Secretary of State or degenerate into a sort of Private Secretary. Sir John Jardine maintains that the Secretary of State has at present ample powers to secure punctual disposal of business.

The following is an omission from the India Council Bill debate: Lord Amthill here interpolated: "Does Lord Morley contend that the Indian Government is not concerned in these legislative councils which are asked to elect members?"

Lord Morley: "All I can say is that, etc."

In the message beginning "Lord Langton has sent a letter to the *Times* read: "Lord Lamington."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says that the rejection will bring Government back to a realisation of the fact that the Government of India ought to be carried on as far as possible in consultation with the Opposition. That journal hopes that the action of the Lords will eventually result in agreement between the parties on modified measures.

The *Westminster Gazette* regrets the House of Lords's "high-handed action" against the India Council Bill which it describes as out of all proportion to anything that can be alleged to be necessary.



Our London Letter.

London June, 19.

GREECE'S EXTRAORDINARY ATTITUDE.

The extraordinary attitude taken up by the Hellenic Government towards Turkey serves as another example of the so-called Christian morality, with which we have been only too intimately acquainted in the Balkans. While there is unmistakable evidence as to the most awful and shocking atrocities that are every day being committed by the Greeks themselves over the innocent and helpless Moslem population of Macedonia, we are suddenly informed that, owing to the "maltreatment" of the Greeks in Asia Minor, the Greek Government has issued a sort of "ultimatum" to Turkey in the shape of a strong Note and that simultaneously King Constantine has issued a Royal decree formally notifying the annexation of the islands in the Aegean. As expected, the British Press has almost unanimously taken up the Greek cause for the sake of "humanity" and not a few among the leading organs have already written powerful leading articles in sympathy with Hellenic aspirations in the Balkan Peninsula. The *Daily News and Leader*, true to its traditional Gladstonian policy, has again ventured to remind Europe of the unpardonable mistake committed by her in permitting the retention of Turkish rule in Thrace, even after the fall of Adrianople into Bulgarian hands. Not a solitary voice has been raised in favour of Turkey so far through the Press, though the whole Europe knows only too well the form of treatment that was shabbily meted out by her to Turkey, when the gallant Ottoman soldiers had overrun the northern part of Greece and were almost within striking distance of Athens itself not many years ago! The "status quo" had then of course to be fully observed, but in spite of the most solemn pledges by British statesmen to observe, it two years ago, when for the moment the issues of the Balkan War were in doubt, it is only a matter of common knowledge now that not only such undertakings were never really meant to be fulfilled in case of Turkish reverses—as unfortunately has been the case—but every effort was made in this country to retake Adrianople from the Turks, after the historic fortress had been reconquered by Enver Pasha and his brave men.

The Porte, according to the *Times* Constantinople Correspondent, in its reply to the Greek Note, which it interprets as referring solely to Hellenic subjects, draws the attention of the Hellenic Government to the fact that the recent troubles in Asia Minor and elsewhere have been caused by the arrival of 250,000 emigrants from Macedonia, and expresses the belief that the information upon which the Greek Note is based is inaccurate. The Porte adds that the success which has attended Talaat Bey's efforts augurs well for the complete restoration of tranquillity throughout the disturbed districts in the near future. The reply, in fact, is courteous and friendly in form, is in substance a *fin de non recevoir* with regard to the claims of Greece to interest herself in the situation of the Greek subjects of the Sultan.

The Greek Government has further been officially informed that the foreign Embassies have been invited to attach representatives to the suite of Talaat Bey in order to satisfy themselves as to the sincerity of the measures taken to restore order. This in itself ought to dispel all doubts and fears entertained in certain quarters as to the impartiality and perfect genuineness of the Turkish Minister's efforts, not only towards restoring order and peace in the disturbed areas, but also towards investigating into the charges of "maltreatment" of the Greeks by the Turks.

Mr. Asoland's answer to a question put by Mr. Noel Buxton yesterday in the House of Commons is significant, as it undoubtedly proves the existence of "complaints" on both sides. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said:—I learn that as a result of boycotting and persecution many Ottoman Greeks are leaving Turkish territory for Greece, Thrace and Macedonia. His Majesty's Consul-General at Salonika reports the arrival of such refugees in large numbers. His Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople has spoken unofficially to the Porte on this subject, and I believe other Ambassadors have done the same. His Majesty's Minister in Athens has taken like action in regard to the treatment of Moslems in the new Greek territories respecting which there are similar complaints and from which many Mussalman refugees have gone to Turkey.

The latter part of Mr. Asoland's answer conclusively proves what has been well-known to all those who have been at all conversant with the position of the Moslems in Macedonia. If there is still the least trace of morality and humanity left in Europe, she must consider it her urgent duty to call upon the Hellenic Government to institute an impartial and independent inquiry, with which the foreign Powers should be closely and intimately associated, as has been rightly and appropriately done by the Ottoman Government. Turkey is only too willing to redress any wrongs or hardships under which her Greek subjects may be really suffering but she demands that an equally reasonable attitude should be adopted by Greece in regard to her Moslem subjects. It is the conscientious duty of Europe to see that

this demand is met with by the Hellenic Government. Then and not till then could Europe satisfy the entire civilised world of the righteousness of her mission in the Balkans. Absolute equality of treatment of the Balkan nations, whether Turks, Bulgarians, Servians or Greeks, could only exonerate Europe of her infamous deal in the peninsula—hitherto carried on under the pious and sacred pretence of "liberty" and "freedom"—the very mockery of European morality!

CAMBRIDGE TRIPOS LISTS.

The Sciences and Languages Tripos Lists were issued at Cambridge yesterday. The following are the successful Indians, *viz.*, Mathematical Tripos, Part I.

CLASS I.

Messrs. P. S. Katti (Trinity) and S. Modak (Emmanuel).

CLASS II.

Mr. T. S. Narayana (Non Collegiate).

CLASS III.

Messrs. W. Hussein (Cains), S. K. Kelavker (Non-Collegiate), and Y. Prasad (Non-Collegiate).

NATURAL SCIENCE TRIPOS, PART II.

CLASS II.

Mr. S. N. Moos, B. A. (King's).

NATURAL SCIENCE TRIPOS, PART I.

CLASS II.

Messrs. A. C. Batra (King's) and V. S. Bhide (Non-Collegiate).

ECONOMICS TRIPOS, PART I.

CLASS II.

Mr. S. P. Shah (Jesus).

CLASS III.

Messrs. S. A. Akbar (Peterhouse), S. S. Gaikwad (Cains) and S. Nissim (St. John's).

CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

A Mass Meeting of the Muslims resident in London was held in the Council Chamber of Caxton Hall, Westminster on Friday night last, to celebrate the anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople into Moslem hands in 1453, in unison with a similar celebration that took place simultaneously in the Turkish capital. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan presided and the meeting, which was well attended, was thoroughly representative of the Moslem population of London. Ali Hikmat Nahid Bey (Vice-president of the Islamic Society), Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin, Dr. Syed Abdul Majid, Mr. Hasan Roshier, Mr. W. H. Seed, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. Mushtur Hosain Kidwai and Dr. Lodi Bey occupied prominent seats on the platform, and among those present in the body of the large hall were Mr. Duss Mohamed, Mr. Syed Abdul Hasan Razavi, Colonel and Mrs. Bhola Nath, Colonel Warliker, Mrs. Roy, Dr. Mohamed Sharaf, Mr. L. Sitaram Pershad, Dr. Bager Shah, Mr. Lutfi Ali Khan, Mr. Gajal Redy, Mr. Abdul Haq, Mr. Majid Ali Khan, Mr. Jelal Shah, Mr. Sarfaraz Hosain, Mrs. C. Johnson, Miss W. Ratchiffe, Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins, Mr. Omar Flight, Mr. Ibrahim Suliman Haji, Mr. Ahmed Baksh Khan, Mr. Shah Mustafa Ahmed, Lieut. Saleh Murad, Capt. Enver Bey, Dr. Iskander Reihan, Mr. Syed Desonki, Mr. Mohamed Tewfik Diab, Mr. Nahif, Mr. Tajuddin, Mrs. Henderson, Mr., Mrs. and Miss Hunt, Mr. M. M. Shaffi, Mr. Zahuruddin Faruqi, Mr. Syed Shahjahan Baharkhany, and Cherefeddin Bey.

There were several Hindu and other oriental gentlemen present as well and all the speeches laid emphasis on the urgent necessity of a universal Asiatic patriotism for the future—a necessity that was fully and completely realised, judging by the numerous distinguished representatives of the East that had on this auspicious occasion thrown in their lot with their Moslem friends in the celebration of the anniversary of one of the most famous victories of the Orient over the West. It seemed as if the entire vast continent of Asia had gathered to observe the sacred anniversary of this historic event and everybody present, whether an Indian, a Chinaman, a Syrian, a Japanese or a Persian, felt as much pride in the "Conquest of Constantinople" as that felt by the great Ottoman nation itself. Truly there has been no stronger piece of evidence as to the awakening of Asia and the powerful element of comradeship and fellowship together with the genuine enthusiasm with which the declarations of the various speakers were received during the meeting was by far the most happy feature of the proceedings.

The meeting opened with a recitation from the Holy Koran—a recitation that was undoubtedly a great treat and no little privilege to hear, owing to the perfect and faultless accents of Mr. Mahomed Tewfik Diab, an Egyptian gentleman. Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin followed with a suitable eloquent prayer in English, the solemnity and yet the very simplicity of which sent a thrill of extraordinary emotion through the hearts of all those who heard it.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan then moved the following resolution from the Chair:

"That this mass meeting of the Moslems representing the various parts of the Islamic world places on record its deep conviction that the integrity of Constantinople as the seat of the Caliphate is not only essential to the maintenance of the existence and position of the Mussalmans as inevitable factors in world politics,

but also represents one of the greatest influences which can maintain the prestige of the East and reconcile it to the West."

The chairman briefly surveyed the various stages in Moslem history previous to the fall of Constantinople into Moslem hands and went on to show how utterly hopeless their position had become since, particularly during the past 30 or 40 years, owing to the powerful and deliberate combination of Europe as a whole against them. He laid stress upon the fact that, as the terms of the resolution indicated, the integrity of Constantinople as the seat of the Caliphate was not only absolutely essential from the Moslem point of view, but that it was likewise necessary for the due maintenance of the prestige and position of the entire Eastern world. He was glad to see so many non-Moslem Orientals present that evening and he would like to urge them to regard that great anniversary as that of an important and vital victory of the East over the West. The whole Asia was to-day anxiously watching the destinies of Turkey and Japan, the two leading Powers in the Near and Far East respectively. A great responsibility rested on the shoulders of the eminent statesmen of these two great countries and it was to them that everybody in the Orient looked up for the emancipation, uplifting and elevation of that vast continent. Asia had led the way in the past and there was no reason as to why she should not do so in the future as well. He hoped they would be able to observe this Anniversary for years to come. (Cheers).

Mr. Hasan Rosher briefly seconded the resolution. He said he considered it a great privilege to have been able to associate himself with his friends in the celebration of this historic anniversary.

Dr. Syed Abdul Majid, Mr. W. H. Seed, Mr. Duse Mahomed, Dr. Saadi Bey, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. Shahjahan Baharkhany (who represented the Edinburgh Islamic Society) and Mr. L. Sitaram Pershad supported the resolution. The most striking speech came from Mr. Pershad. Speaking as a Hindu, he observed that he had looked upon it as his pious duty to cancel an important engagement for that evening in order to share with his Moslem friends the unique honour of taking part in that auspicious ceremony. He as a Hindu looked back upon that brilliant landmark in the history of Asia—the sacred anniversary of which they had all collected to celebrate—with as much pride, satisfaction and feeling as did every Turk or Moslem to-day. (Prolonged cheers). The bond of unity and sympathy and the tie of fellowship, he said, that had for years existed across the entire mass of territories, from the Dardanelles to the land of the Rising Sun, had never been stronger before and he trusted the Anniversary of the historic Conquest of Constantinople would be observed with increasing reality year after year. It was a magnificent triumph of the East over the West and as such it will for ever be preserved in history as a most splendid achievement of a great Asiatic nation. (Cheers).

The resolution was carried with great acclamation, the entire audience in a body rising on their feet and loudly cheering its unanimous passage repeatedly.

A copy of the resolution has been submitted to H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey.



Our Constantinople Letter.

Constantinople, 15 June 1914.

A TURKISH NATIONAL FESTIVAL.

Never had before in the history of Turkey been performed with greater solemnity such a historical function in commemoration of the victory of the Crescent over the Cross—the capture of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. It was on the 12th of June, four hundred and sixty one years ago, that Mehmed II. conquered the Byzantine Empire crushing all hopes of Emperor Constantine. The anniversary was held with great éclat at the historic mosque of Aye Sophia as a national festival. It was indeed a manifestation of a re-awakening of the sturdy nationalism of the Ottomans and their love of the country. All shops and business had been closed for the occasion; streets and public buildings had been decorated with national flags and festoons. At 12 o'clock in the noon the processions began to pour into the Mosque singing national hymns representing the Navy, the Army, the Red-Crescent Society, the Ottoman Odjaghi, the Ottoman Yordon, the Society of Commerce and Agriculture, the University and the students of other institutions. One notable feature of the procession was that *hamals* (porters and coolies) joined it. The music played the national anthem.

After the usual *Jumma Namaz*, Zia Bey, the Director of Public Instruction, addressed the vast audience on the conquest and administration of Sultan Mohammed. Djemal Pasha, the indefatigable Minister of Marine, moved the audience with his usual eloquence and appealed to them to work incessantly for the honor and dignity of the country till we could repair the loss the nation had sustained since the Balkan war. Many other speakers dwelt at large on patriotism and national defence, asking the people to contribute largely to the Navy Fund.

TURKISH GIRLS IN PUBLIC SERVICE.

It is not without extreme satisfaction that I inform your readers of the wonderful progress and adaptability of Turkish girls. Unlike their Indian sisters, they enjoy a larger liberty, and *purdah*, which had been a time-honored custom, is losing its hold by the solvent influence of education. A young Turkish lady, dressed half in Turkish costume and half in Parisian mode, though with a veil on, is a very common spectacle in the parks and streets of Constantinople. In literature, arts and industry they are nonetheless progressive and almost equal to the stronger sex. In educational work and journalism they have shown a remarkable ability. *Qadeenlik* (Womanhood) and *Qadencilar Dunyasi* (Feminine World) are widely-circulated periodicals advocating women's rights.

The latest innovation introduced by Oskan Effendi, the Director of Posts and Telegraph, is the employment of young Turkish *hanoums* (girls) as telephone operators in the department. To the slow-moving and conservative society the idea seems revolting to copy the fifth-rate civilisation of the West, but modern Turkey is marching onward on the path of progress and enlightenment and her further advancement, in the course of time, would shape the future destiny of the Muslims all the world over.

THE BALKAN CRISIS.

Though the peace in the Balkans made at Bucharest last year continues to exist, the unrest caused by the injustice, which it imposed on the people of Macedonia, must prevail until either justice is done or they are wiped off the face of the earth. Nothing ever attributed to the former Turkish rulers of the unhappy country equals in its heinousness the treatment of the Bulgarian inhabitants, who formed the majority of the population before the late Balkan war, by the Greeks and the Servians to whom the greater part of the territory was awarded. The European Press keeps up an incessant fire of calumny and threat against Bulgaria to prevent her from even raising her voice on their behalf. This condition of things exactly suits the game of the Triple Entente, which is either to force Bulgaria into the arms of Russia or prepare the way for her partition and to prevent the consolidation of good relations between Bulgaria and Turkey since the peace of Bucharest and in spite of the amicable relations established by Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, during his recent visit to the Roumanian capital. In Albania for some weeks past there had been constant fighting against the Government by the patriotic inhabitants who opposed the nomination of a Christian Prince for the throne of Albania. The International Commission has failed to bring about satisfactory results. There have been constant efforts on the part of Serbia and Greece to oppose the nomination of a Moslem prince. Russia favors the nomination of Louis Bonaparte.

The nomination of Mr. Sofoulis as Governor-General of Macedonia has caused a great alarm and consternation among the Moslem inhabitants who know full well of his inhuman brutality during the late wars. Since his nomination he has carried on a vigorous campaign of persecution against the Turks. He has issued a public order that Moslems employed in the Government service must use European hats instead of *fez*, contrary to Moslem customs, and they must naturalise themselves as Greek citizens. Greek soldiers and policemen break open the doors of Moslem houses, torture children, violate women and finally drive them away from their homes to make room for Greek emigrants from the Turkish territories. To get away from the rapacity and brutality of the Servian and Greek officers, 60 per cent. of the Moslem population has already emigrated to Turkey, and those who are still in Macedonia claim for justice and fairplay. They recently approached the Consuls asking the European Powers to intervene and put a stop to such heinous acts of brutality. The Greek migration from Turkish territory, which was mainly stimulated by *intrigues from without* may lead to the economic ruin of the country if it is allowed to continue. None of the Balkan countries are even half populated, so that the loss of wealth by these migrations will tell for more than a generation on the resources of Governments. Looking at the future consequences the Turkish and Bulgarian Governments have been quietly arranging a mutual exchange of populations from districts affected by the changes of boundaries, so that without injustice being done each element finds itself in congenial conditions without causing an economic danger. The Greek migrations have been checked through the efforts of the Turkish Government and the Ecumenical Patriarch at Constantinople. The Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, is making an extended tour in Asia Minor to study the situation and to check further emigration of the Greeks from Anatolia.

HERO-WORSHIP.

The first anniversary of the martyrdom of the Mahmoud Shekhet Pasha was celebrated on June 10 with great enthusiasm. People flocked in by thousands around his grave, close to the monument of Liberty, to pay homage to the illustrious martyr who gave his life for the cause of the country and the glory of Islam. Military and Naval officers, the Ministers of State, etc., were present on the occasion. Suitable texts from the Koran were read.

TETE À TETE



As we go to press, we have learnt with profound shock of the death of Lady Hardinge who passed away on Saturday afternoon in London. Lady Hardinge had undergone a serious operation, but the reports of her progress were satisfactory and there was not a hint of anything that could have caused anxiety as to her condition. There appears to have been some sudden relapse with fatal termination. The news will evoke the deepest grief throughout the country and the people will mourn the death of the kind-hearted and gracious lady who had won their affection and esteem by her noble qualities and many generous acts. We offer our most respectful and heart-felt sympathy to H. E. Lord Hardinge in his heavy bereavement. The heart of all India will go to him in his terrible affliction. Lady Hardinge had won a unique place in the affections of the people. Her great solicitude for the welfare of the poor and the suffering, her interest in all movements for improving the lot of Indian women, her kindly regard for children, her noble fortitude with which she bore herself through the Delhi outrage had endeared her to every class of people to a remarkable degree. The end has come with a suddenness that will cause widespread consternation.

A CORRESPONDENT signing himself "Indignant" writes to us about the article headed "A U. P. Civilian and the Calcutta High Court," which appeared in our last issue, to the effect that our printer is getting incorrigible, and that the confiscation of our Press would be but a very mild punishment for such a sinner. His complaint is that this time the printer forgot to put the "Gap" block at the head of the article, "in the absence of which one is led to believe that the facts stated therein are real and not an invention emanating from the fertile brain of the gifted writer of 'Gap'." He concludes by hoping that "such unpardonable mistakes will not occur in the future". As if well-founded charges against us were so few that indignant correspondents should join hands with the Punjab Government in putting forward unfounded imputations against us. Let "Indignant" now know, if he does not know it already, that U. P. facts are often stranger than G. U. P. fiction. Mr. A. F. Fremantle is no more our creation than the Calcutta High Court with its Bench, almost as much under theegis of the Inus of Court as Mr. Norton and his confreres. We shall not go so far as to declare that Civilians of that type are born, not made. But, as regards the question, who makes the U. P. Civilian of this type, we must at once state, as the schoolboy said to the examiner who asked him who had written *Paradise Lost*, "Please, Sir, it wasn't me." If "Indignant" is not convinced, let him turn over the pages of the *Statesman's* file, where he will find the case reported almost as fully as in other Calcutta dailies. Now surely you can't accuse the *Statesman* of honour any more than you can accuse a type of U. P. Civilian of the knowledge of law or respect for procedure. "Indignant" assumes too much in attributing any neglect to our printer. One is even inclined to suspect he assumes the emotion as well as the name of "Indignation". But if he is as much in earnest as we were when we reproduced the deposition of Mr. A. F. Fremantle, his hope that "such unpardonable mistakes will not occur in the future" will only be realized if Mr. Fremantle promises either not to teach "salutary lessons" to Calcutta lawyers, or to learn still more salutary lessons in law from them? If not, "Indignation's" case is hopeless. The printer is responsible for a good deal already, but to saddle him with being responsible for Oudh Deputy Commissioners is, we submit, highly unfair. Poor devil of a printer. His lot is worse than that of the scribe in the days of *Sauda* who wrote:

هر روزی پرپی میر کی اصلاح * لوگ کہی میں سو کابھی

(Every leaf bears *Mir's* corrections; but people say they are the errors of the scribe). At any rate the scribe had no Press Act and, we well know, the Punjab had no Government in those barbarous times.

The death of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain removes one of the most remarkable figures from the stage of British politics. He had made his mark in the political life of his country in mid-Victorian times, and after undergoing sensational vicissitudes in opinion and career, he came at last to dominate big political issues by the sheer weight of his personality. He began as a downright Republican, gradually softened down into a mild Radical, quarrelled with Gladstone and turned Unionist and ended his career as a fire-eating Jingo. As a Colonial Minister in a Tory administration he visualised the Imperial idea that took shape as the Tariff Reform movement, with which his name will remain associated. No great constructive achievement stands to his name that would keep his memory alive among posterity as a statesman of beneficent energy, except, of course, his work on the local board of Birmingham. He imparted to Tory Imperialism a militant and assertive tone. He emphasised the racial arrogance of Anglo-Saxonism. As a party chief he enjoyed incomparable ascendancy and his hold on the masses was wonderful. In the larger sphere of politics he remained an incalculable factor that as often as not involved in irremediable disaster the causes for which he fought. His intellectual gifts were not of a high order, but he had a great strength of character which, coupled with his inexhaustible energy, made him a power in the country and Parliament. He was one of the most powerful demagogues of his times, and his spell over the masses was woven by popular oratorical performances, which were a strange mixture of shrewdness, commonsense, pugnacious energy and cheap sentimental appeals. He was essentially a man of one idea and intellectually he was resourceful. He was never hampered by his past. Whatever struck him as good or expedient he pursued with all the force at his command. The federation of the Empire on the basis of reciprocal tariffs became the one infatuation of his closing years. His Tariff Reform campaign made him the most hated as well as the most adored statesman in the Empire. His name will live as a fighting symbol as long as the Tariff Reform controversy is alive in Great Britain.

Mr. Hajj Abdulla Haroon, President of the special Moslem meeting held in Karachi in connection with the film affair, writes to us as follows:—"I shall feel highly obliged by your publishing this letter for the information of the Moslem public."

The Karachi Sacrilege

Before the meeting of the Mussalmans of Karachi in connection with the film "Azim" came off in the Gharrihata Idgah on Sunday the 30th ultimo, Mr. A. S. A. Westropp, I. C. S., Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi, sent for some of the leading local Mussalman gentlemen and conveners of the meeting to have friendly discourse with them about the matter. We were very courteously received by the Collector who freely and fully discussed the matter with us. He pointed out that the Government and their officials were ever ready to follow their declared and established policy of respecting the religious feelings of His Majesty's Indian subjects and protecting them from outrages of any kind whatsoever. He further assured us that he had personally moved in the matter and would see that any further exhibition of the film is stopped in India. He was approaching the Government on the subject and requesting them for confiscation and destruction of the film, if possible. On the conclusion of the interview the Collector thanked one and all of us for our readiness to drop the matter where it was now that it was receiving his prompt attention. I as President of the Idgah meeting explained the whole matter to the audience who were satisfied that the film was held objectionable by the officials and that steps were being taken for its forfeiture. I saw the Collector after the meeting also. He highly commended the moderation and common sense displayed by Mussalmans in the meeting and repeatedly assured me that full justice will be done to our grievance. I would again request my brethren to feel grateful to such a kindhearted and sympathetic officer for his fair treatment of this unhappy subject."

Mr. Sparling Hadywn, Chief Whip of the "War against War" Party, writes to us as follows:—"I am directed by Dr. Garnett who is Director-General of the League of Universal Brotherhood to invite the readers and supporters of the *Comrade* to enroll themselves within its Fellowship because our Moslem sympathies cannot be doubted, nor the fact that we are friends of India. On and from the beginning of the Tripolitan outrage our practical sympathy ranged us on the side of Turkey; we seconded the efforts of the late W. T. Stead from the platform of Whitfield's Tabernacle. Since

then from every open air speaking place in London Dr. Garnett has championed the cause of the great (and unjustly) abused Ottoman, coupling practical sympathy with oratorical persuasion. The League of Universal Brotherhood is neither political nor sectarian, but Brotherhood wholly and solely. Its offices are situate at 453, Strand, London, England, and Dr. Garnett will be glad to receive offers of personal service and, likewise, gifts of money. All Religion hath relation to life, and the life of Religion is to do good."

The Council of India Bill. The House of Lords has rejected the second reading of the Council of India Bill. Curiously enough, it was a measure which was blessed by few besides its author. It was admired neither by the Indian public opinion nor by those

who claim to represent the views of the Indian bureaucracy. A cynic might be tempted to exclaim that a measure hitting the mean between two extreme points of view would exactly suit Indian conditions. But Lord Crew's defunct Bill was a patch-work that lacked any central idea. From the Indian standpoint the Bill seemed a reactionary measure in so far as it contemplated a change in the procedure of the Council. Individual members attached to separate departments would necessarily degenerate into permanent officials whose influence on Indian policy would not be very wholesome. The Secretary of State would under such arrangements become a mere figure-head whose functions would be reduced to signing papers. Another feature of the Bill objected to by the Indian opinion was the almost unlimited powers that it gave to the Secretary of State in dealing with matters of moment without consulting the Council. The objections of the opponents of the Bill in the House of Lords were also based on these grounds. But there was a whole difference of spirit in the opposition of Lord Curzon and his supporters and that of the Indian critics of the Bill. Lord Curzon was afraid lest the influence of the members of the Council, who represented Indian official opinion, should be diminished by robbing them of much of their advisory functions. The Indian critics feared that the councillors by direct association with administrative departments might gain greater control over affairs and the Secretary of State might become their victim. The Tory opposition was moreover based on the ground that the Bill provided for a shadowy concession of the elective principle in the appointment of Indian members. The Tory peers have wrecked the Bill, and though we were not particularly enamoured of the measure, we half suspect it must have been a good thing to have after all when Lord Curzon waxed indignant against it and succeeded in strangling it at its birth. Will Lord Crew take heart of grace and make another attempt, with greater courage and free from the dread of rousing Tory susceptibilities? He himself seemed to be lukewarm about this Bill. Will he try to produce a better measure? We doubt if he will have time to tackle afresh the question in view of the existing political situation in England. The question of India Council reform has been virtually shelved for the life-time of the present Liberal Ministry. If the next general election brings the Tories into power, it may be taken to have been shelved for several years.

Official Patronage of Views. Some time ago we noted the steps said to have been taken by the authorities in Bengal to recommend the purchase of copies of the *Near East* for use in the school and college reading-rooms, specially with a view to inoculate Moslem students with proper ideas

on Near Eastern affairs. We were informed later on that some similar efforts had been made in the Punjab as well to insure Moslem youths against liability to dangerous fits of mental excitement by prescribing for them regulated medicinal fare. An Allahabad correspondent now informs us that he learns from authentic sources that orders seem to have been issued "to all headmasters and principals of schools and colleges, especially of Mohammedan institutions, to influence young Mohammedan students to read the *Near East*." Our correspondent continues: "The object of this, as told me by a headmaster, is 'to convert young Mohammedan students to the British policy in the Near East.' I know many schools where questions have been asked in classes by the heads of 'the institutions with a view to prepare statistics of the number of its readers.' If this is true, we think it would be a far simpler method to prescribe the *Near East* as a regular text-book for instruction in Indian schools and colleges. We recently heard of a District Magistrate who demanded security from the proprietor of a press, which was removed to new premises, because it published a journal the views of which he did not approve of. From the suppression of undesirable views there is but one step to an active patronage of views that command official approval. If this policy is pushed to its logical conclusion, almost every independent newspaper in India will have to shut up shop

and the task of initiating India's youths into the public affairs of their own country and of the world at large would be left to such safe guides as the *Pioneer* and other journals of that ilk. At this rate we will soon hear of the latest exponent of official views, the *Indiaman*, being pressed into service to teach wholesome lessons on current affairs to Indian schoolboys. Have matters come to such a pass in the schools and colleges of India that students can not be trusted to retain there intellectual sanity and must be spoon-fed with preventive doses of "safe and proper views" lest they should catch disaffection and mental unrest in a peculiarly unhealthy atmosphere? The officials who have made it a part of their duty to carry on an active propaganda in favour of a particular set of views, seem to have been put to awkward and pathetic shifts indeed. The irony of it all is that by adopting a singularly clumsy method the propagandist succeeds in defeating his own ends. Books or newspapers thus forced on students are seldom read and universally distrusted. What is meant as a preventive soon becomes a source of provocation and disgust. It is idle to expect that Moslem students will be cured of their deep interest in the fortunes of Turkey and Islam abroad, even if every avenue to learn the truth were shut on them except the opaque medium of the *Near East*. The money spent on the purchase of its copies is practically wasted. And we would like to know why public money should be spent on the promotion of an essentially political propaganda. The Calcutta University was ordered the other day to dispense with the services of the three of its lecturers on the ground of their alleged association with politics, but the *Near East* politics are apparently receiving official patronage and have been given access to public schools at public expense. Was the rhetorical plea about "a pure and free educational atmosphere" a hollow pretence? The *Near East* has no liking for the Turks or the Egyptians and never misses an opportunity to traduce them. Its treatment of the Near Eastern affairs has seldom been impartial or based on the full knowledge of facts. To make this organ of the British Imperialist policy a preceptor of Moslem youths in regard to Near Eastern problems may have the best of motives behind it. But the experiment has little chance of success.

We welcome the publication of an emphatic contradiction of the rumour that Sir James Meston "intends to interfere in a religious dispute at Aligarh." It is stated that His Honour's approaching visit "is connected solely with the financial position of the College and no other idea has ever entered his thoughts." The rumour had gained wide currency and its publication in several papers had naturally caused deep anxiety to the Mussalman public. We do not know how papers like the *Tribune* of Lahore and others came to publish it or what is the source from which it emanated. It could not but be a matter of evident concern to us that the official Patron of the Aligarh College should have any intention of interfering with the authority of the Trustees in settling the internal affairs of the College, and naturally we were led to comment at length on the propriety of such a course. It has given us a great relief to know that His Honour has no such intention. As we said, it was a matter of great surprise to us that an administrator of Sir James Meston's foresight and circumspection should have any idea of offering advice likely to cause embarrassment to the responsible College authorities in the settlement of a delicate matter like the alleged Shia-Sunni question at Aligarh.

We regret we failed to notice, while going through the Honour's List of last June, that the title of Shams-ul-Ulama had been conferred on Maulana Abbas Husain Sahab, Professor of Arabic and Persian in the M. A.-O. College Aligarh.

A Well-deserved Honour.

The omission was due to the fact that the name of the Maulana appeared in the List simply as a resident of the Bulandshahr District and not as a professor of Aligarh, in which capacity he is generally known. We congratulate the Maulana on his receiving at last the well-merited distinction that has long been overdue. The Maulana's connection with the College dates back to its infancy. Several generations of Aligarh students have learnt at his feet and have retained the warmest feelings of affection and regard for their kindly, quiet and unassuming teacher. His numerous pupils must have been gratified to learn that his great learning and his long services in the cause of education have been recognised as they deserved, even though the recognition has been so tardy in his case. We are sure it is the wish of every one of them that he may be spared long to carry on his work and continue to be one of the few remaining links with the traditions of the past.



The Comrade.

Derelict Pilgrims at Jeddah.

We have published in our last issue not only the new proposals of the Bombay Government relating to the Hejaz pilgrim traffic and the Government of India's interim declaration of policy on the subject, but also a synopsis of the correspondence in connection with the Bombay Government's proposals of last year which the Government of India had published. To-day we publish the enclosures also to the letter of the Bombay Government, and can safely say that our readers will now be in a good position to form an independent judgment on a most important and by no means easy question and to check our comments on the revised proposals.

But before we discuss these new proposals, let us frankly state that we fail to understand the full significance of the recent activity of the Government in this direction. During the last Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, who has made this question peculiarly his own, asked the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, in the course of the debate on his resolution for opening the port of Calcutta also for the Haj traffic, why Government should impose any restrictions at all on a set of travellers who happen to go at a particular time for a particular purpose to a part of Arabia which it fails to impose on all other travellers who are going at all times of the year for all sorts of purposes to all parts of the world. The reply that he received was that the impositions were not imposed by the Government of India, but were the creation of the Ottoman Government. This would have been convincing if only the Hon. the Education Member had also published full particulars of the conditions imposed by the Turkish Government and the action taken by the Government of India to limit them to such as were reasonably necessary to meet the requirements of the case. It is not the fault of a certain class of people if Indian Mussalmans do not detest the Turks, specially since that paragon of a Khalifa and Sultan, Abdul Hamid Khan, was deposed by a set of what we should call "young hot-heads" in terms of Moslem Indian politics. But what article of the *Near East* so sedulously thrust on the attention of students, who, we are assured, have to be kept aloof from the contaminating touch of politics, could show the Young Turks in a worse light to the generality of Indian Mussalmans, whose piety is so often extolled at the expense of Ottoman products of Parisian boulevards, than their imposing increasing restrictions, on the performance of a religious duty of millions of their Indian co-religionists? The only excuse of the Turkish Government is sanitation, and if the new Khan Bahadur is not a confirmed liar and the sanitary arrangements of Mecca are apparently worse to-day, after all the vigilance of the new Sanitary Committee, than they were in the blessed prime of good Abdul Hamid, then why in God's name has no protest been addressed to this wretched Government of young charlatans by those who must watch over the interests of seventy millions of their Moslem nationals?

But let us not drift. The avowed *raison d'être* of the proposals of last year, for which that "friend" of the Mussalmans, Lord Sydenham, had importuned a telegraphic sanction, was the alleged existence of a state of affairs, described as lamentable, which was due to the dereliction at Jeddah after the Haj of a large number of indigent Indian pilgrims. It was with a view to bring about an early termination of this state of affairs that Lord Sydenham's Government had proposed the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets and the creation of a monopoly of the Haj traffic. The Vice-Consul Khan Bahadur Dr. Abdur Rahman's repeated description of the devastating flood on the way from Mecca to Medina, which was certainly not according to scale in a meagre enough extract published from his report last year, and his emphatic references to the insanitary character of this Moslem religious ritual in the hardly less meagre extracts from his report this year have obviously no relevance unless it is intended to dissuade the Indian Mussalmans from the performance of a religious duty. But all the statistics which this warmer can supply about the congestion of destitute Indians at Jeddah, who become a charge either on the Turkish or on the Indian Government, are clearly to the point. But although we have been placed in possession of Consular and Vice-Consular complaints addressed to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in reply to his telegram in cipher and although we are informed that His Excellency addressed representation on the subject of the repatriation of indigent Indian pilgrims and that the Secretary of State for India addressed the Government of India more than once on the subject, we have never been favoured with a single syllable of complaint which those who are most concerned with the evil of Indian destitution at Jeddah may have addressed to our Consular authorities or to our Ambassador. What have the Turks said against us? That is the question. Just as it is they that impose on our Government the necessity of closing all doors for the exit of Indian pilgrims

except Bombay and of harassing them with the dress rehearsal of a quarantine now happily discontinued after much agitation and with a disgusting form of disinfection still, alas, insisted upon, it is they who must be throwing our poverty in our teeth and complaining of our degrading mendicancy in their self-respecting port. In view, however, of the fact that we have recently impoverished ourselves in assisting them to ward off a well-deserved bankruptcy, we should like to know the full extent of their base ingratitude. In other words, we insist on knowing the very worst and beg the benign Khan Bahadur not to think of sparing our feelings, but to publish all the complaints which he has received from the Turks against Indian derelicts at Jeddah "who are a burden and an offence and a source of danger to the town."

As for the statistics of this degrading dereliction, all that we have is the repetition of the same old complaint in the reports of each succeeding year without the least attempt at definition. We hear of crowds of 1,000 or 1,500 indigent pilgrims reducing the Consulate to a veritable Adrianople beleaguered by determined but far from sturdy vagabonds. The English Consul states that "hundreds of them die here in the hope of getting a free passage 'from India,' but the Vice-Consul, Dr. Abdur Rahman, a Muhammadan gentleman," as we were somewhat needlessly reminded last year by the Government of India, tells us that "it is a painful sight 'to see these destitutes dying by thousands every year.'" Even ignoring this slight difference of about 10 to 1, may we not ask what was done by the Imperial Government to relieve such destitution? All that we can gather is that the Mussalmans, who are evidently believed to be callous to the sufferings of their co-religionists—for do they not oppose the introduction of compulsory return tickets and of a monopoly of the traffic in English hands, besides not organising themselves into abolitionist Haj Committees?—have helped to repatriate year by year all those who survive the miseries of dereliction, while the Government has had to spend Rs. 17,000 only in December 1912 when the Bombay Persia Steam Navigation Company's Moslem proprietor was about to be bought up by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., the would-be monopolist of a few days later. It has been stated that Government had to bring back at their cost 500 destitute pilgrims. But there was not wanting circumstances to cast a considerable doubt on the destitution of these needy five hundred. In the first place, we do not know why no appeals were made to the same sources of charity that made Government assistance unnecessary. In the second place, if hundreds or thousands were dying, and Government sanctioned Rs. 20,000 for their repatriation, why were they not sent back immediately to India? Is it not a fact that they were sent in small batches of tens and twenties and thirties at intervals? In the third place, our information is that many of the pilgrims thus returned after the performance of a religious duty at the expense of a State which is neutral in religious matters and contributes from the Imperial treasury only towards the establishment of a Christian Church, had not only enough money to pay for their return passage but every desire to do so. They were only awaiting the arrival at Jeddah of the steamers that brought them back much to their amazement free of charge.

خدا کی دین کا موسیٰ ہی پوچھنی احوال * کہ آگے لینی کو جائیں یہی ملجای

(Of God's unsolicited bounty ask of Moses. That one should go to fetch a little fire and should receive the honour of prophecy.)

We do not by any means deny the destitution. Far from it. But we certainly doubt the extent of the destitution. The "Muhammadan gentleman", to whose religious qualifications the Government of Bombay refers still more pointedly this year in reproducing extracts from his report—a qualification, be it said, readily forthcoming whenever there is need of a *fatwa* for pulling down a mosque, or of a "loyal" Association to console official high-haubelings—may or may not deserve the secret gratitude of Sir Edward Grey and the open exaltation on the part of the Government of India. But Indian Mussalmans need some independent evidence as regards the extent of Moslem Indian dereliction at Jeddah. For if it is true that thousands die of destitution at the port and thousands again die of flood or foul disease during the pilgrimage between the two Holy Places, and many settle permanently in the Hejaz or return later or by another route, how is it that the average for the last twenty-five years of the shortage between those who leave India and those who return to it at the end of the Haj is only 2,900 on the Bombay Government's showing?

Again, if the extent of the dereliction is the same as Dr. Abdur Rahman suggests, it must give us pause for reflection. On an average about a hundred and twenty-five thousand Mussalmans from all parts of the world are believed to congregate annually in the Hejaz for the pilgrimage. The Moslem population of the world is believed to be about two hundred millions. This gives an average of 625 pilgrims per million of Moslem population. At this rate India should send some 44,000 pilgrims every year to the pilgrimage, and even if the length of the journey be discounted

in comparing with the figures of Arabs and Egyptians, 40,000 Indian Mussalmans should visit the Holy Places every year. But the average number of pilgrims that actually go from India every year are less than 20,000. Which should account for it, poverty or lack of piety? If the latter, then we trust Indian Mussalmans at least will not be chosen to cast the first stone at the impious Turk. If the former, then there should be no destitution among the select few that do go. But if even these die by thousands through destitution, then it would seem that the rich among Indian Mussalmans, the "natural leaders of the people", and the elite that are expected to form the Haj Committees in provincial and local centres, will find it as difficult to enter Islam's heaven as the Christian rich who have a mere sporting chance with the camel attempting to rush through the needle's eye. Oh the irony of it all! The Haj Committees composed of our territorial magnates will meet together and solemnly discuss the most effective means of sending on the pilgrimage only those who, according to Mr. Abdur Rahman, Vice-Consul and Khan Bahadur, divine and Doctor, "are able" to go. We wonder whether the following verses of Iqbal will after this escape being proscribed under the Press Act:—

جاکي مسجد مين جو هوتي هين صف آرا تو غريب
زمت روزہ جو کرتی هين گوارا تو غريب
نام ليتا هي اگر کوئي همارا تو غريب
برده رکھتا هي اگر کوئي تمھارا تو غريب
اسرا شد دولت مين هين ظافل هسي
زندہ هي ملت يضا غرباء کي دم سي

(It is the poor alone that fall in rows in the mosques; it is the poor alone that undertake the privation of the fast; it is the poor alone that take Our name, and it is the poor alone that throw a veil over your failings. The rich neglect us in the intoxication of wealth; the Lustrous Community is alive only through the poor.)

But if our benign bureaucrats come to the rescue of the stay-at-home rich as the latter often come to the rescue of the former, who will be the protector of the poor in India? For it would seem that, while every Moslem nation in the world sends more than 625 pilgrims per million of its population and all these can afford to do the journey in comparative comfort, it is the Mussalmans of India alone that send no more than 270 pilgrims per million population and of these 270 also some 30 or 40 die through destitution before they are repatriated not often at the cost of others. Indian Mussalmans have hitherto been asked to thank their stars for being subjects of a Government under which they prosper much more than their co-religionists of other countries. But the tale unfolded by this analysis makes printer's pie of this fairy of wealth. Turn where you will, the horns of the dilemma point straight at you.

And what is the remedy that is being proposed? The establishment of the fund amounting to at least 2 lacs, of which the Government would contribute a lac and the Mussalmans the other lac. The income of the fund would be Rs. 8000 per annum, and in view of the fact that nearly 1,300 destitute pilgrims are said to have been repatriated free of cost to themselves during the year for which Dr. Abdur Rahman's report has just been published, and the repatriation only of 500 pilgrims by Government cost Rs. 17,000, how far the income of Rs. 8,000 a year will go to solve the problem can easily be seen. Dr. Abdur Rahman wrote in his report for 1910-11, that "Experience shows that the number of destitutes is increasing year by year", and his superior officer wrote to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the 15th May 1912, "No fund will be enough if all these destitutes were to be shipped every year."

The fund will no doubt be advertised tremendously throughout the country and will encourage more indigent pilgrims to visit the Haj; but have yet besieged the Consulate with their demands for repatriation at State expense. The remedy would, therefore, only increase the disease and we shall be giving very little credit to the physician that has prescribed it if we imagine that he is unaware of the likely consequences of his physic. At any rate, we must discover some other remedy and we have every desire to do so. But we must first diagnose the disease and ascertain the degree in which the patient is ailing. For this, it is necessary that an independent body interested in increasing rather than decreasing the facilities for the Haj, such as the *Ku'idam-i-Ka'ba* Society, should be deputed. If we were in the position of the Government we would have hoisted the Society with its own petard and instead of providing a lac of rupees from funds to which people of all creeds contribute for the relief of the reckless destitutes of one creed only, who set out to perform a religious rite not imposed upon them as a duty by their religion, we would have called upon the Society to justify its existence by rendering a service to the Ka'ba which, it is obvious, is peculiarly its own. We now await whether Government is prepared

to follow such a clear course and shall revert to the subject in subsequent issues in which we shall deal in detail with the revised proposals of the Bombay Government.

Turkey and the Arab "Question"

The position of the Turkish statesman responsible for the stability and good government of the Ottoman Empire has been for some time past the most unenviable one. History affords few parallels to the range and complexity of the problems with which they are face to face to-day. Their task is not simply to recast the administrative system, scrape up the old machinery of government and initiate measures of social advance and economic growth. They have to arrest the decay of the Ottoman power, save the Empire from disintegration, solve formidable social riddles, tame the devastating energy of warring creeds, organise effective defence against foreign aggression and intrigue and touch the spirit of the people with fresh purpose and energising secular enthusiasm. Even a single problem out of this multitude of problems would suffice to mark a crisis in any other State of Europe. The shallow-pated "expert" on Near Eastern affairs, who periodically inveighs against the Young Turks and loves to brand them with failure and incapacity, is either an utter ignoramus whose irritating self-conceit does duty for knowledge, or an astute enemy of Turkey and her people whose one aim is to inflame European prejudice against the most energetic, resolute and devoted body of patriots in the Ottoman Empire. Only a few intelligent observers in Europe have the fairness to recognise, and offer their due meed of praise to, the spirit in which the present rulers of Turkey have set themselves to their task. The comparatively tranquil outlook in the country at the present time gives us some idea of the strength, capacity and clear gaze of the men at the helm of affairs. After a disastrous war, with its unsettling and overwhelming effects, and confronted with disaffection and turbulent unrest within the Empire and with the menace of intervention and crippling moves of diplomacy from without, it is indeed a marvel that the Turkish statesmen should have succeeded in clearing their path to some extent within such a short space of time. The tense feeling evoked by war is a cohesive force and keeps the diverse elements of a nation together as long as the supreme national crisis endures. It is after the actual heat and fury of the struggle is over that the reaction sets in, and the travail and fatigue of the supreme effort and sacrifice tell with crushing effect on the weaker joints in the national organism. In the case of Turkey the travail of the national disasters has been infinitely aggravated by the greed of some European Powers, who wanted to push forward their own schemes of exploitation while Turkey lay torn and bleeding. Designing diplomats saw their main chance and set to work before the Balkan struggle was over. A great phillip was given to the so-called Armenian question and an Arab movement for autonomy in Syria was engineered from Paris. With an Armenia groaning under the weight of Turkish tyranny and a Syria crying for national self-expression, the diplomats could pursue their time honoured game with easy conscience. Costly and impossible schemes of reforms were pressed on the Turks with supreme disinterestedness and solely with a view to help them in consolidating their Asiatic possessions. They might need money in carrying out the reforms. If so, their generous friends in Europe would be delighted to help them—for merely trifling considerations. A scramble for "concessions" ensued at this stage, which were finally wrung out of helpless Turkey by judicious insistence on internal "reforms" and threats of financial boycott.

Turkey in Asia has now been divided into a number of railway zones which represent in their aggregate the "interests" of almost all the great Powers of Europe. The Turkish Government could not avoid this tangle without a certain risk of bankruptcy. It has had to see inconvenient and dangerous foreign interests being planted within the Empire in order to stave off serious financial embarrassments and the possibility of foreign intervention. Within the limits allowed by a ruthless diplomacy it has succeeded in its main objects. Djavid Bay's financial transaction in Paris has been successful and its conditions are favourable to Turkey. The danger of European intervention under the cloak of internal "reforms" has been averted. The Armenian question has practically ceased to trouble the Government, and very little is now heard of the Arab movement in Syria. The Arab "question", however, in its wider aspect is a favourite theme of speculation among a class of publicists and diplomatists in Europe. It can easily be made to look formidable. It can be conveniently used as a new bogey, and there are possibilities of its being made a real danger to the progress of the Ottoman Empire and Islam generally. The "question" needs, therefore, a brief examination in its bearing on the future of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey in Asia includes several provinces containing large Arab populations. In Syria and Mesopotamia the Arab element predominates, while in the provinces of the Hedjaz, Yemen and Al-Ha'ila the population is almost entirely of Arab stock. The rest of Arabia proper is under the sway of a number of more or less independent tribal chiefs many of whom recognise the suzerainty of the Sultan. The Arab

provinces under the direct control of the Government at Constantinople have been the integral parts of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, and the loyalty and attachment of the people to the Sultan have been unquestioned. The semi-independent tribes of Arabia have usually looked up to the Sultan as the secular head of Islam and the protector of its Holy Places. Sporadic insurrections have no doubt occurred in parts of Yemen, and there have been occasional manifestations of unrest in Iraq, but they have been largely due to the fiery ambition of a Mahdi or some other fanatical leader, who has found little difficulty in raising a large following from amongst the ignorant and impulsive Bedouin tribes, and to the predatory instincts of the nomadic Arabs who chafe under the irksome restraints of a settled administration. In spite of these occasional revolts and recurring systems of unrest the authority of the Sultan has remained unimpaired and the masses of the people have never been suspected of separatist aspirations. The Arab "movement", of which there is so much talk at the present time, is one of the latest diplomatic creations of Europe. If one were to believe half of what has been said and written about it in the European Press, it would appear that the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire were sick of the Turkish misrule, that the whole Arab world from Morocco to Baghdad was simmering with new aspirations, that it was ripe for concerted action with an independent Arab Empire and Caliphate as its objective and that it was waiting only for some great leader to arise and give the lead. The "friends" of the Arabs are even ready with a list of candidates for such exalted leadership.

The Arab question within the Ottoman Empire has two quite distinct aspects which are deliberately mixed up by its European students, probably with a view to confuse the issues and mislead public opinion in Europe. It should be clearly kept in mind that the so-called Arab movement for autonomy in Syria is a distinct phenomenon that has no relation with the state of Arab feeling in the rest of the Empire. The population of Syria is of mixed descent and can only be described as Arab in the sense that it speaks the Arabic tongue. A considerable part of it consists of the followers of Judaism and Christianity. The Syrians as a whole are a homogenous community, have reached a comparatively advanced stage of culture and social life, are peace-loving, industrious, and display a marked commercial aptitude. They stand entirely apart from the Arabs of purer blood and more primitive characteristics who inhabit Mesopotamia and Arabia. The movement for autonomy, of which one heard so much a few months ago, was not exactly of Syrian origin. The Syrians had no doubt certain legitimate grievances, but the bulk of the population has always been highly patriotic and devoted to the Empire and has never dreamed of separate political existence. The movement was organised in Paris under French inspiration and a number of malcontents were caught hold of to launch a "nationalist" campaign in Syria and start a spurious agitation. Much noisy sympathy was expended by the Parisian Press, and there was even open talk about the duty of France to lend her formal protection to a struggling nationality. Funds were freely supplied to the agitators from Cairo and other centres of incitement. French diplomatic pressure was exerted at Constantinople in order to emphasise French pretensions to a "sphere of influence" in Syria. Yet the agitation never became serious and the Ottoman Government speedily got the situation in hand. The patriotic Syrians themselves know the inwardness of the loud protestations of sympathy which were uttered by their "friends" in Europe. Their genuine grievances were removed by the tact and wisdom of the Central Government and the "movement" for autonomy crumpled up like an unsubstantial thing. The Syrian question no longer exists, and we are sure it will not crop up again if the Government is allowed some respite from foreign machinations.

As regards the existence within the Ottoman Empire of the wider movement for an Arab Caliphate, it is an apt illustration of the wish becoming father of the thought. Those who have any knowledge of the real conditions obtaining in Mesopotamia, the Hedjaz and Yemen, would dismiss the very idea as fantastical. The unrest in the environs of Basra and the intermittent revolts of Syed Idriss in Yemen are chronic symptoms of the state of Arab life and have never had any wide political significance behind them. The wild Bedouin tribes of Arabia have yet to be tamed to the influences of settled life. They resent all interference of established authority with their traditions of lawless freedom and their peculiar mode of living. These children of the desert have never known the fascination of secret societies, of organised revolutions and of the modern aggressive nationalism of Europe. They love to roam at will and live their lives without much respect for legal conventions, eking out their livelihood by robbery or promiscuous labour, indulging their passions in feuds among themselves or defiance of the guardians of the law. The fire of religion burns deep in their souls, but their unsophisticated nature makes them the easy dupes of every charlatan who knows how to play on their instincts. A world-wide movement for domination and empire can not surely be fashioned out of such unpretending material. An Arab movement for the Caliphate of Islam can find little congenial atmosphere for its growth within the Ottoman Empire. It is too modern in its conception to have been

born in the primitive minds of the dwellers of Iraq, the Hedjaz, Yemen and the vast desert spaces of Central Arabia. To think of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, or Tripoli as its birthplace is manifestly absurd. As regards Egypt, the Fellah is not Arab by descent, though he speaks the Arabic language, and his devotion to the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam is well-known. The upper classes of Egypt, whether of Turkish or Arab extraction, are too intelligent to be misled by a bolstered-up cry for an Arab Caliphate. Obviously it is a brand-new European conception, and if appearances are to be trusted, it would seem to have been born in some fertile brains in Cairo. The promoters of the idea would like to instal the Khedive of Egypt as the Caliph of Islam and ruler of an Arab Empire that would include Egypt, Syria, the whole of Arabia and Iraq. The integrity and independence of this Empire would possibly be insured under British protection. We do not know whether the temptation to play the rôle of "the Defender of Islam and the Protector of its Holy Places" has invaded the British Foreign Office. We do not think such will-o'-the-wisps can lure any level-headed British statesman. But the idea has been temptingly put in the way of British Imperialists and it would not, therefore, be out of place to state it clearly that the idea is wicked and is abhorrent to the spirit of every true Mussalman, be he an Arab or a non-Arab. The enthusiasts in Europe who are after this dangerous quest do not seem to be aware of the absurdity of their pet proposition. The choice of a Prince of Albanian descent for an Arab Caliphate imparts an unconscious touch of humour to a tissue of sordid aims.

The promoters of the scheme for a so-called Arab Caliphate are at present following surreptitious methods to popularise a "cause" the success of which would spell untold calamity to Islam throughout the world. The Ottoman Government as well as the Arabs within the Empire have to be on their guard. The resources of these enemies of Turkey and Islam are various and great and unfortunately they find little difficulty in securing willing tools for the prosecution of their designs. The Sultan of Turkey is almost universally recognised as the Caliph of Islam and it is the duty of every Mussalman to strengthen the Caliphate and sternly suppress all mischievous movements that may tend to impair its authority. The rise of a rival claimant to the Caliphate would lead to internecine struggles which would destroy Islamic unity and jeopardise the safety of the Holy Places. The Turk and the Arab are before everything else Mussalmans, and both should work together for the secular progress of Islam in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood. The Ottoman statesmen should do all that lies in their power to facilitate the progress of the Arabs within the Empire, and the latter should never forget that they are as responsible for the safety and independence of the Empire and the Caliphate as the Turks themselves. Moslems of other countries have an equal regard for the Turks and the Arabs as their brothers in faith, and if they desire their mutual co-operation it is because they cannot see them frittering away their energies in mutual quarrels. The task that lies before them both is not racial or even national; it is Islamic in the widest and most comprehensive sense of the word. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the statesmen now in power at Constantinople are men of great capacity and are thoroughly alive to their duties. The settlement of the Syrian question has been a creditable achievement in every way. Equally great has been their more recent success in dealing with a number of questions relating to the position of Al-Hasa and Nejd. We have learnt the full account of this success from a most authoritative source, and a brief reference to it would be useful in showing that the hands now controlling Ottoman policy are able and resolute.

We publish elsewhere a letter from a Mr. R.W. Lewis on "An Arab Khilafat" in which the writer points out "a new danger to English control of Egypt and the Persian Gulf" which, in his opinion, is taking shape in the person of Amir Ibn-us-Saoud of Nejd. We received at the same time another letter from Baghdad written in Persian and signed by Abdur Rasid Yazdi which also deals with the growing powers of the Amir of Nejd, his systematic defiance of the Ottoman authorities and his vast ambitions. Both these communications are significant. They might have caused us some concern about the state of things in Central Arabia and Iraq if we had not had the pleasure of meeting Samay Bey, the late Ottoman Commissioner at Nejd, who, after concluding important negotiations with Amir Ibn-us-Saoud on behalf of his Government had come to Karachi en route for Constantinople and paid a flying visit to Delhi. Before we give the account furnished to us by him of the settlement he has arrived at with the Amir of Nejd, it would be interesting to introduce Samay Bey to our readers. He has had a most eventful and chequered career. His early sympathies with the Young Turk movement marked him out as a dangerous person in the reign of Abdul Hamid and he accordingly tasted the full rigours of the Hamidian regime. We make no apology for reproducing some extracts from Mr. Hanns Vischer's book, "Across the Sahara," which give some glimpses of the vicissitudes of life through which Samay Bey has passed. Mr. Vischer first met Samay Bey in

Murzuk, the capital of Fezzan where he was passing his life as an exile. Mr. Vischer gives the following account of the first meeting:—

Amongst the traders, who sat in the market in long rows, under small bits of grass mats, as they do in Northern Nigeria, I noticed a European Turk selling small quantities of tea and sugar to the noisy Murzuk ladies. When no customer came, he took comfort in no less a book than a volume of *Bandelaire*. Not a little surprised to meet a student of European literature amongst the Hausa and Arab sellers of leather-work from Kano and cheap scent from the coast, I made the acquaintance of the trader. It was Samey Bey, a Young Turk from Philippopolis, a former officer in the Turkish Navy, who had been condemned to a hundred and one years of exile and sent to Murzuk. I learnt from him that many of these traders came from various parts of Turkey, and all were men who had held responsible positions and spoke French and German, and, whilst they bargained for a Ghersah with Fatmeh or Zenab inquired anxiously after the state of European affairs and in particular about their own country. Good men they were, who bravely accepted the inevitable, and while cheerfully working for a living among negroes and Arabs, remained loyal to their country and their hopes of its regeneration.

Of Samey Bey's character and his terrible experiences Mr. Vischer writes:

In the evening I met my friends in Samey's garden, and in the soft darkness listened wonderingly to the hopes and joys and sorrows of lives lived in worlds so different from our own. The place itself where we met each night gave one perhaps the best idea of Samey's wonderful character. A few years before he had arrived in Murzuk with a batch of chained prisoners from Tripoli, where he had lain a long time in an underground dungeon in the old castle. It was the third time that he had been accused and tried for liberal ideas. The first time he was still a boy at the naval school, then he was found to be smuggling secret correspondence to the imprisoned Sultan Murad, at the time of his third and final arrest he was commandant of the Port of Haifa. The European Consul through whose office the post went, wishing to ingratiate himself with his Government and Yildiz Kiosk, was in the habit of opening the Turkish officer's mail and forwarding to Constantinople any compromising matter. The end was that the good Consul, his wife, and daughter were decorated for their pains by the Sultan, and Samey, after years of solitary confinement, which would have killed most people, was despatched to Tripoli, and, as he still refused to die, to Murzuk. And now the wretched prisoner, who had been brought in chains and apparently dying to the Murzuk prison, had the best garden in the whole town, with a cheery pavilion where he and his little family slept at night. Though forbidden by law as an exile to marry, he had found some priest to join him to a young Fezzan, and became father of two sons. He soon found means to make himself indispensable, he was in prison one day and secretary to the Governor the next. With others he founded the school for the children of poor people, he borrowed and lent money, sold humbly in the markets and bought from the big traders—Turbus, Tuareks, rogues, thieves, and robbers, traders and farmers, slaves and their masters—all alike knew Samey Bey and all seemed to be his friends. His ideas were a curious mixture of the most advanced rationalism, of nihilism, bombs, daggers, and guns, and of a simple, childlike love and devotion to the poor and suffering. Much hardship during his imprisonment no doubt had affected his character. It must have been a sudden change from the quiet life of a Turkish harem to that of a military school, rife with secret plotting and political agitation. He soon became aware of the sufferings of his people and witnessed all the injustices of a stifled autocracy.

Secretly the boys secured books printed in Western Europe, which were full of revolutionary ideas, and read them with all the enthusiasm of youth and the feeling that thereby they were helping a good cause. It was clear that such a mental career would somewhat tend to confuse the ideas. The one thing which was remarkable through it all was the extraordinary patriotism, the love for his own people, which neither imprisonment, suffering nor exile could alter. Such was my friend Samey, plotter, trader, architect, farmer, officer in the Ottoman navy, married man, political prisoner, and patriot.

After about twenty years of hardships and sufferings cheerfully and heroically borne in exile Samey Bey at last got an opportunity to escape from Murzuk and crossed the Great Sahara in the incredible space of 5 months and 2 days. After the Revolution of 1908 he went to Constantinople and was soon appointed Mutassarrif of Fezzan where he stayed for some time. A short time ago he was sent to Nejd as Mutassarrif and he conducted negotiations under the direction of Talaat Bey for definite understanding with the Amir. He has now concluded his difficult task with the result that the Amir has accepted the direct sovereignty of the Sultan and has been appointed by the His Imperial Majesty as the Vali of Nejd. Samey Bey has assured us that the Amir is devoted to the Caliph and is a true servant of Islam. This should dispose of the rumours that have been set afloat about the dangerous character of Amir Ibn-Saoud and his ambitions.

An Arab Khilafet.

A new Danger to English control of Egypt and the Persian Gulf.

A correspondent signing himself "R. W. Lewis" writes to us as follows:—

The same power which was raised in Arabia about 13 centuries ago and which conquered two great empires of Persia and Eastern Rome and the whole of North Africa and Spain, reaching to the heart of France, again is taking a new life, appearing in the

person of Amir Ibn-Saude, and forming in the desert State of Nejd.

Ibn-Saude, though yet not known to the outside world, is a man of great ambition. His object is to form a great empire by expelling the Turks from Syria and Mesopotamia and England from Egypt, the Sudan and the surroundings of Arabia, and to unite all Arabs scattered in the African desert and Western Asia.

It will be hard to imagine how a son of the desert can perform such a great task, but if we refer to history, we will find the same desert men snatching away the proud crowns of Khosro and the successors of Great Constantine, fixing their banners on mount Pyrenees and beyond Oxus.

At present the resources of Ibn-Saude are limited and he can scarcely find four thousand men to bring them into field, but if he can effect a union with other Shaiks (as supposed to be trying) such as Sennusi, Imams of Yemen and Oman and Keuwit, and with the Secret Societies of Egypt and Syria, he can do much, though the ultimate result may not be a success to him. His chief centre is at Al Reyaz, a place situated in the heart of the Arabian desert, where at present it is not possible to reach except by camels—an animal accustomed to hard life—and an advancing army has to face desert-born *bedu* fairly equipped with the modern arms, whose food is simply camel's milk, some time mixed with wheat flour, or dates, who is accustomed to any kind of hardship, can live even without food for several days, and believes by killing an infidel will earn Paradise, and has a natural hatred to anything foreign to his custom, religion, manners, and will hardly adopt any new idea.

Having such followers, Ibn-Saude, Amir of Nejd, is making plans to constitute an empire upon the same lines as once his predecessors had taken, that is, by preaching a holy war.

The question is, how far this chief will attain his object, and if he succeeded, what will be the result? So far as Turkey is concerned, there is little chance for Saude and in case of his proclaiming a holy war he will hardly find followers even among his own people, as Turkish Sultan is an acknowledged Khalif of Islam, and the majority of Moslems are for Turkish Khilafet, especially since the recent Balkan troubles, though Turks have lost much, have at the same time earned general sympathy from every part of the world where a Moslem could be found.

Supposing he turns against England, he will undoubtedly receive help from the whole Arabia, and can easily provoke a holy war and will find the Arabs gathering from every side under his banner, because he fights with non-Moslems.

There is a secret society working hard to capture Baghdad and make this famous city the capital of the new Empire, and to succeed in this aim they will use all means, fair or foul, even accept temporary help from the same infidel whom they despise, or resort to plundering and making disturbances or proclaim a holy war.

The first step Ibn-Saude has taken is his sudden capture and expulsion of Turkish officers from Al-Hasa and Qatif. He was assisted in this advance by one Taleb Bey, son of Najeb of Buzrah, who is notorious for his intrigues against the Turkish Government, and suspected of killing a military officer of great reputation, and now when the Government is making preparation to send troops, Saude again is supported by Syed Taleb and some others at Constantinople to make truce upon the basis that Al-Hasa and Qatif should remain in Saude's possession under Turkish Suzerainty, and if successful in this plan, his next step will be to take Oman and Iraq, and thus bring anarchy and trouble for England and the Turks.

The best method to put this newly kindled fire is to persuade and encourage the Turkish Government to send an expedition and put down this rebellion as quick as possible, driving Ibn-Saude from Al-Hasa back to the interior; and at present this can be done easily for the reason that the Shaik of Shammar (a powerful tribe in the north of Nejd) called Al-Rashid, who was once the chief at Al-Reyaz, and the Shaik of Aneza and Muntefek and a well-known family of Al-Hasa, known as Ale-Juma, whose chief Hajj Abdul Husain was suddenly taken prisoner and treated very badly, even supposed to be murdered, are all loyal to the Government and ready to render their services, so it will not be a hard work for the Turkish authorities to put down Saude's rebellion, but if let go now, it is possible that the future will be quite different. And for England there is no hope of gaining the same as in Keuwit because a Nejd will never from his heart become friend to an infidel. His first principle is to kill a non-Moslem and die, and this is the only way they believe to earn paradise. Suppose an Arab Khilafet is constituted with a capital at Bagdad, England will never be profited. Turks more or less are Europeanised and have no hatred or prejudice for non-Moslems. In Turkey at present Christians are treated much better than their co-religionists in the Balkan States, for instance in Bulgaria there is a deep hatred for Greek Christians, and so in Greece for those who do not belong to the Greek Church. Again, the Jews receive the best treatment and enjoy equal rights with Moslems, whereas in Russia it is quite the reverse.

I hope our Ministers in England will not adopt the same policy of the lookers-on as in Persia over this side also, the result of which will be the loss of prestige and long earned influence.

The Haj Question.

III.

Synopsis of the opinions of Mahomedan Anjuman, Associations, communities and individuals in the Bombay Presidency regarding the proposals in connection with the Haj pilgrimage formulated in the Bombay Government's letter to the Government of India, no. 2896, dated the 4th April 1913.

Serial No.	Anjuman, Association community or individual consulted.	Dist of the opinions expressed.	Serial No.	Anjuman, Association community or individual consulted.	Dist of the opinions expressed.
1	The Haj Committee, Bombay.	<p><i>Bombay.</i></p> <p>It would be a hardship to compel the Hajis to purchase return tickets, as some of them are very poor and many of them do not return by the sea route. They either return by different overland routes or remain in the holy land for a long time, while a few of them pass the rest of their lives there. Those who do not return by the sea route are entitled to a return half of their tickets, but it would not be an easy thing for them in all cases to get it, a fact which would give occasion to much discontent. Moreover, there is a great probability of the Hajis losing the return halves of their tickets.</p> <p>No monopoly should be given to any particular steamship company as it is inadvisable to put a check upon competition in such an important branch of the trade as the pilgrim traffic. Competition in this traffic would be healthy and would be beneficial to the Hajis.</p>			<p>a maximum rate of Rs. 100 should be charged throughout the season;</p> <p>(c) each pilgrim who purchases a return ticket should receive his coupon in triplicate, one coupon should be with him, another lodged with the Protector of Pilgrims and the third forwarded to the British Consul at Jeddah, so that on his return journey he may present the coupon and receive a ticket for the return voyage. Pilgrims who wish to stay at Jeddah or visit other places should on presentation of the coupon to the British Consul at Jeddah, who would ascertain their intentions on that account, get a refund of their money which should be either half of the actual sum paid or half the amount of the maximum rate chargeable;</p> <p>(d) the period of return passage should be extended beyond 3½ months.</p>
2	Views of the following individual members of the Haj Committee, Bombay:— (1) Suleman Kassim Haji Mitha, Esq., J.P. (2) Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail Subhani, J.P. (3) Haji Suleman Abdul Wahid, J.P. (4) Abdul Kader Khatkhatay, Esq., J.P., B.A., L.L.B. (5) Mirza Mahomed Shirazi, J.P. (6) K. B. Abdur Rehman Kadwani, Esq., J.P. (7) Mir Mehmood Haj Jan Mohomed Chotani J.P.	<p>A system of compulsory return tickets is not advisable as the majority of the pilgrims belong to the poorer section of the community, and those who do not return to India after the pilgrimage will be put to loss. The same will be the case with those who wish to visit Bagdad and return <i>via</i> Basorah, or who visit Jerusalem and return <i>via</i> Port Said. Such a system would further stand in the way of pilgrims wishing a speedy return as they would not have the liberty to avail themselves of the first boat that sails soon after the pilgrimage is over. Pilgrims may go out at the same time but cannot be expected to return all at one time.</p> <p>In the event of its being decided to establish a system of compulsory return tickets a monopoly should not be given to any particular shipping company—</p> <p>(a) Ship owners should be invited to compete for a contract for five years terminable on the part of Government at one year's notice. This would lead to cheaper rates and better terms. Preference should be given to the company whose ships are best equipped and whose rates are lowest:</p> <p>(1) pilgrims should be given the option of purchasing return or single tickets, the rates of which should be fixed. In the case of the former, the charge should not exceed Rs. 120, or</p>	3 ^c	The Loyal Muslim Association, Bombay.	Have passed a resolution approving of the system of compulsory return tickets for pilgrims to the Hedjaz
			1	Anjuman-i Zia-ul Islam, Bombay	<p>Tenders should be called for from different shipping companies, fixing Rs. 100 as the maximum rate for the double journey</p> <p>The fixed rate should be uniform for all periods of the Haj season.</p> <p>The ports of Calcutta and Chittagong should be thrown open to pilgrims. This would give a certain amount of relief to the Bombay Presidency and would also be a convenience to pilgrims resident in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies.</p> <p>In lieu of return tickets, pilgrims should be allowed to deposit money for the return journey in a bank to the credit of the Haj Committee.</p> <p>The period of return to India should be extended to four months, and pilgrims who wish to settle out of India should, provided they give four months' notice of their intention to do so, be entitled to have the amount of their deposit sent to them at their own cost.</p> <p>In cases of death the refunds should be payable to the heirs, and where no claim is made within a year the money should be paid into the "Poor Pilgrim Fund."</p> <p>Three instead of two ships should be despatched from Karachi and the dates of</p>

Serial No.	Anjuman, Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.	Serial No.	Anjuman Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.
	Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay.	sailing should cover the "Ramzan Id" as many pilgrims leave after that festival. A monopoly of the pilgrim traffic should not be given to any particular shipping company.			until they actually return to Jeddah for the return voyage. With regard to depositing the amount with the British Consul at Jeddah it is contended that ignorance of the local language would be a great difficulty and that the many formalities incidental to obtaining payments from a Government department would cause much trouble and inconvenience to pilgrims.
6	The Young Men's Mahomedan Association, Bombay.	A monopoly should not be given to a single shipping company, but tenders should be invited. The rates should be fixed for single tickets each way from Bombay to Jeddah and <i>vice versa</i> , subject to a maximum of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 at any period of the pilgrim season.		Leaders of Anjuman also leading Muslims of both Broach and Ankleshwar Talukas.	The rates proposed for the return tickets are too high. A system of competition is suggested. As an alternative it is proposed that the pilgrims should be required to deposit Rs. 60 with the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, or with the British Consul at Jeddah as a guarantee of their ability to return to India. The period of return allowed under the scheme should be extended.
7	Mr. M.H. Muckba, one of the leading members of the Mahomedan community of Bombay.	A system of compulsory return tickets is desirable, but the rates should as far as possible be lowered.			<i>Kaira District.</i> All are in favour of the scheme but consider that the rates proposed are excessive. The period for which return tickets will be in force should be extended to six months. The company should be required to refund the value of the unused return halves either to Government or to the heirs of the original purchasers. If the heir does not claim the amount, the sum should be utilised for pilgrim relief.
8	The Honourable Moulvi Rafi-uddin Ahmad, Bar at-Law.	A five-year monopoly should not be given to any one shipping company. The proposal is bad in principle and calculated to discourage competition in the pilgrim traffic. Return tickets should not be made compulsory as about a fourth of the pilgrims do not return to India at all, and it has always been a difficult matter to ascertain their heirs. Such a system cannot altogether prevent indigent pilgrims from visiting the Hedjaz though it may reduce their number to a certain extent. In the present state of Mahomedan feeling in India it would be most impolitic as well as unwise for the Government to adopt any measure, however humanitarian, which is likely to be looked upon with suspicion by the ignorant and indigent Mahomedan people, especially if the same savours of religious interference.	11	Leading Mahomedans of Kaira District.	<i>Panch Mahals District.</i> Pilgrims desiring to stay at the holy places of pilgrimage longer than the period allowed by the proposed system should be exempted from the obligation of taking a return ticket and should be allowed to purchase single tickets each way. The maximum rates proposed should be reduced by one half. The refund on unused return halves of tickets should be half the cost of the full return tickets instead of Rs. 50 in all cases as proposed.
		NORTHERN DIVISION <i>Ahmedabad district</i>	12	Leaders of the different sects of Mahomedans of Panch Mahals.	Pilgrims intending to go to Medina usually prefer the route via Ambu, it being shorter and more convenient. An obligation should, therefore, be imposed on the shipping company to carry pilgrims from Bombay to Ambu and back.
9	Anjuman-i-Islam, Ahmedabad.	The system of compulsory return tickets should first be given a trial for one year only. The company should issue tickets at half rates to poor pilgrims up to 10 per cent of the total number of pilgrims carried.			<i>Surat District.</i> The Anjuman is opposed to the proposals but merely on the general ground that the restrictions which they involve would tend to discourage Mahomedans from undertaking the pilgrimage. Individual Mahomedans are, however, in favour of the proposals.
		<i>Broach District</i>	13	Anjuman and leading Mahomedans of the Surat District.	The Bohra High Priest of Surat is of opinion that arrangements are necessary for Hajis who may wish to remain at Mecca for longer than the prescribed three and a half months, and that there should, therefore, be an extension of the period of return by one month. He also urges that the rates to be fixed should involve no substantial increase over the average rates hitherto paid by the pilgrims.
10	Leading men of the Mussalman communities of Broach.	There is no objection to the introduction of a compulsory return ticket system, but if a monopoly is to be given to a particular company, the latter should provide a sufficient number of steamers plying and the charge should not exceed Rs. 60 at the most. The period allowed for return to India should be extended to one year. As an alternative scheme it is proposed that pilgrims should be required to deposit their return fare with a Jeddah banker, arrangements being made to ensure that they do not get their money back			

Serial No.	Anjuman, Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.	Serial No.	Anjuman, Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.
		<i>Thana District.</i>			Government should fix the rates of the passage money.
14	Mussalmans of Kalyan and Bhiwandi and the Anjuman of the latter place.	Are in favour of the Government proposals.			The return tickets should be transferable.
		<i>CENTRAL DIVISION.</i>			The period of three and a half months proposed for the return journey should be extended to five months.
		<i>Ahmednagar District.</i>			<i>Satdra District.</i>
15	Anjumans and leading members of the Mahomedan community at Ahmednagar.	Are in favour of the Government proposals.	20	Anjumans of Wai, Satdra District.	Are in favour of the Government proposals.
		<i>West Khandesh District.</i>			<i>Sholapur District.</i>
16	Mussalman Anjumans and Associations and some of the Bohras in the district of West Khandesh.	There is a consensus of opinion that the issue of return tickets should be made compulsory not only for the voyage to the Hedjaz but also as regards the railway journey in India between the pilgrims' homes and the port of embarkation. The fares proposed are rather high. Provision should be made to return some portion of the passage money to those pilgrims who do not return by the same route. The guarantee for the return journey should be for six months, and pilgrims should be allowed to produce the return vouchers at Jeddah within three months of the last date of the Haj. In the case of pilgrims who propose to live in the Hedjaz for long time the purchase of return tickets should not be insisted upon, but they should be given the option of buying return tickets available for two years subject to a refund in case of death or non-return or the return tickets should be made transferable.	21	District Moslem League, Sholapur.	Have unanimously passed a resolution recording the opinion that the return tickets system is not desirable unless the fares for passages to and from Jeddah are fixed. Government should fix a maximum rate for the voyage to and from Jeddah.
		<i>East Khandesh District.</i>			It should be made compulsory for every pilgrim to deposit a sum sufficient to cover the expenses for the return journey.
17	Leading members of the Mahomedan community of East Khandesh District.	Are unanimously in favour of the Government proposals.	22	Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community in the Sholapur District.	Are in favour of the arrangements proposed by Government.
		<i>Nasik District.</i>			<i>SOUTHERN DIVISION,</i>
18	Mussalmans of Nasik.	Are entirely in favour of the Government proposals.			<i>Belgaum District.</i>
	Mussalmans of Malegaon.	Are opposed to the proposal on the ground that as the Haj is a religious matter and the Mussalmans are much attached to their sacred places, they should be allowed the same liberty of access to them as before	23	Leading Mahomedan members of Belgaum Taluka.	Express their readiness to agree to whatever opinion may be given by the Anjumans or Associations in the City of Bombay and consider that the maximum rates proposed by Government should be reduced.
		<i>Poona District.</i>		Mahomedans of Chandgod Mahal, Mahomedans of Chikodi Taluka, Mahomedans of Athni Taluka.	These communities are in favour of the system of compulsory return tickets.
19	Mussalman Anjumans, Associations and leading Mahomedans of Poona District.	All are in favour of the compulsory return ticket system but consider that proper arrangements should be made for the disbursement to the heirs of the cost of the return ticket in the event of the death of a pilgrim. No monopoly should be given to any particular company, but tenders should be invited every year.		Mahomedans of Gokak Taluka.	Are opposed to the system of compulsory return tickets as some pilgrims depend on charity for their return voyage.
					<i>Bijapur District.</i>
			24	Anjuman-i-Islam, Bijapur, and the Mahomedans of the Bijapur and other talukas in the district.	Are all generally in favour of the proposed arrangements but are of opinion that the rate is too high and urge that it should be fixed at Rs. 60.
				Mahomedans of the Badami Taluka.	Are not in favour of the Government proposals as they think that the rates proposed are quite prohibitive to the poorer pilgrims who generally make up their passage money by begging.
			25	Nawab of Savanur and certain leading Mahomedan gentlemen of the	<i>Dharwad District.</i>
					Are all generally in favour of the Government proposals but consider that the period of three and a half months for which the return ticket is available should

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	Talukas of Dharwar, Ranebennur and Bankapur.	be extended to four months. The return ticket should be issued (registered) to pilgrims by name so as to ensure a return passage even in the event of the loss of the ticket.		Mussalmans of Kolaba District.	<i>Kolaba District.</i> Are generally in favour of the Government proposals.
26	Mr. Nizamuddin Ahmad Fouzdar, a councillor of the Ranebennur Municipality.	Suggests that the period of two months within which the return voucher is to be presented by a pilgrim at Jeddah should be extended to at least four months. Provision should be made for the grant of refunds to those who overstay the period of the return journey owing to sickness or other reasons. The proposed rates are high and should be reduced by 20 per cent. <i>Kandara District.</i>	29	Mussalman Anjumans and Associations and the leading members of the Mahomedan community in the district.	<i>Ratnagiri District.</i> Are in favour of the Government proposals but consider the rates of passage money to be excessive.
27	Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Karwar Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Ankola Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Kumta Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Honavar Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Sirsi Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Yenapur Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Haliyal Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Bhatkal Taluka. Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the Siddapur Taluka.	Are in favour of the Government proposals. Are in favour of the Government proposals, but consider that the rates should be lowered. The system of return tickets will be disadvantageous to those pilgrims who go to the Hedjaz with the intention of staying there for a year or two. The rate proposed is too high. The maximum rate should be fixed at Rs. 100. Pilgrims should be insisted on to deposit money sufficient for the purchase of a return ticket. There should be no limit of time within which pilgrims should return. Have no objection to the Government proposals. The supply of free tickets for the return journey to pilgrims in really indigent circumstances should be made a condition of the agreement with the steamship company; otherwise pilgrims should be exempted from the obligation to purchase return tickets. Are of opinion that though the object of the scheme is a good one, still in the interests of the Moslem pilgrims it appears undesirable to enforce it as many of them go to the Hedjaz with the intention of settling down there.	30	Mahomedan Anjumans and Associations and Mahomedans generally in the district. Educated and wealthy classes of Mahomedans in district.	<i>Sind.</i> <i>Hyderabad District.</i> Opinion is divided on the subject, some giving approval to the proposal with a rider to the effect that the fare should be reduced and a better steamship service employed, and others opposing it on the ground that as many pilgrims die in the Hedjaz the money spent on the return tickets will be wasted. Are in favour of the Government proposals. <i>Karachi District.</i>
			31	Shaikh Wulliji Fbrahimji, member of the Haj Committee and a leader of the Borah community, Karachi.	The period for the return journey should be extended to three months as a large majority of pilgrims go to visit Medina and other holy places after the Haj and it will not be possible for them to present the return tickets at Jeddah within two months as proposed. Provision to be made for the refund of return passage to the relations or friends of the deceased on production from the Sheriff of Mecca or Medina of a certificate of death countersigned by the British Vice-Consul at Jeddah. The rates of passages proposed by Government should be reduced. Passage rates for 1st and 2nd class passengers should also be fixed.
			32	Khan Saheb S. G. Haji, Deputy Superintendent, Civil Veterinary Department, Sind.	Government should provide suitable facilities for the prompt refund of the money paid for the return passage to those Hajis who do not return by the Red Sea route or to the heirs of those who die while on the outward journey in the Hedjaz or on the return journey.
			33	Dost Muhammad Tokhi, a member of the Haj Committee, head of the Pathan community and agent to His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.	Opposes the system of compulsory return tickets as he considers that half number of pilgrims going to the Hedjaz are poor and that it will be very difficult for those to pay at once for the return ticket as they have to labour and beg at Mecca for the return fare. Several pilgrims go via Karachi or Bombay but return via another route. Arrangements should be made for the sailing of pilgrim ships from Karachi also.
			34	Haji Abdullah Haroon, member of the Haj Committee and leader of the Memon community.	Opposes the system of compulsory return tickets on the ground that the Mussalmans of India as a whole are not so advanced as to realize the utility of the proposal. In the event of it being decided to establish the system he suggests—

Serial No.	Anjuman Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.	Serial No.	Anjuman Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.
35	Anjuman Zia-ul-Islam, Karachi.	<p>(1) The company should provide passages for all persons who present themselves at the time of sailing and should not be permitted at any time to decline to take passengers for want of steamers.</p> <p>(2) Proposed rates of fare are too high. There should be competition.</p> <p>(3) Maximum fares for 1st and 2nd class passengers should be fixed.</p> <p>(4) The period of return should be extended.</p> <p>(5) All moneys refunded on unused return tickets should be utilised for pilgrim relief.</p> <p>(6) The proposed two trips from Karachi are not sufficient. The company should provide an exclusive vessel at Karachi for 100 or more passengers.</p> <p>The proposed system of compulsory return tickets would prove an additional hardship to pilgrims going to the Hedjaz. The period allowed for the return journey is too short.</p> <p>The procedure proposed for the refund of moneys on unused tickets is tedious.</p> <p>The passage rate proposed is exorbitant.</p> <p>The Association considers that the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets, though intended to minimize the existing grievance of the Muslim community, would, it is feared, be viewed by the illiterate masses as an interference with the religious duties of Mahomedans. The maintenance by the authorities of a strict watch on intending pilgrims with a view to ascertaining whether they have sufficient means for their return journey will obviate the difficulties experienced.</p>	39	Mahomedan Anjuman in the District of Sukkur.	<p><i>Sukkar District.</i></p> <p>Opinions are divided. The objections against the proposal to grant monopoly, are that the fares are extremely heavy, that competition is desirable, and that the period allowed for the return journey is too short. Some suggest that pilgrims desirous of making a prolonged stay in the Hedjaz should be allowed to buy single tickets or to claim at Jeddah a refund of half the amount at the end of the season. Half the amount of the full fare should be refunded on the return half and not Rs. 50 only.</p> <p>Children under 12 should pay half fares only, and children under 4, quarter fares.</p>
36	Anjuman Sunat-wal Jamat, Karachi.	Are opposed to the Government proposals.	40	Mahomedan Zamindars, Anjuman and chief Mussalman officials of the district.	<p><i>Larkana District.</i></p> <p>They are generally in favour of the Government proposals, but consider that very great discontent will be caused among the poorer classes if the cheap passage rates which have recently prevailed are abolished and a Government monopoly is granted which would result in an enhancement in the rates. They suggest that the rates should be inclusive of charges for boat hire between the ship and the shore and for quarantine charges at Camaran. The period of two months after the last date of the Haj is not sufficient for the return journey. Those who decide to stay longer should be entitled to claim a refund on their return fares.</p> <p>Pilgrims should be permitted before they leave home to name the person to whom refund is to be made in the event of their death. A fixed period should be named at the end of which refunds should be claimable if nothing has been heard of the pilgrims. The refund should be limited to Rs. 50. Those who have paid at the higher rates should be entitled to the refund of a full half of the fares charged. Unclaimed return fare refunds should be credited to a fund for the assistance of poor pilgrims.</p> <p>Ships starting from Karachi should not go to Bombay; Chittagong and Calcutta should be thrown open to the pilgrim traffic.</p>
37	Sind Mahomedan Association.	<p>The proposed measures would seriously hamper the pilgrim traffic and cause the pilgrims great inconvenience and difficulties instead of affording them protection. In the opinion of the Association the only practicable solution would be to require all the steamship companies to desist from forming a ring and thus unreasonably raising the rates.</p> <p>The steamship companies should be required to carry a certain percentage of poor pilgrims free of charge in any steamer.</p>			<p><i>Thar and Parkar District.</i></p> <p>Are in favour of the Government proposals.</p>
38	The Protector of Pilgrims, Karachi.	<p>A voluntary return ticket system should be given a trial for two years and the pilgrims should be induced to purchase return tickets. The Protector suggests that a monopoly should be granted to a single shipping company for two years, that the rates for different classes of tickets (1st class, 2nd class, saloon, floor, poop and deck) should be fixed, and that a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ of the combined outward and return fares should be allowed on return tickets. Rates should be based on the average rates that actually prevailed in Bombay during corresponding periods of the last five years. No brokers to be licensed. The period of the return journey should be extended to four months, and ships for Jeddah should leave within a given number of days after the advertised date of sailing. Refunds on unused return tickets should be allowed. Four ships at least should be despatched from Karachi, and the company should sell tickets at that port also.</p>	41	Leading Mahomedans in district.	<p><i>Nawabshah District.</i></p> <p>Are in favour of the proposals, but consider that the proposed fares should be reduced by one-half and that arrangements should be made for refunds in cases where for any reason the return halves of tickets have not been used. If Government fix the fares they should strictly limit the number of pilgrims to be carried on each ship, and should require that proper arrangements be made for the return pilgrims.</p> <p>Are in favour of the proposals but consider that refunds should be allowed in the case of pilgrims wishing to stay in Arabia for a period longer than the one suggested.</p>
			42	Mahomedan Zamindars of the Nasrat Taluka.	
				Mahomedans of the Sakrand Taluka.	The rates should be reduced.
				Mahomedans of the Shahdhpur Taluka.	
				Mahomedans of Nanahahro.	Oppose the proposals as they consider that it would prevent many poor Mahomedans

Serial No.	Anjuman, Association community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.	Serial No.	Anjuman, Association, community or individual consulted.	Gist of the opinions expressed.
	Mahomedans of the Sinjhore Taluka.	who now depend on charity from performing the Haj.		Leading members of the Mahomedan community of Jamkhandi	The system of compulsory return tickets will be convenient to those only who intend to return within the time allowed, but it will be inconvenient to those who wish to stay in the Hedjaz for a long while. The monopoly rates are rather high as compared with current rates.
	Mahomedans of Kandiaro.	Are in favour of the Government proposals.		Leading members of the Mahomedan community of Ramdurg.	It is desirable that maximum rates should be fixed but those mentioned in the provisional agreement with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company are too high. They should be moderate and such as could be paid by the middle class and poor people who form the majority of those who go to the Hedjaz.
		The proposal would prevent many poor Mahomedans from performing the Haj. The system of return tickets would be unfair to the heirs of considerable number of Hajis who die in Arabia. It is undesirable that any one company should have a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic. The time allowed for the return journey should be five months at least.			A system of compulsory return tickets should be introduced, but exceptions should be made in the case of those who do not wish to return at all or who intend to stay a longer time in the Hedjaz.
		<i>Upper Sind Frontier District.</i>			It is neither necessary nor desirable to give a monopoly to one company, though the rates may be fixed.
43	Leading Mahomedan Zamindars in the district.	Are generally in favour of the proposed arrangements, but consider that the fares proposed are too high.			
		<i>ADEN.</i>	50	The Raja of Rajpipla and the leading Mahomedans of the State.	Have no objection to urge against return tickets being issued, but consider that the system should not be made compulsory and that those who desire to go on single tickets should have full liberty to do so. Very few persons from the State go to the Hedjaz.
44	Leading Mahomedans of Aden.	Compulsory return tickets and fixed fares are desirable for the pilgrim traffic from Aden to Jeddah. Rates should also be fixed for the voyage from Aden to Jeddah. The period allowed for the return journey should be extended to four months.			<i>Akalkot State.</i>
		<i>NATIVE STATES.</i>	51	Mussalman Anjuman at Akalkot.	Are in favour of the Government proposals.
		<i>Palanpur State.</i>			<i>States under the Political Agent, Satara.</i>
45	His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.	Expresses his full concurrence in the proposed arrangements.	52	Mussalmans in the States under the Political Agent, Satara.	Are in favour of the Government proposals.
		<i>Native States in the Rewa Kantha Agency.</i>			<i>Savantvadi State.</i>
46	Leading Mahomedans of the Native States of Sunth, Chhota Udepur, Balasinor, Kadana and Baria in the Rewa Kantha Agency.	Are generally in favour of the proposals, but that the proposed rates are very high. The Mahomedans of Chhota Udepur are opposed to fares being fixed and to a monopoly being given to any one company. The Balasinor Mahomedans point out that a Haj can ordinarily go to Jeddah at a cost of Rs. 15 to Rs. 30. Provision should be made for extending the period of return in the case of those pilgrims who may be desirous of staying in the Hedjaz longer.	53	Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community of the State.	Are in favour of the proposed system of compulsory return tickets.
		The proposed rates are high.	54	Leading individual members of the Mahomedan community.	Agree to the proposal to establish a system of compulsory return tickets.
	The Raja and Mahomedans of Lunavada State.	<i>Khurpur State.</i>	55	Anjuman-i-Islam, Cambay.	According to the injunctions of the Koran indigent Mahomedans have no right to go to Mecca. There is no objection therefore to the proposed system of compulsory return tickets combined with fixed rates of passage money.
47	Vasir of Khairpur State.	Four ships should be despatched from Karachi instead of two.			<i>Porebunder and Junagadh States.</i>
		<i>Radhanpur State.</i>	56	The Bantwa and Manawadar Mahomedans.	Approve of the compulsory return tickets system.
48	His Highness the Nawab Saheb of Radhanpur.	The transfer of return tickets should be permitted. The duration of a return passage from Jeddah should be extended to one year to enable pilgrims to visit other holy cities.		Porebunder and Junagadh Mahomedans.	Opinions are divided. In Junagadh itself and in the Porebunder State the Mahomedans oppose the proposed arrangements. They say that competition is desirable in order to reduce the fares so as to enable the poorer pilgrims to make the pilgrimage. Some pilgrims stay on in Arabia a long time after the Haj is over.
		<i>Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country State.</i>			
49	Mahomedans of the States of Kolhapur, Sangli, Miraj (Junior) and Mudhol.	Are in favour of the proposed arrangements.			

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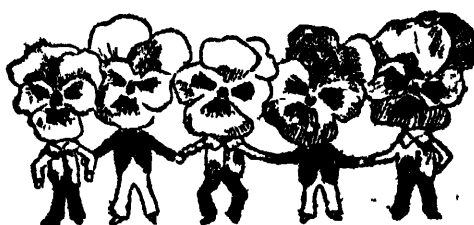
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**The Manager of "The Comrade"
Delhi.**



The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

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Vol. 8.

Single Copy

Delhi: Saturday, July 25, 1914.

Annual Subscription

No. 3 & 4.

Annas 4.

Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

CONTENTS

Page.	Page.
WEEK ... 41	LEADING ARTICLES—
OUR LONDON LETTER ... 44	The Restoration of the Calcutta ... 52
OUR CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER ... 47	Sir James Meeson at Aligarh. ... 53
THE A TITS—	The Haj New Proposal for ... 54
The Coronation of the Shah ... 48	
The Anglo-Persian Oil Con- ... 49	SUPPLEMENT—
tract ... 49	THE HAJ QUESTION ... 56
The Anglo-Arabic High School, ... 49	<i>Gup—</i>
Delhi ... 49	The Bore ... 58
Moslem High Schools in the ... 49	LORD BYRON THE MAN ... 59
Punjab ... 49	CORRESPONDENCE—
A Eugenic Marriage ... 50	The Haj Pilgrimage ... 60
World's Hindustan Students' ... 50	Govt. Anglo-Arabic High ... 61
Federation ... 50	School, Delhi
Spelling Reform ... 50	DEBATE ON THE COUNCIL OF
The Preaching of Islam in ... 51	INDIA BILL ... 62
England ... 51	THE NEW TURKISH ARMY ... 65
The Hindu University ... 51	ADVERTISEMENTS ... 66—68
Scheme ... 51	
The Home Rule Crisis ... 51	
The Prime Minister of Hy- ... 51	
derabad ... 51	
The Haj Pilgrimage ... 52	
The Last of the Double Num- ... 52	
bers ... 52	
VERSE—	
To Napoleon ... 52	

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying such communications.

The Week.

Home Rule.

London, July 14.

THE House of Lords to-day discussed the third reading of the Home Rule Amending Bill.

Reviewing the Lords' amendments the Marquis of Crewe recalled the Irish convention's rejection of the Irish Councils Bill when the Irish Members of the House of Commons were ready to accept the discussion on it. The House of Commons must be affected by such considerations, neither the Nationalist nor Ulster members being in a position to ignore their Irish supporters. Consequently greatest patience and forbearance must be shown by all parties. Both sides desired an arrangement though it would be one which nobody believed would represent relations in the future between the two parts of Ireland.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said that nothing but official opposition amendments would suffice to avert the danger which was threatening. Throughout the debate Government had not uttered a word or suggestion to help in the task it had undertaken. It had exhibited an

impotence, more hopeless, more helpless and more aimless than ever any Government had done at the time of a crisis.

The Earl of Dunraven proposed an amendment enabling the King by order in Council to postpone the operation of the act until the Commission had reported on the constitutional relations between Ireland and the rest of the kingdom.

Viscount Morley said that the amendment was opposed to the spirit of the constitution. The effect of the Lords' other amendments would be to make collision more inevitable.

Earl Beauchamp, speaking on behalf of the Government, opposed the amendment, but stated that if there was a general desire among all parties for a conference with a view to conciliation, Government would facilitate the summoning of one.

Lord Lansdowne declined to accept the amendment as a substitution for any of the opposition amendments but welcomed Earl Beauchamp's offer. He would like to know at what stage it was contemplated that such conference should take place. He attached importance to the announcement believing that, that was the only direction in which a lasting settlement could be found. The amendment was carried without a division.

London, July 21.

In his speech to the members of the Home Rule Conference, the King after thanking those present for their response to his summons and expressing gratification that the Speaker was to preside, said: "My intervention may be regarded as a new departure, but the exceptional circumstances under which you are brought together justify my action. For months we have watched with deep misgivings the course of events in Ireland. The trend has been surely and steadily towards an appeal to force. To-day the cry of 'civil war' is on the lips of the most responsible and most sober-minded of my people. It is unthinkable that we should be brought to the brink of fratricidal strife upon issues apparently so capable of adjustment if handled in a spirit of generous compromise. My apprehension in contemplating such a dire calamity is intensified by my feelings of attachment to Ireland and sympathy with her people who have always welcomed me with warm-hearted affection. You represent in one form or other the vast majority of my subjects at home; you have also deep interest in my dominions overseas who are scarcely less concerned in a prompt friendly settlement. I regard you, then, as trustees for the honour and peace of all. Your responsibilities are indeed great. The time is short. You will, I know, employ it to the fullest advantage and be patient, earnest and conciliatory in view of the magnitude of the interests at stake. I pray God in his infinite wisdom to guide your deliberations so that they may result in joy of peace and honourable settlement.

The Conference discussed, in an amicable spirit, the points at issue but no definite advantage was made towards agreements.

Over a hundred Liberals met and considered the situation. The meeting urged Government not to make concessions unacceptable to Nationalists nor to agree to a settlement involving a dissolution before the Plural Voting Bill is passed.

It is confirmed that a yacht with three thousand rifles for Nationalist Volunteers, was seized on the Irish coast on July 19th.

London, July 21.

Unionist headquarters in Ulster anticipate that this new effort at a conference will fail.

A meeting of unofficial Liberal M. P.s. has been summoned for to-day to consider the position.

The papers display no enthusiasm regarding the Home Rule conference and emphasise the chilling reception accorded to the announcement in the House of Commons yesterday, except when it was stated that the Speaker would preside. Apart from jealousy over the infringement of the Commons' prerogatives, there is a general feeling that the conference is unlikely to be successful as its decisions must be confirmed by the respective supporters of its members. Unionists declare that Ulstermen are less inclined to make sacrifices than they were two years ago, and the only consolation is that the failure of the conference will make an election practically inevitable. On the other hand, it is stated that the meeting of the Nationalists yesterday was a stormy one, and after the report had been made by Mr. Devlin on the feeling in Ireland Mr. Redmond promised not to submit to any concessions beyond those contained in the original Amending Bill.

The unofficial Liberal meeting to-day promises to be a numerous and influential one. Its avowed object is to support the Nationalists.

The *Daily Chronicle* says there is no evidence that the King has acted otherwise than constitutionally, and his Majesty is entitled to hearty support in his attempt at reconciliation.

The Speaker arrived at Buckingham Palace an hour before the Conference began. The crowds outside were so dense that he had to enter by a side gate. Next came Mr. Dillon, who was followed by Mr. Bonar Law, Captain Craig and Sir Edward Carson together. They were cheered by the crowds. Then Mr. Redmond arrived, and afterwards the Marquis of Lansdowne on foot. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, whom the crowds also cheered, were last.

The King received the members of the Conference in the Bow Room and addressing them stated that the proceedings would be as secret as those of the Cabinet. The King remained with the members for over half an hour. The entire proceedings lasted one and a half hours. They will be resumed to-morrow.

The Amending Bill.

London, July 15.

SIR EDWARD CARSON'S sudden recall from Belfast and the fact that Mr. Birrell is visiting Dublin are regarded as significant and the Irish outlook is supposed to be more hopeful to-day.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith announced that Government was anxious that the Home Rule Amending Bill should be considered at the earliest practicable moment. He would provisionally fix Monday.

Mr. Bonar Law emphasised that it would be a real misfortune if there was any delay.

London, July 16.

The "*Daily Chronicle*" says that the hopes of the Irish settlement by consent are fading. Sir Edward Carson, says the journal, has returned more determined than ever on a clean cut. While Government is firmly wedded to the idea of exclusion by county option, there have been rumours that a minority of the Members of the Cabinet is willing to accept a clean cut. Hence a deputation of Liberals has asked the chief whip to convey to Mr. Asquith its strong objection to further concessions.

London, July 17.

It is stated that at yesterday's Cabinet meeting no decision was reached as to the course to be followed when the Amending Bill comes up for second reading in the House of Commons on Monday. The Cabinet will meet again to-day. There is much talk of communications behind the scenes. It is generally agreed that matters are still at deadlock.

London, July 18.

It is expected that the Home Rule conversations will be continued over the week-end. Though an agreement was not reached yesterday evening, the feeling is still optimistic, being based on an idea that the hour for a settlement has not yet arrived.

The *Daily News* says that for the first time the parties were within a measurable distance of peace yesterday. The deadlock related solely to the inclusion of Tyrone among the counties which the Unionists wish to vote "en bloc" on the exclusion.

The *Daily Citizen* states that the spirits of the Nationalists suddenly rose yesterday and a surprising statement may be expected on Monday.

The *Morning Post* asserts that Mr. Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Harcourt and the Marquis of Crewe are in favour of a clean cut of Ulster, while Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd-George head the majority in the Cabinet in insisting on the county option.

The *Daily Chronicle* says that the Cabinet is united in the essentials and the fear of resignations is unfounded.

The political atmosphere is electrical. His Majesty's activities have stimulated the hope that the country is at last on the eve of peace. It is announced that Mr. Asquith, instead of going to Buckingham Palace, will accompany the King to Portsmouth as Minister in Attendance. Despatches have been exchanged between the Palace and Downing Street. His Majesty has decided not to remain at Portsmouth for Tuesday as arranged formerly, but will proceed to London on Monday. Reports are current that communications have passed between Mr. Asquith, Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson and that the body of Moderate Liberals are working boldly for settlement. It is generally agreed that everything points to Monday being a most memorable day.

The King postponed his departure for Portsmouth for the inspection of the Fleet until afternoon owing to developments of the Ulster situation. It is understood that His Majesty will receive Mr. Asquith in audience. It is announced that His Majesty will not inspect the Fleet to-day. There was much disappointment at Portsmouth when it was announced that the King had been delayed. Vast crowds had gathered to watch the inspection. Mobilisation, however, was carried out in bright sunshine and the whole programme was gone through except for inspection. Airship and aeroplane flights which were performed showed that aeronautical branch of the Navy has a great future. Sir Thomas Lipton's steam-yacht "Erin" and new "Shamrock" outward bound for America passed the Fleet off Spithead and were loudly cheered. Falmouth will be the yacht's last port of call on the side of the Atlantic.

Indians in Canada.

London, July 9.

A MESSAGE from Vancouver states that the Indians on board the "Komagata Maru" have applied to the City of Vancouver besides to the Government at Ottawa for financial assistance and provision for the ship for the return journey.

London, July 10.

According to a telegram from Toronto to the *London Times* the Canadian Government refuses to defray the expenses of the exportation of the Indians on board the "Komagata." The Canadian law obliges the steamship owners who bring undesirables to the country to deport them at their own expense. The Government proposes to make an example of the present case in order to prevent similar attempts in the future.

Simla, July 10.

The following telegraphic communications which have passed between the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and His Excellency the Viceroy are published for general information:—

Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale to the Viceroy: London 8th July, 1914.

Indian Community, South Africa, desire me to act as their spokesman and convey to Your Excellency their humble heartfelt thanks for your great help and courageous advocacy which facilitated settlement.

Viceroy to Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale:—Telegram, dated 9th July 1914.

Thank you cordially for your message from the Indian Community of South Africa. I did no more than my duty in giving expression to the deep feeling of India last November. The generous settlement secured through the wise and patriotic action of the Union Government is greatly appreciated in India and will, I am confident, conduce to the happiness and prosperity of our Indian fellow subjects in South Africa.

London, July 17.

A message from Victoria states that the Hindus on board the "Komagata Maru" beat off over hundred armed Vancouver police who to-day attempted to board the vessel and force her to sail for Hongkong. A number of the police including the chief were wounded by missiles hurled from the deck. Another attempt to enforce the ship's departure will be made on Monday.

London, July 19.

Reuter wires from Ottawa that the Government has instructed the commander of the dominion cruiser "Rainbow" to send a detachment of men to the "Komagata Maru" to reduce the Hindus on board to submission with a view to their deportation on the "Empress of Japan" which is sailing on Thursday. Government has also taken legal proceedings against the master and charterers of the "Komagata" for failing to carry out the deportation order.

Victoria: An armed force will be transferred from the Dominion cruiser "Rainbow" to the "Komagata Maru," and the Hindu ringleaders will be arrested, put in irons and deported by the next liner leaving for the East. If the mutinous spirit is not quelled by these measures, all the Hindus will be transhipped and deported in batches.

The Duke of Connaught has appealed to the Hindus to maintain peace.

The Japanese Government has cabled to the Japanese Consul at Vancouver, saying that if the "Komagata" is forcibly seized by the Naval authorities, all the Japanese officers and crew must first leave the ship so as to avoid international complications.

The India Council.

London, July 15.

In the House of Lords to-day, Baron Lamington asked the Marquis of Crewe to secure to the Members of the Council of India £600 per annum, the allowance proposed in the recent bill. Lord Crewe replied that he would like to see the emoluments of Indian members increased, but he was advised that as the sums were fixed by statute they could only be altered by statute. Moreover, it was impossible to deal piecemeal with matters embodied in the rejected bill. Earl Curzon said, he would be glad to see salaries restored to their former level, but as regards the salaries of Indian members Indian public opinion should be considered carefully. It was by no means certain that Indian appointees would welcome any discrimination. The subject was then dropped.

Simla, July 9.

Commenting on the rejection of the India Council Bill the "Punjabee" (Lahore), thinks that the Bill is bad but capable of improvement and regrets that no attempt to improve it has been made.

The "Tribune" (Lahore), says it is not the rejection of a shadowy concession that adds to discontent and dissatisfaction in this country, but the attitude of the Tories who regard that shadow as too much for the country.

The "Daily Telegraph" (Lucknow), says the principle of the Bill though objected to by the Indians was sound and its rejection may be misconstrued in India.

The "Times" (Madras), says.—"We are inclined to accept the rejection of the Bill in philosophic spirit as we consider it a half hearted and ineffective measure."

Commenting on the rejection of the India Council Bill by the House of Lords the "Rangoon Gazette" says—The rejection is not surprising. Lord Morley's announcement on Tuesday in the House of Lords is a frank statement, but it will tend to strengthen the satisfaction in India, that the House rejected the India Council Bill.

Turkey.

London, July 9.

Athens: A highly conciliatory note from the Porte on the question of the treatment of emigrants appears to have satisfied Greece, paving the way to more friendly relations.

London, July 12.

Constantinople: Greece and Turkey have applied to Switzerland to designate an arbitrator for a mixed commission of the two countries.

London, July 17.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that, speaking in the Chamber, the Minister of War said that he hoped that the army though smaller would be able to efface the black days of the past. Government applied to the Chamber for a credit of £5,000,000 for military armaments.

Persia.

London, July 17.

REUTER wires from Baghdad that the Khanikin Kermanshah route is officially declared to be unsafe. Over 4,000 loads of British goods, valued at £180,000, are arriving at Khanikin, and cannot be forwarded, whereas Russian goods are arriving at Kermanshah by the northern route. Three native merchants of Baghdad have failed.

London, July, 19.

During his statement on the Foreign Office Note in the House of Commons to-day, Sir Edward Grey said that when the agreement was published regarding the navigation on the Euphrates and the Tigris it would only be possible to argue that our position had been impaired by enormously exaggerating our position before the agreement was concluded, and underrating our position would be intrinsically better, and we should have assurance for the future which we had never had before. He entirely favoured the Mehemmerah-Kheramabad concession, but was not in favour of sending a force to enable the survey to be completed or of pushing the trade concessions in other parts of the world where we should require greater expenditure to protect them.

Sir E. Grey was not surprised at the Russian comments on the Persian oil agreement because a section of our own press had assumed that we should be led to do all sorts of things which were never contemplated. The Agreement is no way changed the situation. If anything in South Persia necessitated steps incon-

sistent with the independence and the integrity of Persia and with the Anglo-Russian agreement, we should discuss the matter with the Russian and the Persian Government as we did with Russia when it was feared that it would be necessary to send a force commanded by British officers to protect the Bushire-Shiraz road.

London, July 21.

In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, replying to a question regarding the situation at Kermanshah, said he had called the attention of Russia thereto who had pointed out that in the interest of the open door for trade, the Russian Consul at Kermanshah ought to be instructed to support the Persian Governor-General's measures and keep the road open. Russia had promised to send special instructions.

Referring to the collection of taxes in North Persia, Sir E. Grey said that the collection, by Russian Consuls, occurred in the case of Russian subjects and those under the protection of Russia. These revenues were deposited in the Russian Bank, but accounts were kept. Nothing was taken from the Persian treasury.

Albania.

London, July 9.

HAGUE A despatch received here states that the Epirotes have captured Korytza. The Dutch officers are safe and are "en route" for Valona.

Athens: Fighting at Korytza lasted three days. In the final dash the Epirotes defeated the Albanians. The town is orderly and the inhabitants are giving the Epirotes a hearty welcome.

London, July 10.

Paris. The "Temps" publishes a telegram from Belgrade, stating that Austrian troops are concentrating on the frontier.

London, July 11.

By the capture of Koritza and other neighbouring places by the Epirotes, who are undoubtedly led by Greek officers the Epirotes have recovered possession of all territory which they had previously abandoned in conformity with the Treaty of London. Thus the position of the Albanian State is becoming more and more precarious.

Rome: The Prince of Albania has asked the Government of Rumania to send troops to Albania to restore order. Austria-Hungary and Italy support the request.

London, July 13.

The situation in Albania is becoming worse daily and firing between the out-posts at Durazzo occurs every night. A meeting of forty notables from northern, central and southern Albania was held yesterday under the presidency of the Prince when the position was discussed. It appears unlikely that Rumania will assent to the Prince's proposal to send troops to Albania to restore order. Several of the notables advised the Prince to apply to the Power for foreign troops. Others opposed this, preferring simply to ask the Powers to guarantee the frontiers fixed by the Treaty of London. It is stated that the meeting was most remarkable for the complete agreement between the Catholics and Mahomedans in favour of the retention of the Prince on the throne. Nothing, however, has yet been done.

Meanwhile the Dutch General Dewer reports that the position at Berat is most critical, the town being surrounded by insurgents to the north and the Epirotes to south.

Reuter wires from Durazzo that perfect order prevails here. Both the Dutch officers who have arrived from Koritza assert that the Albanian forces are confronted on the south not only by the Epirotes but also by a strong detachment of Greek regulars. There are 50,000 utterly destitute refugees in the neighbourhood of Berat.

The insurgents have captured Berat.

London, July 15.

Reuter wires from Durazzo that efforts are being made to defend Valona, but the fall is regarded as inevitable. The fate of Durazzo is also a dubious one.

A message from Durazzo states that the Greek Government emphatically denies participation of the Greek regular troops in a fighting between the Albanian forces and Epirotes.

London, July 17.

Albanian insurgents have captured Spitali, near Durazzo. The International Control Committee has decided to take care of the refugees from Valona.

Mr. Gandhi.

London, July 15.

A message from Johannesburg states that Mr Gandhi will shortly leave for England. He has been widely entertained in recognition of his efforts, culminating in the settlement of the Indian question.

Speaking at a farewell banquet, given in his honour, at which 400 guests attended, including representative Europeans, Mr. Gandhi said that the recent settlement was honourable to both sides but was not final inasmuch as it did not give to the Indians everything to which they were entitled. Referring to the various disabilities which still existed, he said that he relied for their removal on the co-operation and assistance of friendly Europeans.

London, July 18.

Reuter wires from Cape Town that Mr. Gandhi has left for England. Replying to eulogistic farewells he referred feelingly to the death of Lady Hardinge and promised to convey to Lord Hardinge condolences of South African Indians. With regard to the settlement of the Indian question in South Africa Mr. Gandhi said that it had been conceived in grand spirit. He appealed to Europeans to view questions from humanitarian and Imperial standpoint.

Russian Mohamedans.

London, July 10.

A Mahomedan Congress of over 40 delegates from European and Asiatic Russia who have been holding meeting here regards the centralisation of Mahomedan religions and interests in the Russian Empire as being urgently needed. With regard to the educational problem the Congress considers that it will be difficult to effect progress among the Mahomedans without the education of the women.

Mahomedan Educational Conference.

Algiers, July 11.

PETERSBURGH: The Central Standing Committee of the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference has very gladly accepted the invitation of the Mahomedans of Rawalpindi to hold the twenty-eighth session of Conference there in December next.

The Philippines.

London, July 12.

WASHINGTON. The Administration has introduced a Bill into the House of Representatives granting a measure of self-government to the Philippine Islands. The Bill proposes to abolish the Philippines Commission and substitute for it a Senate and House of Representatives the members of which will be elected for Christian portions of the islands. The representatives of non-Christian parts will be appointed by the Governor-General. The Bill is not expected to reach enactment during the present session.

Tibet.

London, July 10.

DURING his statement on the Foreign Office vote in the House of Commons to-day, Sir Edward Grey said that when the agreement was published regarding navigation on the Euphrates and the Tigris it would only be possible to argue that our position had been impaired by enormously exaggerating our position before the agreement was concluded and underrating the agreement's advantages. Our position would be intrinsically better and we should have assurance for the future which we had never had before. He entirely favoured the Mohammerah-Khoramabad concession, but was not in favour of sending a force to enable the survey to be completed, or of pushing trade concessions in other parts of the world where we should require greater expenditure to protect them.

Regarding the railways in the Yangtse valley Sir Edward Grey alluded to the agreements of the Hong Kong and Shanghai and Deutsch-Asiatische Banks. Various complications had been produced and he had recently been endeavouring to disentangle them and to get our hands freer. We now had pending considerable railway concessions and he believed that these group arrangements would enable different combines, including ourselves, to go ahead more freely in those parts of China where they had particular interests.

Regarding complaints of the absence of diplomatic support of capital he declared that whenever bona fide British capital was applying for concessions anywhere in the world, to which there were no valid political objections, it was our duty to give it our utmost support.

The action of China in practically attempting to conquer Tibet forcibly and turning it into a Chinese province just when Great Britain and Russia had mutually agreed not to interfere in Tibet, thereby making China's position there perfectly secure, an action carried so far that the Indian frontier was becoming unsettled, was a most unreasonable action for which we had great cause to complain. He regretted that China had not hitherto signed the Tibetan Convention and that no agreement with regard to boundaries had been proposed. He hoped that China would eventually sign. If she did not, but resorted to an aggressive policy, the consequences must be disastrous to China and there would certainly be serious trouble on the Indian frontier, compelling Great Britain seriously to take up the matter with the Government of China itself.

Our London Letters.

London, June 26.

CAMBRIDGE HONOUR LISTS: INDIAN WRANGLERS.

The list of Wranglers and Senior and Junior Optimes were issued at Cambridge last Friday, together with the Tripos lists in Moral Sciences.

Mr. Mohammad Hussain Qazi, of Emmanuel College, who had received his preliminary University education in the Punjab, is amongst the new Wranglers; while the names of Mr. M. Ali, Christ's College, Mr. V. Bageja, Sidney Sussex College, and Mr. R. C. Soni, Trinity College, appear in the list of Junior Optimes.

The list of successful candidates in the Moral Sciences Tripos, Part I., contains the name of Mr. N. P. Thadani, Queen's College, in Class II, Division 2, Mr. K. S. Menon, Christ's College, secures a place in Class III.

NEW INDIAN BARRISTERS.

The following Indian and Burmese students of the Inns of Court were called to the Bar on Wednesday night:—

LINCOLN'S INN—Ahmad Bakhsh Khan, S. H. Gidwani, Fitzwilliam Hall, B. A. (Cantab.), Shaikh Masooduzzaman; Raj Mohan Lall; Mast Ram; Abdul Rauf; Abdul Ruzzaq; Maung Ba Tin, Devindra Singh, Downing College, Cambridge; B. R. Chadha, Edinburgh University B. Sc.; A. N. Ghosh; Magan Lal Varma, Uga S. n, Oxford University, B. A.; Syed Abul Hasan Razavi, Madras University B. A.; W. Husain Khan, Edinburgh University; Jan Mahomed Joonejo; Babu Lal Sud, Punjab University B. A.; R. S. Bajpai, Lincoln College, Oxford, B. C. L., and Allahabad University, B. A.; Shaikh Mohamed Ameen, Allahabad University, B. A.; Pir Tajuddin, Punjab University, B. A.; Mohamed Yamin Khan, Allahabad University, B. A.; Zafrulla Khan, London University, S. O. Bose, Calcutta University M. A. B. L., a Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta; Ghulam Rasul, Allahabad University, B. A.

INNER TEMPLE—R. Prasad, B. A. (Cantab.), certificate of honour, Y. S. Zia, M. A. (Cantab.)

MIDDLE TEMPLE—Syed Wasiuddin Ahmad, Ram Lall, B. A.; L. Pillay, B. A. (Cantab.); Syed Mohammad Askari Hasan, B. A.; Syed Mohammad Yousuf Khan, B. A.; Shaikh Ali Hasan Khan; Syed Haidar Riza, B. A.; P. C. Dutt, B. A.; F. K. Khilnani; Syed Qadir Hasan, M. A.; S. N. Rai; P. Muddukrishnaia, M. N. Menon; K. K. Reddy, B. A., LL. B., A. P. Sabavala, B. A., Ahmad Ali Khan, B. A.; Syed Athar Hosain, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Allahabad, B. D. Allbless, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay.

GRAY'S INN—K. P. Khaitan, certificate of honour, M. A., B. L., Calcutta University, a Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta; C. B. N. Cama, B. A., LL. B., St. John's College, Cambridge, Arun Sen, B. A., Peterhouse, Cambridge; B. S. Puri, B. A., Downing College, Cambridge; Ghulam Rasul Khan, B. Sc., Durham University; Syed Abbas Ali, B. A., Downing College, Cambridge, F. B. Vachha, B. A., Christ's College, Cambridge; Mohammad Hasan, B. A., Punjab University; B. R. Saberwal, B. A., Punjab University; D. A. Ghaswalla, B. A., LL. B., Bombay University, a Vakil of the High Court, Bombay; J. M. Mehta, M. A., LL. B., Bombay University, a Vakil of the High Court, Bombay.

AIMS OF PRESIDENT YUAN-SHIH-KAI.

Dr. G. E. Morrison, Political Adviser to the President of the Chinese Republic, who has arrived in London on leave, has expressed his utmost confidence, in course of a conversation with a Press representative, in the recent progress of affairs in China, and in the peaceful outcome of recent changes.

When I left Peking (he said) the outlook seemed to me better than it had been at any time in my experience. Order was well maintained, save in the restricted areas that are the theatre of operations of the remnant of the followers of the bandit White Wolf. There is peace and quiet in every important city throughout all China, north and south, east and west. Many of the leaders of the first revolution are now working quietly in the Government. The revolutionaries are decreasing in numbers, and they have no money. The situation is well in hand—there is no question of that.

To describe the present Government of China as a reactionary autocracy is unjust. The Young China party attempted too much. They tried to go in one step from the most ancient autocracy to the most advanced form of representative Government known in the world. Their impetuosity, well-intentioned, but ill-advised, forced the President to intervene.

Dr. Morrison absolutely denies that Yuan-Shih-Kai had cut himself off from the Young China party, or that he aims at a family dynasty. He had endeavoured to draw his advisers and helpers from every party in the State. Good officials, who served under the Manchu régime but resigned when the Manchus retired, have been restored to office. The younger foreign-trained Chinese still bulk largely in the President's immediate staff and in the various Ministries. Dr. Morrison continues:—

On the staff of the President himself there are at least 40 men who have been trained in England or America and 60 or more who have been trained in Japan. He has appointed many of the ablest Cantonese to high positions. In his endeavour to choose all that is best in the service of the nation he has even gone to men who were formerly reputed to be his leading enemies. The 70 members of the Council of State, which stands behind the President and is now considering the permanent Constitution, represent every shade of opinion in China.

There is now no Premier, but a Secretary of State, as in America, with a number of Cabinet Ministers. The Young China party wished to strengthen the Legislature. The great need of China is good administration and the strengthening of the Executive, and this is what has been done. The Secretary of State is admittedly one of the ablest officials who have ever held office in China, Hsu Shih-Chang, the first Viceroy of Manchuria. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sun Pao-Chu, has been Minister in Paris and Berlin, speaks excellent French, and has certainly conducted the foreign affairs of China in a way that has won general approval. The Minister of Justice has been for years in Japan and is a highly-trained student. The Minister for Finance was for 12 years, I think, in America, has visited England half a dozen times, and speaks English as well as any Englishman. The Minister of Railways is a Graduate of Yale. A son-in-law of Tang Shiao-yi, a Graduate of Columbia, is the most prominent permanent official in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Wu Ting-Fang's own son, a Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, is on the personal staff of the President. Is it not absurd to talk of men such as these as a party of reaction?

Turning to the financial affairs of China, Dr. Morrison declares that recent attacks on China's financial position were not warranted by facts. The Salt Gabelle was showing unexpected surpluses. Large amounts of surplus revenue, after the retention in the foreign Banks of sums sufficient to meet all obligations for six months ahead, were being returned to the Chinese Government. For the first year Sir Richard Dane estimated a collection of \$24,000,000. There had been delay in beginning work, but in the seven months remaining of the year \$34,000,000 had been paid into the foreign Banks.

Every month larger amounts of taxes were coming into the central Government. In the month of May alone the President received seven million dollars from the provinces, over and above the surplus revenue of the Salt Gabelle. So far from accepting the suggestion of the China Association that there should be a moratorium for five years, during which the Boxer indemnity should not be paid, the President authorised the statement that China had no difficulty in meeting these payments and rather than postponing they intended later to expedite the payments.

Though one is bound to feel sometimes that Dr. Sun Yat Sen would certainly have made a more successful President for China—from the Chinese point of view as distinct from that of Europe—the above statement of Dr. Morrison is all the same most reassuring as to the future of that great Asiatic Republic. Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Kaver Pasha, who, by the way, have no few characteristics in common, are absolutely indispensable to their respective countries, whether in or out of office. It is due to men of their type that the national spirit has survived in China and Turkey, in spite of so many obstacles and difficulties, and it is to them that their fellow countrymen are looking up for still further guidance and lead. The President of China, however, is a shrewd diplomat and is not likely to hinder by his actions the hitherto successful progress that has been recently evident throughout the length and breadth of that vast continent. The 400 millions entrusted for the time being to his care will not indeed permit the Executive to discharge their duties in any but the most honourable, patriotic and conscientious manner, and if Yuan-Shih-Kai is determined to work along these lines, China is bound to have a bright and prosperous future before her, if the ever greedy European diplomacy would only leave her to herself to work out her own salvation.

ARAB WINS THE POLYTECHNIC MARATHON RACE.

The King acted as starter in the Polytechnic Marathon Race, which was run from Windsor Castle to the Bridge Grounds on Saturday last, and the Queen was present at the beginning of the long and trying contest over the 26 miles 385 yards of the now classic course.

The race was won by Djebelia, a young Arab from Algeria, only seventeen years of age, who is attached to an athletic club in France, in 2 hours 46 minutes 50 4-5 seconds. The race carries with it the right to hold the "Sporting Life" £500 trophy.

By a glance at the order and times of the arrival of the first twelve in the Marathon, it will be seen that they do not include A. Ahlgren of Sweden, who won last year. He ran very well for a while on Saturday, but never looked likely to win, and no great surprise was evinced when he retired from the race after running about twenty miles.

Meanwhile, so easy and graceful was the mode of progression adopted by Djebelia, that even when outside the first three he was regarded as the most likely winner. He had a magnificent ovation at the finishing post.

SYED ABUL HASAN RAZAVI.

It has been my pleasant duty to chronicle from time to time the successes achieved in this country by various Indian students, who had taken an active part, during their temporary stay in England, in one or other of the several institutions and associations in London and elsewhere, and had been prominent in the Indian "public life" of this metropolis. That pleasant duty I have never before discharged with greater pleasure and delight than I do to-day in announcing Syed Abul Hasan Razavi's "call" to the Bar. He is the elder son of Mir Tahmat Ali Khan Razavi of Hyderabad, Deccan. After a successful career in the University of Madras, of which he is a Graduate in Arts, Syed Abul Hasan Razavi came over to England in 1910, mainly with a view to study Agriculture. During the three years he spent in Gloucester in the Royal Agricultural College, he simultaneously kept terms in Lincoln's Inn. He took his diploma of membership of the Royal College of Agriculture last year and has now, as stated above, completed his course of legal studies as well.

While in England, the Syed has been very closely associated with the London Islamic Society and the London Indian Association, on the managing committee of which he has been sitting for some time, much to the benefit and advantage of his colleagues. He is the most diplomatic canvasser I have ever known, and it is mainly due to his energy and influence that the Islamic Society has been adding so many names of late to its list of members. Woe to the poor soul who has the misfortune to come across Abul, as he is affectionately called by his many friends here! A membership form and a pencil in hand and with plenty of small change in his pocket, I have on several occasions witnessed him approaching his future victims, with the most remarkable seriousness of expression ever imaginable. A few explanatory words and the business is done. In a moment a new member has been nominated for election, and what adds to the fun of the whole show is the fact that the new man has also been persuaded to pay up his subscription there and then. His personality and charm of manners, coupled with which is an extraordinary degree of sincerity and honesty of purpose, have secured him a host of friends and admirers. His approaching departure from this country will be keenly felt by all those institutions and societies, particularly the Islamic Society, which he has so faithfully served for the past few years. His numerous friends in London wish him a successful career in India.

THE MOSLEM POPULATION OF THE BALKANS.

The Honorary Secretary of the Islamic Society, Mr. Abdul Haq, has received the following letter from Sir Lyre Crowe, dated, Foreign Office, the 23rd June —

SIR,—

I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Gray to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant enclosing resolution passed at a meeting of your Society in regard to the condition of the Moslem population of the Balkan Peninsula.

THE KHUDDAM-I KA'ABA SOCIETY.

The Committee of the Islamic Society has decided to establish a branch of the Khuddam-i Ka'aba Society in London. Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai has been appointed acting Honorary Secretary, with Mr. Ismail Mortada, of Cairo, Honorary Treasurer. The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Managing Committee, viz., Messrs. Khwaja Kamaluddin, Zafar Ali Khan, S. El-Bakry, Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey, Abdul Haq, Jhalal Shah, Khalid Sheldrake and Omar Flight.

London being a cosmopolitan Moslem centre, the existence of a branch of the Khuddam-i Ka'aba Society was an absolute necessity. Its members on leaving England can thus help in spreading the great movement in their own countries. In this respect the London branch will no doubt hold a unique position. Judging by the present enthusiasm shown by the management, the Khuddam-i Ka'aba Society in London has a successful and useful future before it.

LORD HARDINGE'S VICEROYALTY.

London, July 3rd.

The widespread movement in India to secure an extension of Lord Hardinge's term of office, which expires next year, is undoubtedly a growing tribute to the splendid work that has been done in India by the Viceroy during the past four years. It is not known yet whether Lord Hardinge is personally in favour of staying in India longer than the usual period of five years, and his own views on the subject are, of course, of paramount importance. But in case His

His Excellency could see his way to approve of the proposal, it is the earnest wish of all Indians here that the Secretary of State would act in accordance with the national demand that has become so forcibly manifest in India and advise His Majesty to sanction the required extension of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty.

The *Times*, in a leading article, has shown its strong disapproval of the suggestion under the plea that it is not sound in principle. Reading between the lines, one can, however, easily detect a very strong element of "personal" objection that is being entertained towards Lord Hardinge in that mysterious den of ambiguity in Printing-House Square. All this theory of bad principle and bad precedent that the *Times* puts forth so elaborately is obviously done to garb its own well-known disapproval of Lord Hardinge's policy in India. It is perfectly plain that it is His Excellency Lord Hardinge and not His Excellency the Viceroy that this journal is averse to securing an extension for. The reasons for its attitude are equally obvious. Ever since Lord Hardinge has taken up the reins of his high office, he has made it abundantly clear that he is not going to follow the old order of Anglo-Indian traditions, when dealing with important affairs of State in India. He has repeatedly shown that in critical matters the vast Indian population could safely depend upon him to exercise that wise and sound statesmanship, free from prejudice, that the great Eastern Dependency of the Crown rightly expects from the Sovereign's representative. The regrettable mosque episode in Cawnpore and the South African Indian crisis are too recent to be overlooked. It was Lord Hardinge, and Lord Hardinge alone, that saved a most perilous situation on both these occasions. India and England cannot be too grateful to His Excellency for his services to the Empire during those dark and critical periods. The millions of India and the seriously-minded portion of the community in England have thoroughly realised the deep significance of Lord Hardinge's action on those two memorable yet intensely dangerous occasions, but the Anglo-Indian brigade in India as well as their friends in this country have not concealed the fact that they have not been in sympathy with the policy then adopted by His Excellency. So far the "man on the spot" has been the sheet-anchor of their arguments in governing India, but when the "man on the spot" has repeatedly demonstrated his genuine sympathy for the Indian cause and has thereby won the hearts of the millions of India, he has been mercilessly rendered the target of Anglo-Indian criticism.

Lord Hardinge's reply to the Muslim deputation that recently waited upon him in Delhi is another instance of the high statesmanship with which he is gifted. In spite of the severe condemnation that had been meted out to the Indian Muslims by the Anglo-Indian Press and their friends in this country—condemnation based on "sedition," which, it was alleged, had infected the rank and file of the Muslim population of India, the only evidence in favour of which was their sympathising with their co-religionists in Turkey and their making common cause with their Hindu fellow-subjects in India—His Excellency in his now famous speech took the opportunity of assuring the deputation that, speaking as the head of the Government of India, he had not for a single moment entertained any such ideas as had found currency in the reactionary Press of India or England.

Is it a wonder then that the proposal to humbly pray to His Majesty to grant an extension of office to His Excellency finds very little favour in the columns of the *Times*? One in fact shudders with horror to think as to what would have been the condition of India during the last two or three years, had any one else but Lord Hardinge been at the head of the Government of India. Anarchy and chaos would have certainly spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Martial law, deportations without trials and imprisonments would have followed as a matter of course. India has been fortunately spared the sight of that most ghastly picture, solely and entirely through the presence of a statesman of Lord Hardinge's calibre at Delhi.

India would rejoice on the day when she is assured of an extension of her present Viceroy's term of office. Let us sincerely hope His Majesty's advisers would consult the unanimous opinion of India and secure for His Excellency the necessary extra period of office.

THE COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL.

Another Indian Reform Bill is before the peers. By the Act of 1858 the Council of India in London consists of 15 persons, nine of whom at least must be officials of ten years' standing. They are paid £1,000 a year, and, like the judges, may only be removed by Address in both Houses. Lord Crewe proposes:

A Council of from 10 to 14 members.

Appointed not for life, but for 7 years, with extension to 12 years.

The salary to be £1,200, with an additional £600 for Indian members, who have to set up a home in this country.

Two Indian members to have a statutory position, and to be selected from nominations by the Legislative Councils of India.

There are also certain administrative provisions dealing with the subjects which the Secretary of State may handle as "secret"—that is, apart from the Council of India. Lord Crewe denies the charge that these "secret" matters are so important as to make him an "autocrat."

How was the Bill received? Lord Curzon bluntly moved the rejection. It was absurd that a "Government in the throes of extinction" should promote such changes. What Lord Curzon detests is "the new, inappropriate, and perilous method of appointment" of Indian members by suggestions from the Legislative Councils. Moreover, he attacked Mr. Montagu, who is now represented as having been a kind of hypnotiser of the Department.

Lord Courtney warned the House of Lords that the rejection of the Bill would be "a grave misfortune," and on the motion of Lord Amphil the debate was adjourned till Monday next, when possibly the measure may be referred to a Select Committee. Do the peers really want to add India to the category of Ireland?

PRESS COMMENTS ON THE COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL.

Almost all the leading papers have editorially commented on the Council of India Bill, now before the peers for second reading.

"The Lords," says the *Daily News and Leader*, "did not immediately respond to Lord Curzon's elaborate attack upon the Bill. They adjourned the debate, in preparation, no doubt, for a hostile vote on Monday next. Lord Crewe, as a matter of fact, omitted to expound the principles underlying the measure. He contented himself with an explanation in detail of its rather complicated provisions; and this method made Lord Curzon's task easier than it would have been if the Secretary for India had made a clear statement of his conception of Council Government as applied to India and of the manner in which the existing relations between Whitehall and Simla would be modified by the Council Bill. . . . The Government's plan implies the view that, being an advisory body, it should be made more representative of Indian opinion. Lord Curzon, on the contrary, wants to see it continued as a preserve of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. . . . "Autocracy in India," says Lord Curzon, with profound irony, "is worse than a blunder; it is almost a crime." We accept the dictum with respect, for it comes from the greatest autocrat that India has known for two generations, the Viceroy, who, more than any other, reduced his Council to impotence. . . . If the Lords refuse to give it a second reading, Anglo-India will rejoice; but the greater Indian public will draw one conclusion, namely, that the Indian demand for statutory representation on the Secretary of State's Council is rejected. And that conclusion will be equally unfortunate from the standpoint of the party which in India advocates moderate constitutional reform."

The *Morning Post* proceeds thus:—"We should rather regret, in the ordinary way, that a Government Bill dealing with such a subject as the Council of India should be treated by the Opposition as Lord Crewe's Bill was treated in the House of Lords yesterday. A responsible Government may usually claim with agreement a certain latitude in the reform or adaptation to new needs of its administrative machinery. The Council of India, by general admission, is in need of some reform. . . . It is possible—and, indeed, probable—that there is a good deal which might be reformed with advantage not only in the constitution but in the procedure of the Council. . . . But the difficulty with the present Bill is that its intention appears to be not so much reform as emasculation. The Council is at present only a consultative body; the Secretary of State may disregard it almost at will; but it does supply a certain check—an inadequate check, it may be—on an otherwise ill-instructed bureaucracy. . . . The present Bill means the destruction for practical purposes of the Council, and would leave the Secretary of State in almost undisputed command. . . . But in another respect the Bill provides for an experiment of an altogether different character. It seeks to inoculate the Government of India with yet another homoeopathic dose of democracy. In 1907 the Government appointed two natives of India to the Council, and this practically has continued since that time. The proposal now is to make this new custom statutory, and not only so, but to provide that these Indian members shall be chosen on an elective principle. Now the Government of India is not a popular or responsible Government, and never can be as long as England rules India. The day that India rules itself, that day England retires its last official, and its last centurion from the Peninsula. India through weakness, division, anarchy over a long period of time gradually fell under the dominion of a power which had strength, unity and purpose. But let us not flatter ourselves that the subjection was involuntary, or that our Empire would continue if India had the power and the unity to shake herself free. It, therefore, follows that if we deliver any part of our powers into the hands of an Indian race or interest we thereby weaken ourselves and hasten the time of our departure. We should make it our ideal not to part with our power, but so to use it as to give India the best possible government and the greatest material benefit. Such should be the direction of reform—the development of India's resources, the protection of her races from one another, and of her peasantry from the rapacity of her upper classes. The best possible government at the least possible expense—that is an ideal more to our own true interest and the true interest of the people of India than inoculating them—in however small doses—with the views of democracy. . . . The proposal is that the two Indian members should be chosen from a panel of indefinite size, elected."

by an electoral college to consist of the non-official members of the Legislative Councils. The effects of this arrangement would be that the Government of India would be deprived of any voice in the choice of these members, and that the Secretary of State would have a choice restricted to a small band of men—quite possibly politicians and agitators. The experienced Indian civilian would be ruled out. The Government seem to be under the delusion that the native members of the Legislative Councils represent the people of India. They really represent certain interests and classes, the small, upper and middle classes of India. The Indian people—we mean the peasantry—have no representative and no friend save only the Government of India itself. In these circumstances, we cannot see that the election of these two Indian members would be either truly democratic or truly useful. It would probably mean a new centre of friction and disturbance inside the India Office, and a focus to which intrigue and agitation in London would naturally gravitate. We think, therefore, that if this Bill is to be of any service at all and not to do mischief, it will have to be carefully and largely amended. We should be sorry if the Opposition seemed uncivil to Lord Crewe; but his Lordship can hardly expect, at this stage of the Government's existence, to carry a policy which the Opposition regard as unsound in principle and likely to produce trouble in practice."

In the course of a leading article the *Daily Telegraph* says:—"The Council of India Bill is a measure which could have but little direct effect upon the Government of India. It is an advisory body of from ten to fourteen persons, seated at the India Office; it has no administrative powers, and the Secretary of State can override it upon all matters save those involving expenditure. The Bill proposes not to add to its activities, but to restrict them; not to enlarge its numbers, but to diminish them; not to increase its limited rights of intervention, but to empower the Secretary of State to act without it in matters upon which he must at present consult it. Lord Crewe represents it as in the main a measure for expediting the progress of formal business. . . . With regard to the proposal to make it obligatory, as it is at present customary, to appoint two Indian members to the Council, it is approved by all, we think, who view Indian affairs with 'the modern eye.' Where warm disagreement arises is upon the further proposal that these two members shall be chosen from a list prepared by the non-official members of the Legislative Councils in India. This is assailed on the ground that the Council of India is the last place in which elected representatives of the people of India should find a place. On the other side it is urged that the change is reasonable in itself; that it is eagerly desired by the 'constitutional party' among Indian reformers; and that the refusal of it would tend to throw that party into the arms of the physical force seditionists."



Our Constantinople Letter.

Constantinople, June 30.

WAR-CLOUD IN THE BALKANS.

In the near East as well as in the West the political horizon seems to be considerably darkened with clouds portending with an outbreak of an approaching storm in the near future. Events of great magnitude do always cast their shadows before. The relations between the Turks and Greeks have reached the point of highest tension. The recent parliamentary speeches by the Greek Premier, M. Venezelos, have created considerable excitement in diplomatic circles in Europe. He brings in a terrible indictment against the Turks of persecuting the Greeks and thus forcing them to emigrate from the Turkish Empire. Up till now not a single case of persecution by the Turks has come into our ken, and the accusation is baseless and utterly false. It goes without saying that falsehood, lies, treachery and intrigues are themes of Greek politics. But what was the motive of an untruthful parliamentary discourse when neither the Premier himself nor the Government at Athens could hardly ignore the sincere desire of the Turks to bring about a rapprochement. Would they ignore also the successful results of the mission of Talaat Bey in the storm-centres of Anatolia? The reason of baseless utterances of the Greek Premier was not far to seek, and that was to hide from Europe the injustice, barbarity and pillage which the Greeks have been perpetrating in Macedonia upon the Moslems; and to excite a widespread indignation by forming a public opinion in Europe against the Government at Constantinople. The Greeks, therefore, are in hot haste making all possible preparations in mobilising the army and navy, and bands of marauders have already begun their raids bringing pillage

and ruin to the villagers on the coast of Asia Minor. For justice and fairplay the Sublime Porte has sent in a diplomatic note to the Powers asking for an International inquiry into the real state of affairs. Would it be a statesman-like policy on the part of the Turks to meet the Greeks in another war when the country is still in a very critical state and is likely to remain so owing to the wild machinations of the Governments of Russia and France? The Turks, therefore, will have to be very careful and wary how they act so as not to give occasions to their enemies disguised as friends to provoke a quarrel.

Things in Albania are not a whit better. Serbia and Greece are conspicuous by taking an active part in the Albanian trouble. In a serious battle near Durazzo, Colonel Thompson, the Dutch Officer Commanding the Albanian force, was killed by the insurgents, and the loss was considerable. The insurgents occupied strategic positions and fought with bravery and heroism. In many pitched battles, fought later, there have been considerable losses on both sides. Although many other cities fell into the hands of the insurgents, yet they had to retreat owing to overwhelming forces of the Government. An armistice has been signed with the consent of the International Commission to avoid future conflicts.

BRAVO ALBANIA!

The insurgents have made desperate attempts and once again has Albania come under the Ottoman flag. The enthusiasm and simultaneous action on the part of the insurgents has sent a thrill of consternation and dismay into the forces of Government. Elbassan, the centre of nationalist activity, and other cities, too, have fallen into their hands.

THE YOUNG TURKS AND RELIGION.

Apropos the editorial notes on Young Turks and Religion which appeared in the *Comrade* of April 25 last, there had been a buzz of excitement in the Turkish Press. To cast a slur on "Ottomanisation" and "patriotism" for which the Young Turks are sparing neither energies nor pains to keep the spirit alive, above all, for the safety of the Ottoman empire and integrity of Islam, shows the basic errors of Indian Moslems in the conception of the political creed and religion of the Young Turks. One of the Nationalist dailies, the *Tasfiri Fikr*, devotes much of its space with a worthy rejoinder. It is admitted without any vestige of doubt that the Turk is a Moslem, and it was for religion and nothing but religion only that he had been fighting against overwhelming odds for five or six centuries; and the belief that *the Turk is not even half as good a Moslem*, which has cooled down the affection and esteem of Indian Moslems, is a natural consequence of their political ineptitude, for they have no eyes to see nor ears to hear nor opinions of their own to form; they cannot but be satisfied with what the non-Moslem Turcophobes—veteran enemies of the Ottoman empire—has got to say. It is a *coup d'état* on the part of the enemies of Turkey to delude the Mussalmans and it is not without effect. That the "Ottomanisation" and "patriotism" of the Young Turk, the attitude of the Egyptian Nationalist seeking inspiration from the Pyramids, the triumphant re-entry of the Ottoman army in Adrianople and the purchase of *Rio de Janeiro* and *Reshadillya* give no satisfaction to the Indian Moslems, reveals in unmistakable terms that Indian Moslem is not even half as good a patriot as the Turk, the Egyptian Nationalist or even his own countryman, the Hindoo. Patriotism or love of country is not still a predominant element in Muslim character in India; it seems he does not unoften let himself be influenced without rhyme or reason by extraneous sentiments which is neither beneficial to his compatriot nor to his co-religionists in Turkey. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches. None but he whose heart throbs with patriotic impulses for regenerating his nativeland, who stands for a larger progress and independence of his own people and who feels a deep ardour for what his country stands for, and her future evolution and national policy could really understand the force of Ottomanisation and patriotism that has animated the Turks since the fall of the Hamidian regime. A nation has a right to be true unto itself—a right to live, and naturally the Turk wants to live a life of his own—a life of national self-respect, honour and dignity beneath which are shielded and defended the Turk's love of liberty and greatness. Is it, therefore, sacrilegious to introduce modern reforms and progress in the country, to organise army and navy to defend the nation's liberty, to impart military education for the growth of vigorous manhood in the race? Spoliation and degradation under political bondage will never elevate a nation and win her respect, however high and lofty her religion and philosophy might be. Moslems should bear in mind that it was in the days of political power of the Moslems that our religion was spread far and wide from Spain to China; our education, literature and arts, permeated with the spirit of Islamic democracy, opened new activities for the progress of the human race; our trade and commerce flourished enriching the countries which the

Civilisation of Islam had penetrated in, and Moslem artisans covered the face of the world. *Misfortunes never come alone, but in battalions*, and since the day when Moslem independence had been jeopardised, they began to loose everything as a matter of consequence one after another. Persia, Morocco and Tripoli are gone and Arabia must follow next! And still if we do not "Ottomanise" Turkey, the last stronghold of Islam, we would die out in the race of life, and the fate of the Moslems be worse than animals, for animals, as Sheik Abdul Aziz Shaweesh says, have societies for protection whereas the Moslems nobody would care for.

The time has come for Moslems to decide which they would have—liberty or death. Do not be led astray by false hopes and illusions. Do the nearest duty that lies at hand—that is, to serve the cause of your country. Be you proud that you are an Indian—an Indian first and last. Listen to the stirring appeal of the Egyptian nationalist, Mohammed Farid Bey,—“Raise up your hearts, children of Islam; “do not let yourself be cast down or discouraged by the passing “misfortunes, nor blinded by the fallacious promises of the Powers that “pretend to protect your brothers only to enslave you afterwards. “Uplift yourself or you will be condemned to disappear. And you “Musallman princes! whoever you may be from Morocco to China, “from Bokhara to Zanzibar, are you satisfied to see yourself “reduced to the rank of servants wearing gold-chains round “the necks. Does not remorse fill you for all that you have done “to consolidate foreign domination?”

PATRIOTISM AND MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS.

If ever there is a work which from its magnitude and incomparable national importance warrants a nation in making serious financial sacrifices and in providing large and generous contributions, the organisation and equipment of army and navy is that work, and the sacrifices of the Turks in that direction are too numerous to mention; for bitter experience of the past has taught them that no nation can, in modern times, exist and safeguard her liberty and independence without being *armed to the teeth*. Cabinet ministers and officers have been getting half-pay voluntarily, for the soldiers are to be fed, clad and armed; large and liberal contributions are pouring from all classes of people into the Navy Fund. Even the boatmen of the Golden Horn, Constantinople, contributed to the Navy Fund a whole day's earning. Isn't it an object-lesson to the Indians?

In order to mould the future destiny of the Ottomans, a sturdy military people, the energetic Minister of War, Enver Pacha, is making necessary preparations for physical culture of the boys and to impart military instruction. He has framed new rules and regulations for the purpose to make it compulsory in elementary schools and societies have already been formed under the name of “Osmanli Gudi Darneghi” where boys are being taught to march in military order, to drill, to shoot, to bear all kinds of hardships and fatigue, and to organise boys-scouts—the essentials of military life which would develop the manhood of the race. The moral and material value can hardly be lost sight of; boys of to-day will develop a healthy mind in a healthy body which is the essential condition of human existence, and to-morrow, they would be good citizens, good patriots and good soldiers to serve the interest of the country. No one would deny the physical force as a political asset to defend the country's honor and liberty. Under the new laws of recruitment everybody is eligible for military service for three years. The difficulties in the way are considerable, but they are by no means insuperable. If military instructions can be accomplished as Enver Pacha wants them to be, this country would in a short time occupy a stronger position and be better able to maintain her integrity and honor than within the last century.

MR. MASCHARUL-UL-HAQUE AT IMPERIAL SELAMLIK.

A grand ceremony of Selamluk took place on June 19 at Hamidiye Mosque of Yildiz. H. M. the Sultan was received by Djamal Pacha, Minister of Marine; Muhammad Ali Pacha, Commandant of the first Army Corps; Col. Muhammad Kiamil Bey and other notables of the city. The troops paraded and the music played the “National Anthem.” At the special request of H. M. the Sultan our distinguished countryman Mr. Maschar-ul-Haque took his seat in the Imperial carriage and assisted at the ceremony. He was afterwards received by H. M. the Sultan in a private interview. The representatives of the foreign legations and several American and French tourists were present on the occasion.

Mr. Maschar-ul-Haque left for India *via* Egypt on June 23 last by S. S. *Osmania*. A large number of friends and admirers were present on board the steamer to say good-bye and *Ben Voyage*.



TETE A TETE



The coronation of the young Shah of Persia, which was celebrated with great pomp on the 21st instant in Teheran, brings vividly to mind the peculiarly trying circumstances in which he assumes charge of his ancient heritage. It is useless to describe the condition of Persian affairs at the present time. They are literally in a muddle. The finances are in a state of indescribable confusion; the administrative machinery is out of gear; unrest and anarchy prevail in several provinces; and the authority of the central Government has been reduced to a vanishing point.

The Coronation of the Shah.

All this is due to one single cause—the overwhelming domination of powerful foreign interests which, backed by a ruthless and unscrupulous diplomacy, have made Persia their happy hunting-ground. Will the young ruler, who has taken upon his shoulders the vast burden of his race, be allowed to reconstruct the almost shattered fabric of his empire and save his people from the threatened bondage of their foes? This is the supreme question that must have occurred to every well-wisher of Persia to-day. No one can think of the future without lively misgivings. The fate of Persia hangs on the whims of its powerful neighbours much more than on the resolves or aspirations of her distracted people. Those who ascribe the desperate state of the Persian affairs to the incompetence of her rulers are wilfully blind or cynically perverse. The fact is that Persia has never had a chance to mould her destinies since the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. This diplomatic mill-stone has hung round her neck and paralysed her efforts in every direction. The wholesome movement embodied in Persian nationalism, which started with great vigour and amid immense popular enthusiasm, was as hopeful a sign of the people's vitality as any recorded in history. It won the Constitution and brought a living and resolute democracy into touch with national affairs. The Persian Mejlis proved a highly earnest, patriotic and independent body at its birth, and it set about to do its work with a devotion and fervour that was almost akin to religion. But before it could accomplish its task, Russia grew alarmed at its reforming zeal and forthwith resolved to strike hard at a body that was competent, patriotic and incorruptible, and was likely to evolve a formidable and united Persian nation, if allowed freedom of action for a number of years. The Mejlis was consequently declared by Russia and her henchman in the English Press to be an assembly of garrulous and revolutionary upstarts, who would soon involve the affair of the country in irremediable ruin. It began to be thwarted at every turn. All the reactionary elements within the country were secretly bribed and incited against it. By threats, interventions and intrigues it was soon reduced to impotence and finally crushed under the heels of the Cossacks. This is, in brief, the history of the national movement in Persia. With a watchful and inconvenient Mejlis out of the way, the Muscovite designs have matured with remarkable ease and promptitude. The province of Azerbaijan is now under Russian control, and the Russian military occupation is rapidly extending to all parts of northern Persia. All talks about Russian withdrawal may be dismissed as so much fustian. Russia has come to stay and will not release her tightening grip over Persian territory as long as she counts on the passive acquiescence of the British Foreign Office. The future wears a dark and dismal outlook. Russia is already impatient of the fiction about Persian integrity and independence, which still retains its place in the dead letter of an effete Convention. Persian oil has recently become a new British Imperial interest, and the Convention may probably be revised at no distant date. Will it lead to open and undisguised political division of Persia? That is, at any rate, the demand of the Russian Press. Will the British policy amount to Russian threats and tamely submit to the partition of Persia and the sacrifice of its own interests in the Middle East? Curiously enough, the British Foreign Office hesitates to act in a bold and unequivocal

manner just when such a policy could be justified both on the moral plane and on the lower plane of expediency. The interests of the Indian Empire and the united and powerful sentiments of millions of Mussalman fellow-subjects of the British nation demand that Persia should be saved, that a historic nation, united in culture, religion and race and moved by the sacred aspirations of patriotism and freedom, should be allowed to preserve its individuality. The coronation of the youthful Persian monarch has stirred deep feelings in India, and his pathetic and helpless plight has been brought home to the people's mind. Meetings held in several places in India in honour of this occasion have been moved by a common impulse to address earnest prayers to Great Britain to befriend the young sovereign of a race that has so much in common with Indian Mussalmans and to help him in reconstructing a powerful, free and independent Persia. Such help is not beyond the resources of His Majesty's Government to render. Russian aggression has gone far, but it can be rolled back if only England utters a word. The Shah should be freed from Muscovite dominance, and the Mejliss should be restored to its freedom and power. The Shah's oath taken before the Mejliss is a sacred covenant that binds him to his people. The *Pioneer* mocks at the Mejliss and fancies that it must have been galling to a Kajar Prince to bow to such an impotent body. Surely the Shah of Persia was not expected to take a vow of allegiance to the Russian Consul-General or to his British friend, the *Times*. He has to stand and fall by his people, and if he has the least drop of patriotic blood in his veins he would prefer death by the side of his struggling and distracted nation to a brief, inglorious rule and power that might be upheld by Cossack bayonets. Everybody who claims to have some knowledge of Persian affairs is talking just now of a "Persian Crisis." There can be no doubt that Persia stands at the parting of the ways. The present state of things can not go on indefinitely. What is to be the upshot of the readjustments that are being foreshadowed in several quarters? No one can confidently tell. We only hope that England will not fail Persia in the hour of her direst need and ensure for her necessary freedom to work out her own salvation.

PROFESSOR E. G. BROWNE, whose knowledge of Persian affairs is so intimate and whose sympathy for the Persian people is deep and abiding, writes the following letter to the *Times*. This authoritative communication sums up the situation in Persia in a nutshell, and Professor Browne's views as to the ultimate fate of Persia have a peculiar interest on this occasion:—

The Anglo-Persian Oil Contract.

"Within the last fortnight (on June 12, 18, and 20) you have published three important leaders on Persia, which will have been read with the closest attention by a far wider circle of readers than those who, like myself, are primarily concerned with the fate of that unfortunate country. In those leaders you have demonstrated the grave consequences to this country (consequences which, as you truly observe, both Mr. Churchill and Sir Edward Grey have grossly underestimated") likely to result from this new and hazardous adventure of the Persian oil-wells. Will you permit me while expressing my entire agreement with what you say on this head, to say a few words as to how Persia, which is even more closely concerned in this matter, is likely to be affected? That the 'approaching crisis in Persia,' to which you devoted a leading article in your issue of June 12, is close at hand is, I think, certain, and that within a short time a great change must take place either for the worse or the better. Essentially there seem to me to be only three probable alternatives, viz.—(1) The complete partition of Persia between England and Russia, with the abolition of the "neutral zone" and the establishment of a long, indefensible, and dangerous Anglo-Russian land frontier. This is the worst alternative for Persia, and also, as I think, for Great Britain which would certainly have to make an enormous increase in her military strength and expenditure unless she were prepared to become for all time the subservient associate of Russia. (2) The complete absorption of Persia, including the oil-wells, by Russia, which would be the probable ultimate result of any half-hearted and inadequate attempt on the part of Great Britain to occupy Southern Persia. This alternative would be for England more humiliating, but less perilous, and, in the long run, less costly than the first; while for Persia it would be only so far preferable to dismemberment as death pure and simple is preferable to death with mutilation. (3) The third and best alternative for Persia, and, as I am convinced, for Great Britain also, would unquestionably be that the latter should now at length seriously endeavour to strengthen and help the former, and at least secure to her the chance (which she has not yet had) of establishing a stable and patriotic Government; of employing in her service such foreign advisers as she herself chooses and trusts; of raising an adequate loan on terms that are neither ruinous nor destructive to such remnants of independence as she still

possesses; of recalling to office some of the most capable and upright of her statesmen who are now in exile or retirement; and of dismissing certain persons, universally mistrusted by their countrymen, who, supported by extraneous influence, are either in office or seeking for office. Above all, let us not hastily assume that North Persia is irrevocably lost. I would remind those who, like Mr. Noel Buxton, profess a faith in Russia's good intentions, which I cannot pretend to share, that it is they, and not I, who insult her by assuming that she has not the slightest intention of fulfilling her recently-renewed assurances as to the ultimate evacuation of the northern provinces, or of paying any heed to the explicit declarations of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Whether Persia is or is not capable of evolving an efficient and honest Government must remain uncertain unless and until she is given a fair chance (which, I maintain, she has not yet had) of doing so. That she should at least have this chance is on all grounds, both material and moral, so desirable that I venture to hope that, since Great Britain can no longer remain indifferent to her fate, she may now use her influence strongly in this direction. Should this be the result of the Anglo-Persian oil contract it may, for all its dangerous potentialities, prove, after all, to be a blessing in disguise."

We publish elsewhere a letter from a correspondent discussing at some length the existing condition of the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi. The correspondent is evidently inspired with a genuine interest in the progress of Moslem

education in Delhi and hopes that something will soon be done to improve the local Moslem school, which seems to lack much in efficiency and equipment. The facts and figures that he sets forth in connection with the school results in the University examinations disclose a very undesirable state of things, and our wonder is that no effort have so far been made to improve the school teaching and remove the causes which are responsible for so much waste and inefficiency. The Anglo-Arabic High School is an old institution which was founded and liberally endowed by a wealthy Mussalman. The love of learning of the founder could not take a nobler shape, and it would be scarcely creditable to the sense of duty of the later generations, if his splendid benefaction in the cause of knowledge is not made to serve its purpose to the full. Unlike other Moslem institutions, the Anglo-Arabic School is not hampered by a chronic lack of funds. It has ample resources for its existing needs. If, therefore, it still needs reform it is presumably because its governing body has been slack in the performance of its duties and wants a good deal of stirring up. We trust that the appeal of our correspondent will not be in vain and efforts will soon be made to raise the school to the highest level of usefulness. We may state it here that complaints about the school and its managing committee have reached us frequently, but we have always refrained from publishing them, for it can never be our desire to embarrass the school authorities by constantly subjecting them to public criticism. It appears, however, that the work of the school shows no improvement, and the authorities are keeping an attitude of stolid indifference even in face of recurring bad results. We can no longer ignore this in the public interest. For the present, we would only remind the school committee of its obvious responsibility in the matter. The affairs of the school should be looked into with thoroughness and promptitude, and it should be made both in points of teaching and equipment a worthy memorial of its generous founder and a best place for the education of Moslem boys in Delhi. We trust this reasonable and widespread demand will not go unheeded. We will not at present discuss in detail the methods of the school administration and the measure of interest taken in its working by the individual members of its managing committee. The committee has yet ample opportunities to show its fitness for the trust that it has not so far administered with satisfactory results.

THE tale of inefficiency revealed by our correspondent in the work of the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi, is unfortunately a tame echo of the state of affairs that has become the chronic symptom of the majority of Moslem schools throughout the country. In the last Matriculation examination of the Punjab University the results of the Moslem schools in the Province have been, with few exceptions, most lamentably bad. Any cursory reference to the University records will show that the results of these schools have been equally unsatisfactory for many previous years. The matter is clearly one that calls for searching examination. The establishment of Moslem high schools at important Moslem centres has been one of the most generally accepted items of the Moslem educational programme, because it was felt that a great impetus would be imparted to the spread of secondary education among the Mussalmans, if high schools under Moslem supervision and

control were established and organised in accordance with the communal needs. There can be no question as to the soundness of this principle, but in practice the common type of Moslem high school has failed to serve the objects to which it owes its existence. Its financial condition is generally unstable, and it is often on the verge of bankruptcy. Its governing body is mostly composed of indifferent and incompetent individuals, who usually waste their energies in mutual quarrels. It is generally manned by a staff of unqualified and underpaid teachers, who have little interest in their work and never fail to avail themselves of the first opportunity that comes in their way to better their "prospects" elsewhere. The money spent on the upkeep of such institutions is practically wasted, and one may well inquire if it was not time for Mussalmans to consider whether they can afford to pay for the luxury of maintaining badly-equipped and inefficient high schools, which show uniformly bad results year after years and are thus actually hampering the growth of Moslem education on sound lines. The best course would be to appoint a committee of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference composed of a number of educationists, managers and head masters of Moslem high schools to go into the whole problem of school management, organisation and teaching and devise the most suitable methods of imparting sound secondary education under communal guidance and control. In the inglorious records of failure of the Moslem high schools in the Punjab and elsewhere lack of funds is an important factor. But even more important is the dearth of capable and energetic men on the school committees. We can recall the name of several individuals, possessing ordinary ability and strength of purpose, who have achieved marvellous results single-handed in the educational field whenever they have had opportunities to work unhampered by local rivalries. We would like to refer to the Islamia High School at Hoshiarpur as an instance in point. Hoshiarpur is a small town, and the Moslem community of the place is not very wealthy, but through the efforts of a few energetic and devoted workers like Mian Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law, a high school was founded some years ago which has now grown into a flourishing institution. The local *anjuman* is not an ideal body, free from the limitations that characterise the type. But the sustained endeavours of a few of its members, chiefly of Khan Bahadur Munshi Mohamed Ali Sahab, late Chairman of the School Committee, and Mian Abdul Aziz, Manager of the School, have borne abundant fruits. The school has now reached a fair level of efficiency, has a competent staff and has shown comparatively good results in the last University examination. It is doing useful work in the direction of spreading secondary education among the Mussalmans of the district. The cost of the spacious school building, which has been completed, has been met purely by Mussalmans themselves. A large school mosque is in course of construction, and Rs. 70,000 are now needed to extend the school building and erect a boarding house. An application for building grant has been made to the local Government, and we trust every possible financial assistance from public funds will be rendered to a private enterprise in education that has shown such promising results. What has been achieved at Hoshiarpur through the exertions of a few earnest workers can easily be accomplished elsewhere if men of the right stamp are willing to undertake the task.

The New Witness calls attention to the latest addition to American law which it describes as a particularly insane one. It says that in one State a new statute lately promulgated denies the right of marriage to any two persons unless they

A Eugenic Marriage.

can obtain "a eugenic marriage licence." The answers to the questions necessary for the granting of this document extend over some twenty folios, and the most intimate, even delicate particulars are required relative to the applicants' maternal grandparents and their progenitors. The age when first the unfortunate young man or woman ate meat, the effects of alcohol upon a sensitive as opposed to a stolid temperament are noted down, together with a weight-for-age chart and a sworn declaration concerning the use of tobacco. The document, as completed by the assistance of a lawyer, is laid before a committee, who then proceed to investigate the applicant "personally." The results of their investigation in the case of one "Ralph" Kerameio do not inspire much faith in their methods. "Ralph," having passed the board and the examination with flying colours, was granted a licence, duly married—and discovered to be a woman!

PROF. SUBHINDRA BOSE, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer, State University of Iowa, writes to us on the subject of "A World's

World's Hindustan Students' Federation. "It has been roughly estimated that there are now about three hundred Hindu students in American colleges and universities. And one of the most significant things which this student body has done in recent years is the organization of the Hindustan Association of America. The Association is a national society with chapters at nearly all

"important institutions of learning where there is a sufficient number of Indian students. At present, the strongest branches of the Association are to be found in New York, Chicago, and in the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Oregon, and California. The primary object of the Hindustan Association is to further the educational interest of India. It furnishes the prospective students with information on educational conditions in America; it encourages the stay-at-homes to go abroad for education; the officers of the Association meet the newly arrived students at the port of entrance, and direct them to proper college. Last, and not least, the Association is doing a vast deal to promote closer fellowship between India and America. Desiring to leave nothing to chance, the Society has organized a campaign to carry on its patriotic programme. As a practical step to that end, it is publishing an excellent educational magazine, called *The Hindustan Student*. The Association has already secured the support and co-operation of many of the leaders of this nation and of India. In its long list of distinguished honorary members figure the names of many a notable American university president, college professor, author, journalist, and not a few Indian Nawabs, Maharajas, and Rajas. The Hindustan Association is now very anxious to extend its field of operation by internationalizing its organization. It has perfected a plan to unite all Indian student societies in every land under one general federation, to be known as the 'World's Hindustan Students Federation.' The branch organizations, which will be the members of the Federation, will have for their basic purpose the promotion of Indian students' welfare. As far as possible, the chapters federated throughout the world will render one another neighbourly services, and look after the interests of Indian students, just as the Hindustan Association of America is trying to do at present, through its various local organizations, in the United States. All the important business of the Federation should be conducted through a central office, the location of which is to be fixed annually by its chapter members. It may be one year in England, another in Europe, next in America, and the following year in Japan or in India. The central office which will be under the direction of an international president and international general secretary, will become the international clearing house of information. It should be well understood that the coming of a branch society within the circle of the World's Hindustan Students Federation will in no way or manner interfere with the constitution of the local organization. Each individual society will retain its full freedom and autonomy, and will merely become a co-operating member of the Federation. Take a recent instance. The Woman's Auxiliary of the Hindustan Association, started by that true and loyal friend of India, Sister Kamala Devi, has applied the other day for a membership in the Hindustan Association of America. The Auxiliary is organized for the benefit of all Indians in the city of New York, and its active members are all American women. This rather new organization will be in no way competing with the old Hindustan Association of New York: each has its own constitution and by-laws, each has its own peculiar work, and each will try to help the other as far as possible. The chief reason why the Auxiliary is seeking affiliation with the national organization is that such a connection will give it a better standing, and, in some respects, a wider field of activities. As the national president of the Hindustan Association of America, I take this opportunity to extend a cordial invitation, through the medium of your valuable journal, to all Indian student societies to co-operate with us, and build what promises to be one of the greatest and most effective agencies for the welfare of Indian students. We have been criticized, doubtless sometimes unjustly, for our inability to organize on a national and international basis. We can now show how untrue this is. There is a real demand for young men of constructive vision and of aggressive personality to step forward and lend us a helping hand. We need the World's Hindustan Students' Federation."

We are happy to publish the following letter addressed to us by Prof. Gilbert Murray, of the Oxford University, on the subject of "Spelling Reform":—"My

belief in the need of Spelling Reform grows yearly stronger. We must face the fact that (1) our alphabet is a far from perfect instrument for recording our language, and that, (2) instead of using this instrument effectively for what it is worth, according to some simple and scientific system, we wander in a chaos of traditional rules, as complicated as they are inconsistent. I need not dwell on the great difficulty of learning to read and write in English, as compared with Italian, Spanish or German; on the waste of time and trouble this causes to children at an age when every hour is valuable; on the disadvantage it lays on English in competition with other languages as an international medium of speech. I am myself particularly struck by two bad effects of our rules of spelling. First, they spoil a child's ear. He has been so insistently taught to fix his attention, not on the sound,

"but on the spelling, that he does not know what sounds he is producing and cannot tell when two sounds are the same or different. Secondly, they spoil his reasoning powers and his faith in clear thought, by fixing his mind during several impressionable years on a pseudo-system of rules, in learning which memory counts for everything while consistent reasoning would lead straight to disgrace and loss of marks. Many languages in the past have gone through a crisis similar to that in which English now finds itself. Some have had the vigour and foresight to keep their written signs abreast of their speech; some have failed and eventually become unintelligible even in their own country. I can have little doubt that, sooner or later, the speakers of English will prove themselves strong enough to grapple successfully with the dangers of decay that lie in our unrefined spelling." We heartily commend this eminently sane view to the attention of our readers.

The Moslem missionary work in England appears to be making headway, though slowly, through the enormous difficulties that the workers have naturally to face. The instructive lecture on Islam, recently delivered by Qari Sarfraz Husain in London, was attended by a considerable number of Christians who evidently felt an earnest desire to know the truth about the faith and creed of Mussalmans. The first stage in a missionary effort is to awaken interest among people for the spiritual message that he bears to them, and it is gratifying to know that through Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahab's devoted work and perseverance at his centre in Woking a seed has been planted that promises to bring forth abundant fruit. The increasing number of people attracted to the Friday sermons at the mosque testify to the interest that his preachings have evoked. Indeed, from the manner in which Christian clergymen have begun to talk of the "Moslem danger" at Woking, it would appear that the Khwaja Sahab's work has been unusually successful. Sermons are delivered and organised efforts are being made to overcome the menace of Islam and save Woking from the effect of the Moslem propaganda. At the annual meeting of the Woking and District Federation of the Church of England Men's Society, which was held last month, the Rev. E. R. P. Devereux, commenting on the work of the various branches of the society, is reported to have said that "all the branches emphasised the spiritual work firstly, which was as it should be. Every branch was also doing something on the social side. They in Woking were being faced with a great difficulty with regard to Mohammedanism. The Mohammedanism headquarters for England had been established in the heart of the parish. An active Mohammedanism propaganda was going on which was being very cleverly and very insidiously organised, and their Bishop recently gave emphasis to the fact of the great difficulty that they had there in facing that situation which was being created. Much time had been spent to disseminate information as to the true character of Islam, and important steps had been taken in making clear what were the principles of the Christian faith in contra-distinction to the principles which the followers of Islam upheld. The branch was very much alive to the difficulty with which it was faced." Allah be praised for his great mercy!

We publish elsewhere an important communication addressed by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler to the Hon. the Maharaja of Darbhanga on the subject of the Hindu University. It lays down the conditions the fulfilment of which the Government of India regards as necessary before the University scheme is sanctioned. Briefly, the terms offered to the promoters of the Hindu University are that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces should be *ex-officio* Chancellor of the University, that he should be vested with full powers of supervision and control, that the University shall have no power to affiliate colleges from outside and that as a concession to the sentiment of the subscribers it shall be called the Benares Hindu University. The powers reserved for the Chancellor are comprehensive and include the right of general supervision and power to advise in all matters, particularly in the appointment and removal of staff, with power to see that such advice be given effect to; the right of inspection; and the right to appoint, if necessary, examiners for the University examinations; the annual receipt of accounts; the approval of the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost; the approval of the incorporation of local colleges in the University; the nomination of five members to the Senate and approval of the institution of new faculties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time. These powers would give the Chancellor an absolute control over the conduct of the University affairs in their minutest details. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler makes it particularly clear that the conditions he has laid down have a wider sweep and include both the Hindu and Moslem Universities. The terms offered as final to the Moslem University

Committee allowed the Court of the University to appoint its own Chancellor while they gave the Governor-General in Council certain powers of intervention and control. Sir Harcourt Butler says that "it has been an understanding throughout that in essentials, and especially in regard to their relations to Government, the proposed Hindu and Muhammadan Universities should be on the same footing." It should, therefore, be inferred that the conditions now laid down for the Hindu University apply equally to the Moslem University. In other words, the "final decision" communicated to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee in 1912, which proved generally unacceptable to the Moslem community, have been revoked and much more stringent terms have been offered as a substitute. Sir Harcourt Butler's letter raises fresh controversial issues which require careful and prompt consideration. We do not know what course the promoters of the Hindu University scheme may adopt, but we know that Mussalmans, in view of Sir Harcourt Butler's communication, will have to face much greater difficulties in their path. Their condition is in several important respects materially different from that of the powerful Hindu community, and their educational interests, which the Moslem University scheme is designed to promote, may be irretrievably damaged if they are unnecessarily handicapped in their efforts and lack reasonable freedom of action. We shall examine in our next the position of the Moslem University scheme with reference to the conditions set forth in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to the Maharaja of Darbhanga. But without prejudging its merits or presuming to advise it, we may safely say we shall have to revise considerably our opinion of the Hindu community's self-respect if it tamely submits to such educational slavery.

The King's inaugural speech at the conference which His Majesty had summoned at Buckingham Palace, with a view to afford an opportunity to prominent leaders of the Parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Irish question, has given rise to a variety of excited and angry comments in the Liberal Press. While the Tory papers ominously enough hail His Majesty "as the Patriot King," the Liberal organs express uneasiness and annoyance at the intervention of the King which they regard as unconstitutional and overriding the authority of Parliament. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald describes the speech as most extraordinary, "part of which might have graced a Unionist M. P.'s oration." The *Daily Chronicle* considers the speech to be an "extraordinarily ill-inspired" one and warns the King "not to take George III. as a pattern." The *Daily News* is equally emphatic and finds it impossible "to conceal a feeling of mistrust at the formal and unprecedented intervention of the Crown." It exhorts democrats "to face the grave facts touching their inviolable liberties." Both these journals emphasise that the Government must share the responsibility for "transferring the constitutional struggle from Parliament to Palace." Mr. Asquith has stated in the House of Commons that "His Majesty has throughout this matter followed the strictest constitutional practice," and that "he has not taken any step from the beginning to now except in consultation with and on the advice of his Ministers." This ought to satisfy the enraged Liberals that the King's initiative has been strictly constitutional, even if it had some impulse behind it other than a lofty sense of duty. Englishmen as a nation have the greatest respect for their King, but the Liberal outburst against the King's recent action seems only to emphasise the fact that they are equally jealous of their own self-respect and dislike even the least suggestion of the Crown's intervention in matters lying within the scope of the people's representatives in Parliament.

We have learnt with the greatest pleasure that **H. E. Nawab Salar Jang** has been confirmed by his sovereign in his office of Prime Minister of Hyderabad. The young Minister was appointed to his post about two years ago and, though all those who personally knew him hailed the appointment as full of happy augury for the future of the Nizam's dominions, there were also some shakings of the heads on account of his youth and inexperience. The prophecies of his admirers have come to be true within the last two years, and he has abundantly fulfilled the promise of his early manhood. Much of his success is, no doubt, due to the assistance that he has received from a veteran like Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami, whose ripe judgment, wide knowledge of affairs and unimpeachable integrity must have proved a source of strength and great guidance to the Minister. But it is not every young man that knows how to profit by the advice of those much older and more experienced, and much credit is certainly due to the Prime Minister himself. We wish Nawab Salar Jang a long, happy and successful career and trust he will always remember that he has to live up to the memory of his illustrious grandfather whose example his admirers expect him to emulate.

We have received the following telegraphic message from Bombay which we publish for general information:—
The Haj Pilgrimage. "With a view to helping the Haj pilgrims in every possible way, the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society, with the assistance of ten energetic, honorary workers, knowing practically all the languages generally spoken in India, are taking every possible care of intending pilgrims during their stay in Bombay before embarkation. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Shankat Ali, has also secured a pilgrim broker's licence, proceeds from which source will also be given for the assistance of indigent pilgrims in Bombay."

We have once more to offer an apology for issuing a double number, though it is after so long an interval that we feel almost like a "first offender" with only a tiny speck of black on his virginal bosom. But perhaps our plea would be more acceptable this time as we express the hope that the offence would be positively our last. We could offer as a reason for this joint issue the recent "uneventful events" at Aligarh where the Editor had to respond to the call of duty—which would not help the reader to condone his offence, for such responses have now become stale, and possibly also flat and unprofitable! We could even plead *misericordiam* by referring to the ill-health of the Editor—which is a fact, if to the perennial diabetes the reader would consent to add backache in one with so broad a back! But, no; we shall mention none of these. We shall state something so novel, and, in fact, so sensational as to be almost incredible. But we feel certain that if once we are believed we shall also be forgiven. We do not call ourselves a "Statesman" or a "Pioneer" or even a "Leader." We are only a "Comrade" and as such we can chatter freely even about our domestic concerns, though like some of our vernacular contemporaries we do not usually treat our readers to the private concerns of our brothers-in-law, grand-nieces and great-aunts. But even if we were all the most solemn and all the stupidest things in the world, we would have been entirely justified in referring to this one domestic affair of ours. And what is it, you would now naturally ask. Nothing more or less than the marriage to a bright Delhi dame of our seasoned Sub-Editor, Raja Ghulam Husain. Now if even this marriage which has made the twain one flesh does not justify a Double Number, we don't know what will! But, friends, make no mistake. The sacred month of Ramazan has just commenced, and some one is going to have an extra special Eid when thirty chastening fasts are over. Of course the Sub-Editor was too excited to do anything that week but watch and wait, as the Editor stood *in loco parentis*, and the wags of Delhi consequently spoke of his lieutenant as "an issue of the Comrade." We give this explanation or apology with the prayer that the Sub-Editor will expedite the issues hereafter, and if it is at regular intervals even a Double Number will not be such a catastrophe.



Verse.

To Napoleon.

Not all the splendour of a gorgeous throne
 But the Soul's inborn greatness marks a King;
 Not jewelled sceptre nor the glitt'ring ring
 (Which feeble hands or worthless brow may own),
 Nor power supreme, nor wealth, nor birth alone
 Confers true kingship; nay, the heart must fling
 Such gauds aside, and cleave to thoughts that spring
 From purer, holier founts. O, had'st thou known
 This secret of true greatness and with soul
 Undazzled scorned the Mask of Royalty;
 Called Mercy, Truth, and Justice to control
 Ambition's meaner strife, true sovereignty
 Were thine unquestioned, thine at Glory's goal
 The Hero's crown of immortality!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The Comrade.

The Restoration of the Cawnpore Mosque.

THE one thing that every true well-wisher of the Mussalmans desired after the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair, through the statesmanlike intervention of His Excellency the Viceroy, was that the terms of the settlement would soon be carried out, and the sad memories of the incident of the 3rd August, 1913, be, as far as possible, buried in oblivion. The gracious message of peace personally delivered by the Viceroy effectually calmed Moslem excitement, and though the compromise about the demolished portion of the mosque did not accord with the Moslem law on the subject, Mussalmans as a whole felt that it would be churlish to criticise the gift of the peacemaker and, loyally accepted the viceregal decision as a political settlement of great value to the empire and significance to the people. The situation cleared instantly, peace was restored to a distracted community, and Lord Hardinge's wise and timely action was hailed with expressions of gratitude throughout Moslem India. We recall all this simply to show that the agitation about the Cawnpore mosque was based on a deep and genuine religious grievance and was not a wanton provocation offered to Government by a set of political braggadoos, as some "friends" of the Mussalmans still persist in reminding the world. The sole desire of Mussalmans has been to forget all that had happened at Cawnpore and to be spared similar painful experiences in future. After the crisis was over, there was no room for further anxiety and they were confident that the demolished portion of the mosque would soon be restored in accordance with the terms laid down by the Viceroy. Time, however, wore on and more than nine months have passed after the settlement was announced, yet the demolished portion remains unbuilt. The Mussalman public has, in the meantime, been waiting to know with undisguised surprise what the mosque authorities are doing at Cawnpore. The delay of nine months seemed to be incomprehensible, and doubts were naturally expressed sometimes whether no further hitch had occurred in the way of the restoration of the mosque. Sir James Meeson was known to have visited Cawnpore and held some sort of consultation with the *mutawallis* of the mosque, but the only upshot of this conference was the rumour that an offer of land and financial help had been made to extend the mosque, which was not definitely accepted. The Mussalmans have till recently heard nothing of the exact position of affairs, and there has been a growing anxiety to inquire why the mosque authorities have remained inactive so long and why they were keeping the public in utter ignorance.

After about nine months' silence, however, the mosque authorities have found their tongues and have spoken with a vengeance. After an underground activity of a character which we shall presently unmask, they have just revealed their features through a printed "Notice" and confronted the Mussalmans with another accomplished fact. The "Notice" is printed in Urdu and was issued on the 18th instant over the signature of Muhammad Majid Ahmad, Secretary of the Committee of the *mutawallis* of the Machhi Bazar mosque, and may be translated as follows:—

This notice is published for general information that the article published in *Al-Hilal* of the 15th July about the Machhi Bazar Mosque is entirely baseless. The fact is only this that, after consultation with the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard*, Moulvi Fazlur-Rahman Sahab, Wakil, Cawnpore, and a number of other Mussalmans, four *mutawallis* of the mosque went to the Collector at Cawnpore on the 7th July, 1914, taking with themselves a building plan of the footpath beneath the arcade to be constructed in accordance with the Viceroy's decision of 14th October, 1913, together with an application, based on the telegram of Maulana Abdul Bari Sahab published in the *Hamdard* of 17th October 1913, to the effect that in rebuilding the mosque the sentiment of the Mussalmans should be respected. The plan was taken to the Collector for his inspection with a view to satisfy him that it was in accordance with the decision of the Viceroy. After inspecting the plan the Collector ordered that it should be submitted to the Municipal Committee. The plans are being accordingly prepared. They are not yet ready for being submitted to the Municipal Committee. The present *mutawallis* and the residents of the *makalla* have never had any desire that the main building of the mosque should be altered or modified. A detailed report of the proceedings of the Committee of the *mutawallis* from October, 1913, upto this time will shortly be published, which will make it clear that the *mutawallis* have been guilty of no dishonesty. I do not understand what result is aimed at by having such false news published except the creation of excitement.

This sanctimonious and indignant manifesto is evidently intended to justify the ways of the four honest *mutawallis* to God and man. But after its early experiences the Moslem public is not so easily gullible, nor are "publishers of false news" ignorant of the value of the protestations of innocence which dread of public exposure invariably wrings out of feeble men. The Secretary of the *Mutawallis* Committee has contrived to pack into his whitewashing "Notice"

misleading statements and has suppressed facts and transactions which shed a lucid light on his conduct and that of his associates.

Let us first take the building plan and the strange procedure adopted in regard to its production and surreptitious presentation. The virtuous Secretary accuses *Al-Hilal* of having published false information. We have ascertained all the facts in connection with the preparation of the plan in question and have carefully read the article that appeared in *Al-Hilal*, and we are really amazed at the hardihood of the man who can describe that substantially correct account as inaccurate. The Secretary says that the plan was prepared after consultation, among others, with Mr. Mohamed Ali. If this vague statement is intended to mean that Mr. Mohamed Ali approved both of the plan now submitted and of its being shown to the Collector, then it is a deliberate and unmitigated lie. When the Secretary's notice was received, Mr. Mohamed Ali wired to him as follows:—

"Have seen your printed Notice of 18th July. Your reference to 'consultation with me very misleading. My opinion given privately to Karim Ahmad in presence of two witnesses was against a reference to the Collector who has no business to sanction or reject plans for buildings in Cawnpore, and although expressing my personal opinion, that from a religious point of view the construction of a footpath underneath any portion of the mosque was wrong, I told Karim Ahmad that Cawnpore Mussalmans could, consistently with the Viceroy's promise that Muhammadan sentiment would be respected, and with Maulvi Abdul Bari's telegram and speech, published immediately after Cawnpore settlement in *Hamdard*, request the Municipality to permit construction of raised platform with railings and steps leading to the mosque underneath at least that portion of the eastern *dalan* to be rebuilt on which prayers used to be offered and which local Government had persisted in regarding as more sacred than the part used for ablutions. Please publish this as widely as your printed Notice of 18th July or shall be compelled to take other steps against you in the matter."

It will be seen that Mr. Karim Ahmad who had gained considerable notoriety before the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair, has been the moving spirit in the latest transaction. When he came to seek Mr. Mohamed Ali's advice he produced a plan with a raised platform underneath the proposed arcade, just as is explained in Mr. Mohamed Ali's telegram to Mr. Majid Ahmad, and he left with the fullest knowledge that Mr. Mohamed Ali regarded that plan as suitable and that he did not think it at all proper that it should be presented to the Collector for his approval. But after he reached Cawnpore he underwent the usual metamorphosis and soon appeared as an advocate of a simple plan of building the footpath without any raised platform to preserve the sanctity of the part of the demolished *dalan* where prayers used to be offered, and began to insist on the plan being first approved by the Collector. A meeting of the *Mutawallis*' Committee was called on the 29th June, but it could not be held for want of a quorum. During an informal discussion on that day Maulana Azad Subhani, who is still a member of the Committee, and has not been frightened into offering a resignation like five other *Mutawallis*, tried to convince the Karim Ahmad clique that a plan of the footpath with a raised platform would alone satisfy Moslem sentiment, that it was not at all inconsistent with the decision of the Viceroy who had only laid down certain broad conditions to be observed on the construction of the footpath and the arcade, and that the plan of building should be submitted without any reference to the Collector. But Messrs. Karim Ahmad and Majid Ahmad opposed these suggestions on the ground that the Collector had disapproved of the plan with a raised platform which had been shown to him. With the *Mutawallis* thus divided equally, no decision was possible and another meeting of the Committee was fixed for 6th July to finally settle the matter and, at Mr. Majid Ahmad's suggestion, the quorum was reduced to three. Maulana Azad Subhani had, in the meantime, to go to Lucknow and he asked the Secretary not to rush to any decision in his absence. But the pliant Secretary, his sly colleague Karim Ahmad and their astute wirepullers thought the departure of Maulana Azad Subhani a perfect God-send. They held a meeting on the 6th July at which the Maulana could not be present, and the remaining four *mutawallis* who attended it approved of the plan of building the footpath without a raised platform and decided to take it to the Collector for his approval. When they had finished their honest labours two guardian angels appeared in the shape of M. Mohamed Ali Khan, retired Deputy Collector and newly created Khan Bahadur, and M. Khayyat Hussain, Tehsildar and Khan Sahab of the last Honours List, who took them under the wings and safely conducted them to the presence of the Collector. Mr. Tyler's *amour propre* being thus satisfied, they were ordered to submit the plan to the Municipal Committee.

The sorry transaction, of which we have given a brief outline, is only a fresh instance of how men of feeble stuff are driven to mean, ridiculous shifts in pursuit of their low selfish ends. Karim Ahmad and his fellows are evidently more concerned with pleasing the Collector than their God. Majid Ahmad talks of his record of honesty with virtuous indignation. There is not a single aspect of their latest achievement which can be described as straightforward, unequivocal and honest. What business had they to involve the Collector in a matter which has to be dealt with by the Municipal Committee alone? If they are honest why are they being round about by the Tehsildar and the retired Deputy Collector, whose shadow seems still to loom athwart

the situation even after the settlement? We need not pick out the threads of a clumsy intrigue and sort its miserable instruments. It is enough to remind the Mussalmans of Cawnpore that the plan of building has not yet been submitted to the Municipal Committee and that none should be submitted that does not carry the approval of the general community notwithstanding Karim Ahmad and Majid Ahmad and his patrons. The *mutawallis* should be asked to carry out the wishes of the public and not to play up to the whims of the Collector who has no business to interfere in the preparations of the plan. The High Court of Allahabad reminded him some weeks ago that the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality was not a Magistrate any longer and at any rate was no longer subordinate to him as a District Magistrate. Does Mr. Tyler now need the Viceroy to remind him that he is not the "boss" of the Municipality? Surely the lesson of the 14th October last should have been sufficient for any but a lunatic or a determined knave!

Sir James Meston at Aligarh.

SIR JAMES MESTON, during his recent visit to Aligarh, spent three interesting and busy days as the guest of Nawab Sir Faiyaz Ali Khan of Pahasu, President of the Board of Trustees of the M. A. O. College. His Honour reached Aligarh on the 16th instant and was received at the station by the President, the Hon. Secretary and a number of Trustees present there on the occasion. On the evening of the same day he dined with Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab, Hon. Secretary of the College. Early on the following day he visited the college and inspected the mosque, the lecture rooms, the Strachey Hall, the Library and the laboratories, and spent some time in listening to the lectures in the class-rooms. In the afternoon he attended the tea party, given in his honour by the college staff in the "Beck Manzil", and later on visited the Cricket-ground, the Minto Circle Boarding-Houses and the Hockey and Football grounds. He was entertained at dinner by Nawab Sir Faiyaz Ali Khan the same night, about 35 guests having been invited to meet him. On the morning of the 18th July, His Honour visited the Siddons' Union Club, where hundreds of the college students had assembled to welcome him. At the request of the officiating Principal, to become an honorary member of the College Union, His Honour graciously accepted the offer and signed the Members' Book. Mr. Ameer Ahmad Khan, Vice-President of the Union, thanked His Honour in an eloquent speech for the honour conferred on the Siddons' Union Club, stated that it was the first time on record that the Official Patron of the College had become a member of their club, and in conclusion referred to the contribution of the Union in the making of the type of young Mussalman known as the "Aligarh Boy" whom he described as a true and earnest believer in the faith of Islam, an independent and patriotic citizen of India and a devoted and loyal subject of the British Crown. His Honour's reply in felicitous terms was received with great enthusiasm and applause. He said that in their midst he no longer felt himself to be the Official Patron of the College, but as one of themselves; and he characterised the description of the "Aligarh Boy" as a splendid definition. After this pleasant function was over, His Honour visited the school boarding houses, and concluded a lengthy programme by visits to the "Munif House" and the "MacDonnell House." At about 11 A. M. he met about forty Trustees in an informal conference at the "Pahasu House," about the affairs of the college which terminated with a lunch at which the Trustees entertained His Honour. The day ended with a visit to the College Club and thence to the Old Boys' Lodge where His Honour was garlanded and presented with the two volumes of the "Old Boys' Directory" and where he signed the Visitors' Book, after which he attended a Garden Party in the College grounds and a dinner given by Nawab Abdus Samad Khan Sahab of Chhatari. His Honour left Aligarh early on Sunday by motor for Bulandshahr.

His Honour's visit to the college has left the most pleasant memories behind. He came into contact with almost every aspect of the college life, and charmed all alike by his characteristic courtesy and urbanity of manner. The unfortunate rumours that had been set afloat about the object of his visit have proved to be entirely baseless, and it would immensely gratify the Mussalman public to learn that throughout his stay His Honour impressed every one by his deep and genuine interest in the welfare of the college and his readiness to help the college authorities in their task by all means in his power. His conference with the Trustees, which lasted for a considerable time, was expressly declared to be confidential and we are not, therefore, in a position to divulge its proceedings. It was suggested to His Honour that a *communiqué* might be issued giving a brief summary of what transpired at the conference. His Honour approved of the idea and the publication of a *communiqué* may, therefore, be shortly expected on the subject. We will not, however, be betraying any confidence if we say that certain outstanding matters in connection with the college finances were discussed freely with a view to settlement, and that His Honour's attitude and advice were most helpful throughout the discussions. The Mussalman public is already well aware that the affairs of the college in some respects need to be handled with judicious care, promptitude and foresight. It may, however, rest assured that though there is ample scope for thoughtful and speedy action, the situation in the college has in no way been so serious as to justify the existence of vague anxiety or alarm. The Trustees are fully alive to their responsibilities and we hope they may prove quite competent to deal with the problems which are bound to crop up occasionally

in the administration of a big and growing institution like the Aligarh College. They are no doubt prone to be somewhat tardy in their methods, and it must also be confessed that some of them are susceptible to influences which tend to impair their strength and weaken their moral fibre. And there are, again, persons, not necessarily Trustees, who are perpetually trying to magnify the difficulties of the college and use them as a lever to promote their own schemes of self-aggrandisement. But the most hopeful sign about the situation is that the Moslem public is growing vigilant, and the self-seeker and the indifferent can no longer hope to go on in the good old ways without being called to reckoning. The Aligarh College is the most important communal trust, and it must be administered with the united will and energies of the whole community. Mussalmans have always recognised with gratitude the liberal help that the college has received from Government since its foundation. There have recently been occasions when the Government's attitude has struck the Mussalmans as somewhat needlessly critical and inquisitive. The Government knows it full well that the most important Moslem educational centre in India which has been built up by enormous sacrifices of the Mussalmans and is maintained by funds provided by the Mussalman public can not ignore the wishes of the rising Moslem democracy. It should not and can not, however, be inferred that the determination of the Moslem community to retain the communal control over the Aligarh College unimpaired is incompatible with a sincere desire to maintain intact the old traditional relations of the college with Government.

Sir James Meston's recent visit to Aligarh has served to lift a growing cloud of suspicion, and we are strongly persuaded to think that he has no reason to doubt in his mind that the Aligarh College is a sound and solid fabric which retains its essential character. He might have had suspicions and anxiety due to some misunderstanding based on false reports industriously circulated by ill-disposed and designing persons. And it has to be frankly confessed that owing to certain unfortunate events to which we need not refer here, a deplorable estrangement of feeling had occurred between Sir James Meston and the Mussalmans which prevented the growth of that degree of mutual trust and confidence which is so necessary alike for the rulers and the ruled. Sir James Meston during his stay at Aligarh gave ample indications of his friendly and sympathetic disposition towards Mussalmans. We sincerely welcome these indications and assure His Honour that Mussalmans are ready to meet him more than half-way in forgetting the past and working in trustful co-operation for the future. It would not be out of place to recall the feelings with which the Mussalmans had hailed his appointment to his present position. It was a cruel irony of fate that so soon after his assumption of the charge of the United Provinces even his greatest admirers amongst the Mussalmans should have had to bear the strain of the bitterest experiences and misfortune, not only the misfortunes of Islam in India and abroad, but also the apparent loss of confidence from one whom they had always regarded as their true well-wisher and friend. The breach has existed for sometime, and we need not say how desirable it is that it should be repaired. Much depends on His Honour's own action, for we need not remind him how responsive Mussalmans are to all genuine sympathy. His frank cordiality and kindly behaviour at Aligarh gives us hopes that the sad memories of the past will be wiped off the slate and Mussalmans will set to work for their welfare with full trust in a ruler of such a gifted personality as Sir James Meston's.

Need we say that our remarks refer exclusively to the community as a whole? As for individuals, the world cannot spare much time or even much sentiment for them as it rushes along on its progressive course, and if they are truly patriotic, they will receive the patriot's meed, suffering and sacrifice with the emotions of a Stoic. This is the badge of their tribe, and why should we doubt their willingness and capacity to wear it bravely and with a smile?

The Haj: New Proposals for Old.

I—Compulsory and Optional Return Tickets.

In our last issue, we dealt with the question of the extent to which dereliction of pilgrims at Jeddah existed, and we stated our reasons for doubting the accuracy of the statements made from time to time by the British Vice Consul at Jeddah. Considering the fact that the only ostensible reason for so much display of energy on the part of Government in connection with the Haj question is the dereliction of Indian pilgrims at Jeddah, it is essential for the Government to publish the figures of the dereliction from year to year together with the complaints made by local Turkish officials about the Indian derelicts at Jeddah, who, according to Khan Bahadur Dr. Abdur Rahman, "are a burden and an offence and a source of danger to the town." In our last issue we had asked certain questions in connection with the 500 so-called destitute pilgrims brought back at the expense of Rs. 17,000 to the Government of India and Rs. 3,000 to the Bombay Haj Committee at the urgent requests of Dr. Abdur Rahman. We press for an answer to those questions and request Government to let us know what steps it took to satisfy itself that Dr. Abdur Rahman was not lying shamelessly when he said that many Indian derelicts at Jeddah in December, 1912, were dying daily. Our information is that in spite of Government's contributing so liberally for their repatriation, the full complement of 500 pilgrims was not sent immediately after the sanction by the Government of the grant, but that it took the Khan Bahadur Vice-Consul about four months to induce the full 500 to accept Government charity and to proceed on their return journey in small batches, and that many of these were quite ready to return

at their own expense. If this is true of the only occasion on which Government had to contribute even a shell for the relief of Indian derelicts, then the entire structure of the Bombay Government's proposals for the pilgrim traffic to the Hejaz falls to the ground. Is it, therefore, strange that before discussing the new proposals we should insist on being furnished with ample details about the extent of Indian dereliction at Jeddah, and is Government justified in holding a hurried and—as it is likely to prove—a very limited consultation with the people really concerned, without satisfying them that there is a substantial foundation for the fabric of the new proposals?

Turning to the proposals themselves, we hope, we do not presume too much in saying that few in India could have taken so much pains to study the old proposals and the new as we have done, for we have spent much time and labour in consulting those interested in the question, whether as members of the general Haj-going public, or merchants with past or present experience of the pilgrim traffic, or officers of Government who supervise the arrangements for the safety, comfort and convenience of the pilgrims at Bombay. And after this careful study, the only conclusion at which we can honestly arrive is that, in spite of the Bombay Government's specious deference to the determined and uncompromising antagonism of public opinion among the Mussalmans to the main principles underlying its old scheme, we are offered nothing but the old proposals in a new disguise.

One of the main proposals last year was that return-tickets alone should be issued to the pilgrims. To this public opinion—as the Bombay Government acknowledges—was absolutely opposed; and we need not waste time over the laboured justification in that Government's letter of its original proposal on the ground that it had seen to it that Mohamedan opinion on that side of India appeared to have undergone "a very considerable transformation in regard to this question since the discussions of 1908." But it does seem amusing that the Bombay Government should have put forward the proposal for making the purchase of return-tickets compulsory without consulting those whom it concerned; and that when instead of sanctioning its proposal by wire, as it had urged, the Government of India compelled it to publish its proposals and ascertain publicly the feeling of the Mohamedan community, and specially of the Haj Committee, with regard to them, the Government of Bombay, knowing as it does the extent and intensity of Moslem opposition to those proposals, should, in all seriousness, state after a year that "on the whole, . . . so far as any conclusions can be formed from these opinions, the original proposals of this Government have met with a more favourable reception than could have been expected." Does the Bombay Government really mean what it says, and not expect a less favourable reception of its proposals by the people most concerned than to the uncompromising, determined and universal antagonism which they in fact provoked, then, what in the name of goodness was it that induced it to put forward such proposals? Again, it is amusing to note the shifts to which the Bombay Government has been put to account for the popular opposition and resentment provoked by its proposals. "This antagonism," wrote the Bombay Government, "may, not improbably, be due to influences originating outside this Presidency and permeating Mohamedan opinion as a consequence of recent events elsewhere. . . . Further, the Governor-in-Council fully appreciates the fact that it is not safe to draw any conclusions, applicable to the whole of India, from the attitude of the Mohamedan community in this Presidency alone. Recent experience shows that causes for excitement which are susceptible of control in this Presidency are more liable to disturb the community elsewhere." We may assure the Bombay Government that it is a futile task to take shelter against the very reasonable objections raised against its old proposals behind what Mr. Tyler and the U. P. Government would call "outside agitators," or behind "recent events" whether in the Balkans or Cawnpore; and that its modest boast about the placid bosoms of Bombay contrasting with the hysteria of the rest of Moslem India is nothing short of a somewhat well-merited sneer at the snobbish subservience of many of the prominent Mussalmans of Bombay.

The real reason why the Bombay Government could not force the system of return-tickets on the pilgrims is that it could not ignore our contention, published in our issue of the 26th April, 1913, that a large number of pilgrims departing from the port of Bombay never returned to India from the Hejaz or returned by an entirely different route. We had quoted in that issue certain figures showing that the figure of such pilgrims reach thousands every year; but we have to thank the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla for publicly ascertaining by an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council the exact figures from the year 1888 to 1912. It will interest the public to know these figures, and we offer no apology for reproducing them in full in a footnote.

From the statement given in that footnote it is clear that during the last 25 years 3,25,579 pilgrims left for the Hejaz from the port of Bombay, while only 2,53,160 returned, thus leaving a balance of no less than 72,419 who either died or settled down in the Hejaz or returned by an entirely different route. This gives an average for the entire period of a quarter of a century of some 18,000 pilgrims leaving for the Hejaz and only 10,000 returning, leaving an annual balance of some 3,000 pilgrims or 22 per cent. of those that embarked from Bombay. In some years the deficiency has been staggering, as for instance, more than 11,000 in 1892, more than 10,000 in 1903-4, and more than 9,000 in 1906. In some cases the percentage of those not returning out of the total that had embarked has been as much

as 61 and 55 per cent, and we may be sure that only three days after having himself ascertained these figures from the Government of Bombay by means of a question in Council, the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola could not have meant the average number of pilgrims never returning to Bombay was 10,000 annually, as the note of the Poona Conference makes it out, instead of being more or less than 10,000 in certain abnormal years. What the Government of Bombay had proposed was that irrespective of the 22 per cent. of the total number of pilgrims embarking from Bombay every pilgrim must purchase a return-ticket so that a few hundred of indigent pilgrims, perhaps representing no more than 3 or 4 per cent. of the total, may not come between the wind and the new Khan Bahadur's nobility. What monetary loss the compulsory issue of return-tickets would have spelt to the pilgrims can be judged from the following fact. The Government of Bombay issued in October, 1904, a Resolution which sanctioned the issue to pilgrims of coupons for return railway tickets and laid down that, in the event of a return-ticket, in respect of which a coupon had been issued, not being claimed within nine months from the date of issue, the amount deposited would lapse and should be paid into a fund for the relief of indigent pilgrims. It must be noted that the period allowed for return journey by rail was no less than nine months, which was much more than the period recommended last year by the Bombay Government for the return journey by steamer from the Hejaz. Nevertheless the total amount held in deposit on account of the lapsing of the railway coupons during the pilgrim season of 1904-5 was Rs. 12,961-8-3 and of 1905-6, Rs. 13,272-1-8. This means an average of Rs. 13,000 lost to the pilgrims on the comparatively inexpensive railway tickets alone and this too during pilgrim seasons in which the net deficiency in the number of those who returned was less than 2,000. What it would have been in the year 1906, when there was a deficiency of more than 9,000, can well be imagined. Taking the passage money by steamer to be on an average about five times as much as the cost of an average pilgrim's railway ticket, it is no exaggeration to say that the loss to the pilgrims on account of return steamer tickets would have annually amounted to about 2 lacs. The Bombay Government had asked for sanction for the proposals in a great hurry, but seems to have now repented at leisure, and on the same grounds, for in their letter to the Government of India they state that in view of the number of those who either never return to India from the Hejaz or return by an entirely different route "it is impossible to ignore their case," and they have also accepted the contention of the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, which he made at the Poona Conference, that "no satisfactory arrangement could be devised which would admit of refunds being made to pilgrims who did not return by sea, while not opening the door to grave abuses", for the Government of Bombay confess that "any means that could be devised for meeting it, by a system of refunds or otherwise, would create conditions, which would facilitate the evasion of the restrictions which the scheme seeks to impose, and would result in the frustration of its essential object." We are even told that the discussion which took place with the Bombay Government's *filius Achates*, Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company's representative, "has not led to the suggestion of any expedient which could be regarded as satisfactorily surmounting this serious practical difficulty." This proposal is, therefore, stated to have now been withdrawn, but one would have thought that a proposal once stated to have been withdrawn in an official document would not be put forward again and certainly not in the same official document. But like Haquq's ghost at the feast of Macbeth, the proposals of the Bombay Government regarding the Haj "rise again, with twenty mortal murders on their crown."

In paragraph 17 of their letter the Government of Bombay talk glibly enough of "the abandonment of the proposed system of compulsory return tickets," but within a few lines of this declaration the Government of Bombay press forward the proposal that Government should make it a rule that return tickets shall be sold at rates only 25 per cent. in excess of the single ticket. For instance, if the return ticket were to be offered for Rs. 100 the single ticket must cost nothing less than Rs. 80, or if the return ticket were to be offered for Rs. 160 the single ticket should be offered for nothing less than Rs. 128. If this is not the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets, then either words have lost their sense or authors their senses. Even the veriest fool can understand that shipping companies do not carry on their business for the sake of impoverishing themselves and that like the railway companies throughout the world and like shipping companies elsewhere, the shipping companies carrying pilgrims to the Hejaz would fix a tariff for return tickets which would bring them at least a small margin of profit. What this margin would be only the nature of the competition of rival companies could determine. As is the case with railway and shipping companies throughout the world, the single fare would be only slightly in excess of one-half of the return fare so that an inducement could exist for returning by the boats of the same company as had brought the pilgrim on the outward journey. But

Government now proposes to intervene and compel the shipping companies to charge the pilgrim, guilty of the offence of buying a single ticket only, not half or 55 or 60 per cent. of the cost of the return ticket, but not a pie less than 80 per cent. No doubt the fine of at least Rs. 30 p. c., over and above 50 p. c., the proportionate price of the single ticket, constitutes what the Bombay Government calls a rate "so preponderatingly favourable as to provide a very strong inducement to the pilgrims to purchase return tickets." But the meanest intelligence of merely non-officials would find it hard to understand the subtle distinction between the "compulsion" of last year and the "very strong inducement" of this year. And is it fair to call the rates for the return passage "so preponderatingly favourable," when in reality it is the rates for the single passage that are "so preponderatingly unfavourable"? If Government had offered a bonus to purchasers of return tickets from the Public Exchequer, that would have supplied a justification for the use of the phrase "so preponderatingly favourable." When neither Government nor the shipping companies offer a shell to the purchaser of the return ticket but he is charged a fair, and probably more than a fair rate, as we shall show later, for the return passage, and the purchaser of a single ticket is penalized for such an inexcusable sin, to talk of rates "so preponderatingly favourable" is to utter what is so preponderatingly foolish if not so preponderatingly hypocritical.

The second main proposal of the Bombay Government last year was to grant a monopoly for five years to Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company who had so suddenly and so mysteriously stepped into the shoes of Mr. Shirazi of the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company. A superficial observer would conclude from the recent letter of the Bombay Government that here at least the "abandonment" or "withdrawal" of its original scheme is real and final, specially as that Government takes leave of its pet proposal with considerable emotion and along with Mr. Shamsuddin Kadri (who shares with Dr. Abdur Rahman not only the qualification of being a Mussalman—and a Syed at that—but also the honour of Khan Bahadurship,) indulges in a good deal of abuse of pig-headed Mussalmans, who cannot relish the grant of a monopoly to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. and the inestimable boon of fares permanently fixed at rates higher than ever heard before even at the worst period during the last quarter of a century. At any rate, there is apparently nothing here of State intervention except what is obviously required for the "improvement of the conditions in which the pilgrims effect their journey to the Hejaz and back," such as the raising of the minimum of tonnage for pilgrim ships from 500 to 2,000 and eventually to 2,500 tons, or the increasing of the speed from a minimum of 8 knots an hour to a figure not yet disclosed. But we shall endeavour to show in our next issue the unmistakable drift of all these sleek and smooth new conditions and how they spell nothing short of the monopoly of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company and the enhancement of the fares, so that they could be only within the means of the rich, who may grace Haj Committees, but who seldom grace the Haj with their presence.

Year	The number of pilgrims who left for the Hejaz from the port of Bombay	The number of pilgrims who returned to Bombay from the Hejaz	Deficiency or excess in the number of those who returned
1888	14,528	6,405	minus 8,123
1889	14,037	10,101	minus 2,936
1890	11,665	8,710	minus 2,925
1891	14,068	8,677	minus 5,391
1892	12,787	9,490	minus 3,297
1893	20,068	9,011	minus 11,053
1894	13,150	9,540	minus 3,910
1895	17,102	10,472	minus 6,630
1896	14,167	9,697	minus 4,470
1897	1,106	2,519	plus 1,413
1898		1,342	plus 1,342
1899	Pilgrim Traffic closed owing to plague in Bombay	862	plus 862
1900		987	plus 987
1901		1,290	plus 1,290
1902-3	3,907	3,570	minus 337
1903-4	16,647	6,466	minus 10,181
1904-5	12,293	14,791	plus 2,501
1905-6	18,190	13,952	minus 4,438
1906	27,149	18,072	minus 9,068
1907	21,716	21,295	plus 2,577
1908	16,311	18,351	plus 2,040
1909	21,054	14,330	minus 6,721
1910	18,023	16,000	minus 2,023
1911	22,406	18,871	minus 3,535
1912	15,161	14,424	minus 737
Total	325,579	254,160	72,419
Average	14,023	10,126	3,897

The Haj Question.

IV.

Notes of an informal Conference held on the 31st July, 1913, at the Council Hall in Poona for the purpose of considering the proposals in connexion with the Haj Pilgrimage formulated in the Bombay Government's letter to the Government of India, No. 2896, dated the 11th April 1913.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., *Chairman*.
The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, K.C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Sardar Syed Ali El Edroos.
The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad.
The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah.
The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhoy, C.I.E.
The Secretary to Government, General Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hill opened the proceedings by reciting the conditions, set forth in paragraph 4 of their letter to the Government of India, on which the Bombay Government had proposed that the arrangements for the conveyance of pilgrims between India and Jeddah should be entrusted to Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company. He then referred in some detail to the opinions which had been elicited from the various individuals and associations consulted throughout the Presidency, and drew attention to their generally favourable character and the absence of any widespread or strong opposition to the two essential features of the scheme, namely, the grant for a term of years of a monopoly of the pilgrims traffic to a single shipping firm, and the institution of a system of compulsory return tickets. Where exception had been taken to the scheme the points of objection practically resolved themselves into three, namely—

- (1) that the passage rates proposed were excessive,
- (2) that the period within which a return passage could be claimed was too short;
- (3) that the scheme made no provision for the large number of pilgrims who had no intention of returning to their homes or who proposed to make a prolonged stay in the Hedjaz or to return home overland.

2. With reference to (1) he observed that, in the total absence of other competitors in the field, the Company in question were in a very strong position to lay down their own terms, and that in any case the objection did not take into account the proposed improvement of the conditions of the service which the terms of the contract contemplated.

3. As regards (2) he pointed out that the clause referred to did not go further than to stipulate that the presentation of a return ticket within two months of the last day of the Haj should be a condition to securing a passage within 3½ months from that date, and did not empower the company to refuse altogether to give a return passage to holder of a ticket presented after the expiry of the prescribed period. He thought that the company might be asked, subject to an absolute limit of two years, to guarantee, in the case of pilgrims presenting return tickets after the expiration of the prescribed two months, a return passage within two months of the date of such presentation, or, in the alternative, to pay an indemnity of Rs. 50 on each ticket.

4. As regards (3) he considered that the number of pilgrims who did not return by sea was largely made up of pilgrims from Central Asia, and that to meet the objection in the case of Indian pilgrims an arrangement might be devised for refunding a sum of Rs. 50, representing the return half of the ticket, on a declaration being made by the holder before the Jeddah consular authorities that he had no intention of returning to India.

5. After some discussion as to the value of the opinions collected and the mode of their collection Mr. Hill pointed out that the really essential question regarding which he now desired to have the opinion of the members of the Conference was whether or not it was desirable to institute a system of compulsory return tickets. If it were once admitted that the institution of such a system was desirable, then the necessity for some such arrangement as that outlined must be conceded, and it would only remain to consider its details. He proposed, therefore, to invite *seriatim* the several members present to state their precise objections to a system of compulsory return tickets.

6. In response to this invitation Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola stated that the principal objection to the proposal arose from the very

large proportion of pilgrims who either do not return to India at all or who return by another route. This proportion* he estimated (* The actual figures for the past 25 years give at 10,000 annually, an annual average of 2,900)

Its extent could be judged from the very large sums which accrued by the lapse of return railway tickets when these were compulsory and which formed the nucleus of the Haj Relief Fund. This feature of the pilgrimage complicated the question immensely. He was of opinion that no satisfactory arrangement could be devised which would admit of refunds being made to pilgrims who did not return by sea, while not opening the door to grave abuses. It would be impossible either to prevent pilgrims from obtaining refunds by means of false declaration, in which case they would spend, or would conceal the possession of, the money paid to them and would be thrown, as before, on the British authorities at Jeddah, or to ensure that the refunds were paid to the rightful claimants and not to persons who had obtained the return halves of tickets by purchase or by fraud. Having regard to the immense numbers to be dealt with, no system of identification of ticket holders at Jeddah, designed to prevent such transfers, was in his opinion practicable. There would thus, in spite of all efforts, be a large residuum every year of pilgrims who for one reason or another were unprovided with the means of returning to India, and the difficulty complained of would not be removed though it might be to some extent reduced in degree. Criticizing the details of the scheme he compared unfavourably the term of two months within which presentation of the return half of a ticket would ensure a passage back to India within the nine months during which the railway return tickets were valid. He also enlarged on the excessive character of the rates proposed having regard to the average of the rates actually paid in the course of past years. The higher rates occasionally obtaining during the last two or three seasons were, he stated, due to exceptional causes and did not afford a fair basis of comparison. He contended that it was not right or just to inflict on the fifteen to twenty thousand pilgrims who annually performed the Haj all the inconvenience and loss which a compulsory return ticket system, under proper safeguards, necessarily involved, merely in order to prevent some two or three hundred of them from being stranded at Jeddah. He considered that if the British Government took steps to prevent the systematic robbing of pilgrims by the authorities at the quarantine station of Camaran, and if other Indian ports besides those of Bombay and Karachi were thrown open, there would be a very great improvement in the general conditions of the pilgrim traffic. Having taken these steps, he thought that Government should definitely announce that in future no assistance of any kind would be given to pilgrims at Jeddah for effecting their return to India. Subject to these conditions he would contemplate with equanimity the annual stranding at Jeddah of some two or three hundred indigent pilgrims. He considered that the convenience of the great mass of the pilgrims and their freedom from all undesirable restrictions were more important considerations than the restoration of the credit of the Mussalmans of India in the estimation of the Mahomedan world.

7. The Hon'ble Sardar Syed Ali objected to the compulsory return ticket system on the ground that it would absolutely prevent many Mahomedans from undertaking the Haj pilgrimage whose bounden religious duty it was to perform it at least once in their lifetime, whether or not they had sufficient means to pay for the expenses of the journey. He was, he explained, referring to the "Shad" sect who represented approximately 25 per cent. of the whole body of Mussalmans in India.

8. The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad drew an unfavourable comparison between the treatment at the hands of the Turkish authorities in the Hedjaz of pilgrims from British India and that accorded to pilgrims travelling under the protection of the French, Russian or Dutch Governments, and maintained that the proper course in dealing with the difficulty was for the British Government to address a strong representation to the Turkish Government on the subject and to arrange for the posting of representatives at the various stages on the route of pilgrimage who would protect the interests of the Indian pilgrims. He attributed the annual stranding of so many Indian pilgrims at Jeddah in a state of indigency to the exactions and robbery to which they were exposed in the course of the pilgrimage. He admitted that the better condition of the pilgrims from the Dutch Indies might be due to the fact that they came to the Hedjaz well equipped, thanks to the arrangements made by the

Dutch Government, with the means of returning to their homes, but adhered to his objection to the institution of a system of compulsory return tickets. He considered that, provided that effective measures were adopted to protect the pilgrims from illegal exactions, there was no necessity for taking any further action with regard to this difficulty. He also, like Sir Ibrahim, was prepared to view with unconcern the annual stranding at Jeddah of the residuum of pilgrims who went to the Haj with nothing but the means of getting to Mecca and without any provision for the return journey and whom, as he admitted, his proposals for the amelioration of Haj conditions would leave untouched.

9. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussein endorsed the views already expressed, and laid stress on the certainty that a large proportion of the pilgrims would, in the course of the journey from Jeddah to Mecca and back, mislay or be robbed of their return tickets.

10. The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy also concurred in the above views. He maintained that the arrangements would affect no improvement in the conditions of the pilgrims traffic. He adduced specific instances in support of his contention that the shipping company to whom Government proposed to entrust these arrangements had already shown themselves unable to deal adequately with this traffic. In these circumstances nothing would be gained by giving them, or any other shipping firm, a monopoly of the traffic. In his opinion it was very desirable that the Government of India should arrange to appoint a committee consisting of the leading Mahomedans of every province with instructions to consider and submit definite proposals for improving the conditions of the pilgrims traffic. Personally he was of opinion that the difficulty referred to would always exist, as no scheme that could be devised would prevent pauper Mussal-mans from making their way out to the Haj and then begging their way back.

11. The Hon'ble Mr. Hill in bringing the proceedings to a close said that he proposed in the first instance to communicate to Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Kadri (Collector of West Khandesh) the opinions which had been elicited in the course of the discussion, and to ask him for his observations and suggestions regarding them. He undertook that the above opinions would be adequately represented in the reply which the Bombay Government would in due course address to the Government of India on the question, though he naturally reserved to himself the right of criticising them freely and of indicating the almost wholly negative and destructive character of the arguments by which they were supported and the "non possumus" attitude which they generally represented.

V.

Note by Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Syed Mian Kadri.

The opinions elicited at the informal Conference in Poona are remarkable for their vagueness and contain no practical suggestion for improving the lamentable situation.

2. I beg to agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. O. S., subject to the following modifications:—

- (1) That the passage rates proposed are excessive and may be reduced.
- (2) That maximum rates may be fixed for the single as well as the return voyage.
- (3) That the tenders may be invited for the monopoly and that the monopoly may be given to the lowest bidder.
- (4) That the return ticket system may not be made compulsory until the results of the working of the monopoly system are definitely known.
- (5) That a "Haj Fund" may be raised in the whole of India for the repatriation of the destitute Hajis at Jeddah.

3. My reasons for making the above suggestions are stated in the following paragraphs.

4. A dispassionate consideration of the complicated Haj problem leads to the inevitable conclusion that the repatriation of destitute pilgrims stranded at Jeddah is not the only difficulty to be faced but that there is another equally serious difficulty felt almost every year by hundreds of poor pilgrims. It is due to the fluctuations in the passage rates according to the sweet will of shipping companies. Many pilgrims led away by false rumours start for the Haj in the hope of securing a cheap passage. On their arrival in Bombay, they find to their utter despair the rates tremendously high, but once having left their native place with a sincere desire to perform the Haj, they consider it a sin to go back. Consequently they exhaust their limited resources at the very outset. Such persons though not paupers get stranded at Jeddah on their return journey. Some of the misery at Jeddah is also due to the impression that the benign British Government would grant a free passage.

For these reasons, it is essential not only in the interests of those who get stranded at Jeddah but even for the welfare of the majority of pilgrims that the steamer rates should be fixed and announced beforehand so that every pilgrim may know exactly what provision he must make for the intended pilgrimage.

The only reasonable solution of this difficult problem that suggests itself under the present circumstances is to fix the maximum rates for a single as well as a return passage. To carry out this scheme, there is no alternative but to have the scheme of a monopoly; the two schemes are inseparable.

5. Here I must confess that this opinion of mine regarding monopoly is not shared by a majority of Mahomedans both literate as well as illiterate, and the reasons for this difference of opinion are obvious.

The opposition is more or less sentimental and is based upon the misapprehension that Government want to restrict the Haj and interfere indirectly with the most sacred religious duty of Mahomedans.

Time and experience alone can remove this wrong impression. At present they are in an excited mood on account of the state of affairs in Turkey and are not open to conviction. Therefore, I beg respectfully to suggest that the final decision of this delicate subject may, if possible, be withheld until the present fervour subsides.

6. However, if it be deemed expedient to decide this matter without any further delay, I submit that moderate, maximum rates may be fixed for a single as well as a return passage. The rates for the return ticket may be only one-third more than the single passage rates and made so attractive as to induce a majority of pilgrims to take a return ticket. The present opposition to the return ticket system is mostly due to the proposed excessive passage rates because it is apprehended that they would come in the way of a large majority of ordinary pilgrims who think it their solemn duty to perform the Haj at least once during their lifetime.

As soon as the people find that the rates for the return ticket are decidedly advantageous and compare favourably with the single fare, they would resort to the return ticket system as is the case with the Railway return tickets and the resentment due to the idea of compulsion would naturally disappear. The return ticket system should not therefore be made compulsory until it becomes popular. This would mainly depend upon the successful working of the shipping company that might get the monopoly. With a view to popularise the system, I beg to suggest that the following maximum rates may be fixed inclusive of the Camaran quarantine dues:—

Maximum single passage.	Maximum of the return ticket
Rs.	Rs.
75 + 33 1/4	100 October.
60 + 30 1/4	80 September.
45 + 22 1/4	60 August.

With the exception of the last year, the rates of the shipping companies were generally very moderate specially when the competition used to be keen.

7. After the maximum rates are fixed, tenders may be invited and the monopoly given to the lowest bidder. The great advantage of an open competition would be that it would be possible to find out the lowest rates and the opponents of the monopoly shall have no grounds for complaint.

It is possible that some well-to-do Mahomedans may come forward to float a company for the purposes of Haj. At any rate, the Mahomedans at large shall have the satisfaction of knowing that Government did all they could to facilitate the performance of Haj. There is no doubt that "Haj" is imperative and all the Mahomedans of India are concerned in this question.

8. Lots of pilgrims go to Medina after the Haj. Therefore the guarantee of a return passage from Jeddah should be 5 months instead of 3 1/2 months.

In the case of each holder of a return ticket who does not wish to return or who is certified by the British Consul at Jeddah to have died in the Hedjaz, the company should, on production of the unused return voucher within 12 months, pay half the amount of the return ticket. I hope the above modifications and concessions would pacify the Mahomedans and be acceptable to them.

9. In spite of all this, if Mahomedans do not assume a conciliatory attitude, they must be prepared to give a practical proof of their genuine sympathy for their co-religionists stranded at Jeddah and raise within six months a decent fund in every province and deposit the same with the Government of India, the annual income of which can be utilised for the repatriation of destitute Hajis at Jeddah. For this purpose, a committee of leading Mahomedans of each province may be appointed as proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhai with instructions to form sub-committees in all the important cities and towns of India to collect the necessary fund amounting from five to ten lakhs of rupees.

10. These are in my humble opinion the two practical ways of solving a long-standing problem instead of carrying on an acrimonious discussion.

SYED SHAMSUDDIN KADRI.

Dhulia, 14th August 1914.



The Bore.

GENERAL.—I.

"Genius is good, but boredom is magnificent." This observation is immemorially old—as old as the Pyramids—and is marked by a profundity of thought and intensity of expression which characterized all Greek philosophical reflections. It is not the antiquity of the observation, but its downright truth that is its supreme merit.

The unforgiveablest and the most persistent of all human mistakes is to think that the bore is not immortal like genius.

Real, solid, substantial boredom is imperishable—defiant of death and oblivion, but superficial, shallow, ineffective boredom is ephemeral. The real bore is born like genius. Nature does not send him ill-equipped to fight the battle of life. It bestows on him inexhaustible funds of loquacity—funds which survive a most reckless and improvident use and last a lifetime of unprofitable investments, extravagant effects and hazardous experiments. It is a pity that the bore often makes a wasteful use of his gift. With greater economy and less improvidence he could leave his unprovided-for children a rich heritage of vocal energy. The real bore is, as I have said above, immortal. To guard myself against a possible misapprehension on the part of the readers, I may say that the bore shares with the rest of humanity a regrettable proneness to physical death; but I don't find it in my heart to condemn him for a weakness which, though deplorable in the extreme, is none of his cultivation, but a legacy from his ancestors.

But to the immortality of name and reputation he has just as easy an access as genius. Herodotus, the father of bores, is as alive to-day as Plato, and the present writer can hazard a confident prophecy that he would outlive the latter. His mixture of bad facts and worse notions will continue to bore humanity long after the fossilised wisdom of Plato has ceased to guide and inspire it. Johnson is moribund, and will soon be dead beyond resurrection; but his biographer—Boswell—will ever successfully defy death and oblivion. Johnson's "sugarless" wisdom and unpalatable cynicisms will perish, but Boswell's Johnsonian talk and stories will ever challenge time and its ravages. Coming nearer home, Abul Fazal with all his unsurpassed intellectual and literary powers and statesmanship, is going to grave, mourned only by senile garrulity, infirmity of intellect and archaeness of taste; but Birbal, with his stupid jokes and silly anecdotes, is still clinging to popular memory with great tenacity. I must confess that Indian boredom cannot claim comparison with European boredom without making itself supremely ridiculous. Its achievements are comparatively few, its record not half so brilliant as that of European boredom. But it is racial prejudice alone which would deny that Indian boredom is progressive and that its performances are very often superb and grand. The reason for this inferiority of indigenous boredom is not far to seek. We have no Parliament, no House of Commons or of Lords. Is it a matter for surprise then that we have no Sir John Reeses? Believe me, there is no better place for the training and development of boredom than a Parliament.

Boredom, my critics may remind me, is congenital, but training is as essential to it as to genius. Without training boredom very often becomes inane, sterile and ineffective. Without it its promises

not unoften go unrealized, the hopes it has aroused are blighted and its grand mission remains unfulfilled.

The European bore receives a public encouragement which his less fortunate Indian brother does not. He has usually a large audience to admire his feats of marvellous loquacity and to vociferously cheer them. He has also critics and detractors, but his friends and supporters are generally more numerous and noisier. India can nevertheless truly and without inordinate immodesty boast of millions of bores with varying degrees of perfections and excellences.

Indigenous boredom suffers, as I have said above, from a lack of popular appreciation and encouragement and even more from want of opportunities for a public exhibition of its accomplishments. It is true that we have congresses and leagues, conferences and sabhas, and last, but not least, our reformed councils. It is also true that they provide the ambitious Indian bore with opportunities for the accomplishment of miracles of loud and senseless talk. But he wants more and frequenter opportunities and a much greater degree of popular encouragement than is usual for him to receive.

Though so seriously handicapped, the Indian bore is a man of whom we have every reason to be proud. He is ubiquitous. He graces every assembly, private, communal or national.

He does not necessarily belong to the city. He often comes from a village and brings with him a sturdy and unsophisticated boredom—untiring and ceaseless in its operations, unrelieved by the culture and refinement of the city bore.

The bore does not necessarily belong to any particular religion. He is as often a Hindu as a Mohammedan or a Christian. He finds the tenets of no faith opposed to the pursuit of innocent boredom; no ethos, secular or religious, forbid loud and ceaseless talk. One does not see any reason why a good Hindu or a pious Musalman should be a bad or indifferent bore.

The bore is wedded to no particular political beliefs and convictions. Advocacy of most progressive reforms and the demand of Swaraj are as compatible with honest boredom as the loyalism of the most aggressive type—the loyalism of the Oudh Taluqdar or the Punjab Khan Bahadur.

You can't know a bore at first sight, if you have no mental discernment. Physical eyes, however big, even fortified by a pair of spectacles, won't enable you to recognize a bore before he has commenced to experiment on your patience in his usual calm, collected and confident manner. His torrential volubility once provoked would sweep you off your feet before you realized the egregious folly of accosting him. Never accost a bore in hurry and repent of it at leisure. Do anything, but don't rouse slumbering boredom. Do not grudge it the rest it so sorely needs after its ceaseless toils.

Let it be remembered by all that the bore wears no particular uniform, though we all heartily wish he did that. I for one would hail a movement, though it emptied my purse of its last coins, which sought to deck Indian boredom in some uniform and distinguishing outer vesture.

The founders of sabhas and revivers of dead languages would more usefully spend their time in devising means to satisfy this pressing need of the modern times.

The bore has no predilection for any particular kind of dress. I have as often found his Swadeshi legs encased in the most immaculate

trousers of the approved European cut as in the dirtiest of *dhotis*. The *dhoti* does not lessen his self-assurance, nor do the trousers add to his intrepidity. His head—an organ which he has shamelessly discarded in favour of his mere seductive tongue—is no more partial to the Bideshi top-hat than to the Turkish Fez or to what is popularly known as the felt-cap. The former does not add to his dignity, nor do the latter detract from his sublimity.

The bore in *achkan* is as familiar a figure and as common a sight as one in a lounge suit. The bore has no aversion to nakedness—a trouserless nakedness relieved only by a *dhoti*. From what has been said above, the reader may be led to infer that only talk is boredom. Talk, loud and persistent, without interruption or intermission is oftener the form which boredom assumes. But there is inarticulate boredom too—a boredom which accomplishes its grand mission not through talk and noise, but by icy, frigid, sepulchral silence as destructive of human patience as the noisiest and interminablest talk. The silent bore is cynical and relentless. He stares at you for hours, unwilling to talk and he talked to, contemplating you as if you were the only unhappy creature who marred the perfections of a universe of his creation. You were rich in human forbearance and patience when he came to you. He leaves you a bankrupt, an eternal pauper.

BAMBOOQUE.



Lord Byron the man.

THE so-called "Confessions of Byron", arranged by Mr. Lewis Bettany, is a very interesting volume and mainly consists of his letters to his sister Augusta, his publishers and his friends. From a perusal of these we learn his opinions on his contemporaries poets, his relations, his friends and also religion. And thus we get an insight into the charms and defects of his nature, and we are enabled to estimate his own intellectual power as compared to that of his contemporaries. In short, we see Lord Byron the man in his naturalness.

The final place of Byron in the realm of literature has not yet been decided. Yet his indomitable energy, passion and power of vivid and forceful description, together with the unabating interest which is attached to his unhappy career, must always make him loom large in the assembly of poets. The influence of the "Noble Poet" over the taste and sentiments of the Continental people was very great, and as a poet he enjoyed a much higher reputation in foreign countries than he did in his own. His life is to be read in his own works, and he shines best in the more personal forms of his writings.

In *Don Juan*, where he is a bit too severe in his criticisms of life, he calls himself "the Grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme", but the only points of similarity between the real Napoleon and the self-styled one are that both were the products of revolution and both, after a short glorious reign, were deposed from the pinnacle of their glory. Napoleon, at any rate, was not "in haste to be famous". Now, let Byron the man speak. "My mother," writes he to Augusta, "has lately behaved to me in such an eccentric manner that, so far from feeling the affection of a son, it is with difficulty I can restrain 'my dislike.' But he does not even restrain his dislike as it would appear from the following: 'Am I to call this woman my mother,' writes the cynic in another letter, 'because by nature's law she has 'authority over me? She irritates me so much. I can never forgive 'that woman'."

And in a third epistle to one John Hanon he says, "I lent 'Mrs. Byron (his mother) £60 last year, of this I have never received 'a son and in all probability never shall."

These are rather too inhuman sentiments to express about one's own mother—great as may have been her eccentricities. Undoubtedly she had inherited some germs of madness, and at times her behaviour and sharp-edged tongue got on his nerves. But this and many other such things can afford no excuse for his own behaviour towards her. She was, after all, his mother. He talks of lending and borrowing money about a mother who, let it be said to her credit, was ever generous to him at least as regards money matters. Such abominable language shows that he had no filial piety or affection, and brings out a very ugly trait in his character, almost bordering on insanity.

Of religion his Lordship speaks in his letter to Augusta. Long in the following terms: "I know nothing in favour of religion. We have fools in all sects and impostors in most. Why I do not say 'terrors no one understands, because written by men who are to raise 'take madness for inspiration and style themselves evangelists.' This 'much I venture to affirm, that all the virtues and pious deeds performed on earth can never entitle a man to everlasting happiness in 'future state.' Further, writing to a priest he says, 'the basis 'of your religion is injustice A material resurrection seems strange and even absurd, except for purposes of 'punishment; and all punishment, which is to revenge rather than 'correct, must be wordly wrong. And when the world is at an end, 'what moral or warning purpose can eternal tortures answer? It is 'useless to tell man not to reason but to believe. You might tell 'a man not to sleep and then to bully him with torments 'and all that does not help thinking that menace of hell makes as 'many damned as ever penal codes of inhuman humanity make 'villains. I am as frank and as vigorous as his criticism of life.

But in face of this we find him at constant pains to make people believe of his implicit faith in Christianity. He does not stop there, but puts his only daughter in a nunnery. This is one of the many contradictions in his character. Whatever his Lordship may have spoken against deity in his pride of physical beauty, which was no less than his intellectual greatness, and in revenge for his lameness, still there is some tenderness of feeling in his writings to convince one of his belief in a Supreme Power. He was by no means an atheist.

He speaks with a marked degree of tenderness not only of his dead friends, but also of those who in their lifetimes were the cause of great annoyance to him. The news of a friend's death always brought into display the finer side of his nature. He deeply mourned over the loss.

Amongst his contemporaries he particularly picked out Wordsworth to be the target for his shots. He has hardly a word to say in favour of the "Poet of Nature."

"Wordsworth," says he, "thinks that he has all his life been writing 'both prose and verse, and neither of what he conceives to be such 'can be properly said to be either one or the other. . . . This 'is the sort of writing which has superseded and degraded Pope in 'the eyes of the discerning British public."

In another letter to a German friend he writes, "You do not 'know that this gentleman (Wordsworth) is the greatest of all poets— 'past, present and to come. His principal publication is entitled 'Peter Bell which he has withheld from the public for one and twenty 'years—to the irreparable loss of all those who died in the interim 'and will have no opportunity to read it before the resurrection." He says in another place:

Of Wordsworth, the grand metaphysical poet,

A man of vast merit, though few people know it;

The perusal of whom (as I told you at Mestri.)

I owe, in great part, to my passion for pastry.

This is a withering satire indeed. He seems apparently to have conceived a personal dislike for Wordsworth and the latter's unsympathetic treatment of the mild Keats has had its revenge. Byron has not many good words to spare for Coleridge either, though he speaks of him mildly and in places even with kindness, "Coleridge—the Manichean of poesy is lecturing. Many an old fool, but such as this never."

Southey and Leigh Hunts also do not escape his adverse criticisms. "Poor Keats" he writes, but shows his great likeness for Shelley.

On Sir Walter Scott alone he lavishes his unqualified praise.

Byron's friends played an important part in his life and the formation of his character. Some of them like Shelley, Moore, Hobhouse and Matthews did in fact whip his intellect and may even be said to have inspired him. He loved them dearly, but at times they too couldn't escape his condemnation.

Having no pleasure at home, he liked to keep the company of his friends as much as he could.

He sets up quite a high ideal of friendship. When writing to Thomas Moore he says, "Throughout life, your loss must be my loss, 'and your gain my gain. Though my heart may ebb, there will 'always be a drop for you among the dregs."

These are noble sentiments indeed and cannot but wring praise even from his most severe critics for this generosity of his heart. But then suddenly he turns over and informs us in the same breath that he has great admiration but no love for his friends, and goes on muttering, "If one wishes to have all the success one deserves he should never listen to his friends."

What an ungenerous remark! and what a contrast it presents to the sentiments just expressed. In fine his is a most complicated and contradictory nature.

With a mother whom he spurned, with a wife whom he despised, and with a daughter whom he only admired, Byron, indeed, knew little of love. He himself admitted to be in love when he was eight years old. Yet in the innermost corner of his heart he had a little burning spark which occasionally flared up and got the better of him to spite of himself.

Byron recognised the law and refuses to be bound by the fetters of "custom," but he is governed by the impulses of his own will.

In him the imagination is subordinate to the intellect, and he is not like his "dear Shilloh" (Shelley) an essentially a materialistic poet. If our hearts open to Keats, and we turn to Wordsworth, and if for the satisfaction of spirit we look to Shelley, it is for the gratification of our senses that we turn to Byron.

His enthusiasm for Greek liberty, his consent to sacrifice his life and fortune for their cause is a striking feature of his generous but impulsive nature.

Let us sum up with Hazlitt's estimate of his person:

"Self-will, passion, the love of singularity, a distrust of self and of others (with a conscious sense that this is the way and means of procuring admiration) are the proper workings of his mind: he is a lordly writer, is above his reputation, condescends to the muse with a scornful grace."

Bankipur.

SYED MAHMOOD

CORRESPONDENCE



The Haj Pilgrimage.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE COMRADE."

Sir,—Since the publication of the report of Dr. Abdur Rahman, the Vice-Consul at Jeddah, it has been discussed all over the country. When I was leaving Delhi for Bombay to arrange on behalf of our Society, "The Khuddam-i-Ka'aba", to give every possible help to the Hajis, not only our members, who naturally desire a very much larger number of Muslims both rich and poor to perform this great religious function, but many others had also requested me to make full inquiries about the statements made in the said report, as they were not verified by those who had themselves performed the Haj that year.

With an open mind and with the sole idea of finding out the real facts, I have visited officials, ship-owners, pilgrims' brokers, brokers' servants, "moallims", old residents of Jeddah and Mecca and many Hajis who know the affairs of the Hejaz intimately. The information that I have been able to collect, I beg to offer to the public, without exaggeration or varnish, as, in my opinion, the Mussalmans want nothing else but the exact truth to tackle the whole problem and solve it once for all.

Most of the non-officials that I met spoke in strong words about the Vice-Consul and said some ugly things which, having no great bearing on the question, I leave out. They accused him of exaggerating facts so as to discourage the Indian Mussalmans from going to Haj, and of arousing a feeling of disgust against the Turkish authorities; also of insinuating and stating facts in such a way that the ordinary layman, who was not conversant with the real state of affairs, should be led to believe that it was the Turkish Government who were at fault, when actually they were not. Take, for example, the statement about the quarantine at Kamran. If the Turks had full authority in the matter they would have done away with it long ago. But at present they are powerless. It has been imposed by an International Sanitary Board at Constantinople, on which sit the representatives of all the Powers, and the decisions of this Board have to be carried out by the Turkish authorities. I have repeatedly heard from pilgrims of the brutal treatment meted out to them by the doctors and petty officials, who are mostly Greeks and non-Muslims. The Hajis did not understand why the Turkish authorities could not employ Muslim officials to carry out this delicate task. Of course they abused the Turks for this, but they did not know that the Turks had to carry out the orders of the International Sanitary Board, and had absolutely no voice in the matter. To an ordinary mind it would appear from the report of the Vice-Consul that poor pilgrims, besides being face to face with a dire disease like cholera, were being fleeced brutally at Kamran. And Kamran is situated in Turkish territory. The conclusion is so obvious. Take another example. The floods at Hamara, situated between Mecca and Medinah, did carry away pilgrims, but not so many as the Vice-Consul mentions. About 400 in all were drowned. Such a thing had not happened in that part of the country for generations. Surely plague, cholera, floods, etc., are visitations of God and cannot be controlled by any Government however powerful and capable.

At the time of the Haj there are about 5 lakhs of people in Mecca, and those who have seen the religious fairs even in our own country, with its enormous resources and able officials, can realise how absolutely impossible it becomes to make proper arrangements. I was at Benares as a Government official for three years. I have visited Allahabad during the "Makar Sankranti". I have visited Hardwar and also Ajmer and Pura Kaleer during the *Utsav*, and I wish Dr. Abdur Rahman were with me to report on the sanitary conditions there. Barely five weeks ago the sanitary conditions round about the Dargah at

Ajmer were such as would sicken anybody and the water looked more like thick "pea-soup". Nobody complained of this, because on occasions and gatherings like these and with the poor attending them in large numbers, no sanitary arrangements could hold. Because there were heavy floods at Hyderabad and Burdwan; cholera at the Magh *melas* of Allahabad and other Hindu and Muslim fairs at Benares, Hardwar, Ajmer, Pak Pattan, Piran Kaleer, disasters on the sea like those of the "Titanic" and the "Empress of Ireland;" railway collisions like the one near Ghazibad,—all resulting in fearful loss of life,—therefore Hyderabad and Burdwan were to be boycotted; Allahabad, Benares, Hardwar and Ajmer fairs given up, and no one was to travel either by sea or land. What does the following mean:—

"If Indian Moslems decide to come to Arabia, they must do so "without any idea save that of resolute performance of religious "duty in pursuance of which they must be ready to face certain hardships and not unlikely death".

I am afraid warnings like the above have no sense in them except that they give the fullest reflection of the innermost feelings of the writer. Mussalmans complain that they are not children, ignorant of the conditions in Arabia. They fully realise the hardships of travelling and they also know fully well that journey in a desert and sparsely populated country like the Hejaz is no picnic. Many of the educated Mussalmans, with whom I discussed this problem, expressed a firm desire to go to the Haj next year, not with the intention of issuing warnings to the people but to remove the difficulties there and make things easier. It is the duty of every Mussalman from every part of the world to do all he can to improve the conditions in the Hejaz, and help the distracted Turkish authorities who have had enough troubles of their own to worry them. I expect next year a good many of the eminent Mussalmans will go for the Haj with the intention of seeing things for themselves and resolving on a scheme of improvements.

The Vice-Consul is right about the unprotected water-supply, which can get tainted very easily. Our Society intends to send out a Mussalman engineer to report on it. The *Ain Zubeida* gives sufficient water for all requirements, if the spare water-supply in the off season is stored up properly. A few storage reservoirs are needed. The water after being purified can be distributed by means of either pipes or *bhishties*.

As for the monopoly and the compulsory return tickets, the whole community practically unanimously has decided against it. If any one carefully looked into the history of the Shipping Industry of Bombay, he could find that 40 years ago a good deal of this business was being carried on by Mussalmans and the "Haj Question" did not exist. The question has become acute since the day when the Bombay Persian Steam Navigation Company, owned by Shirazis, the Amin-Uttujar family, was sold to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. I would like to be perfectly fair to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. They have come to this country for business and naturally would like to make as much profit out of it as possible. There is absolutely no question of charity or piety, and nobody may reasonably expect anything of the sort from them. They were a powerful and influential firm before, and since the amalgamation of the P. & O. and the British India Steam Navigation Companies, with whom they are associated, their influence has gone up a great deal. They began to raise the fares and the other companies followed suit, with the result that there was a general outcry, and thus the "Haj Question" was brought into existence. For example, Rs. 40 was the fare advertised. The intending pilgrims, on hearing this, flocked to Bombay from all parts of India. When there were, say, 3,000 pilgrims, and the available accommodation for 1,500 only, there was a rush for tickets, and the fares were quietly raised from Rs. 40 to Rs. 90, Rs. 100 and even Rs. 110. This upset all the calculations of the poor Hajis. Having once started and come so far, he would not think of going back and practically spent all his money in Bombay. This gamble was always there, but not to any inconvenient extent. Leaving aside the last few years, when Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. came into the field, the average fare for the previous ten years was Rs. 28-8-0 from Bombay to Jeddah, and Rs. 22-8-0 from Jeddah to Bombay, that is, Rs. 51-0-0 only for both going and coming back. Last year the poor unfortunate pilgrims had to pay from Rs. 100 to Rs. 110 for going only. The Government of Bombay got alarmed at this, and was anxious to stop this. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. gallantly came forward and offered a very simple solution. They asked for the grant of sole monopoly for carrying pilgrims, recommending the introduction of compulsory return tickets, and fixed the fares at Rs. 160 for both the voyages. The Bombay Government recommended this arrangement, as apparently they must have been anxious to wash their hands of this affair; but the Mussalmans naturally would not accept such a simple remedy "worse than the disease". I was told that last year the Manager of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. went to Jeddah himself and ordered that the fares

for the return voyage should not be lowered. The poor pilgrims would have suffered a great deal, and Dr. Abdur Rahman would again have written strongly in favour of the monopoly and the compulsory return tickets, if it were not for Mr. Abdullah Mian Khandwani, who would not join the combine, and with his one boat, the "Lawee", brought down the rates. He brought pilgrims back for Rs. 30 or even lower and over 700 pilgrims for absolutely nothing, in fact feeding many of them on the way. He deserves the thanks both of the Mussalmans and the Government. The Arab Company brought 400 destitute Hajis, and Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. also brought 200 for whom they demanded money from the Government but were refused.

I would here like to note the effect which the grant of monopolies has produced elsewhere. The cost of the three days' voyage from Suez to Jeddah and back was under Rs. 20. The present Khedive in a weak moment was prevailed upon to sell his company to a syndicate which was also given a monopoly for the pilgrims traffic. The cost for the same journey now is Rs. 78. A similar monopoly was given for pilgrims from Singapore and the Malay States. The fare from Singapore to Jeddah used to be about Rs. 67 and for a return ticket from Rs. 100 to Rs. 120. Now they charge for the same journey Rs. 267, with the result that pilgrims from Java and the Malay States travel by the Japanese boats—which are successfully competing with the B. I. S. N. Company—to Calcutta, from there by rail to Bombay where they take boat for Jeddah. They find this much cheaper.

Practically every Mussalman opposed the grant of the monopoly, but some who did not know the facts saw no objection in the compulsory return tickets. Now monopoly means nothing but monopoly, while the system of compulsory return tickets means compulsory return tickets *plus* the grant of a monopoly, for the Arab Company, Abdullah Mian Khandwani and other smaller Companies, who help in keeping the rates down, would disappear as not being able to guarantee the return of pilgrims who will come back to Jeddah in dribblets. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would alone be left in the field. I am afraid the new proposals of the Government are no improvement on the old. They mean practically the same thing, that is, the giving of the monopoly and the introduction of compulsory return tickets, but in an indirect way.

The question of destitute Hajis was always there, but it never caused any great trouble to anybody. The Muslim shipping companies, doing this business, always, towards the end, brought in free a shipload or two of these as a pure act of charity. From Bombay they disappeared to their homes. Last year too they did the same. The Government only in 1912-1913 paid Rs. 20,000 for poor and destitute Hajis out of which Rs. 3,000 were contributed by the Bombay Haj Committee. As far as my information goes, Government had never before incurred any expenditure on this account.

The only possible solution under the circumstances appears to be that the Government should make an appeal to the Mussalmans of India, princes, noblemen, zemindars, merchants and the poor alike to start a shipping concern of their own in the interests mainly of the pilgrims. The promoters would get a modest return on their investments and at the same time they will be doing a great act of charity.

"Hotel Majestic,"

BOMBAY.

SHUKAT ALI,

Secretary,

Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society.

Govt. Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE COMRADE"

SIR,—I hope you will extend to me the courtesy of your columns, and publish my brief contribution to your esteemed journal.

I have tried in this letter, as far as possible, to quote facts and figures based on correct and reliable information, as I believe in fair and honest criticism. I may, however, state at the outset that I loathe controversy, and I hope I shall not be drawn into it.

I have been, like a true lover of education, following closely the course of events in the history of the Anglo-Arabic (called Govt. Anglo-Arabic?) High School, Delhi. I have studied from time to time the problems that this old institution had to face and has still to face, but have always refrained from making public comment since in nine cases out of ten honest criticism is always looked upon by the men in authority as the outcome of personal enmity, malice and selfishness. I think I must point out, as I believe and honestly believe, that the Anglo-Arabic High School needs reform, and certain events and circumstances, important as they are, must be brought to the notice of the Muhammadan public in the interest of the school.

The Anglo-Arabic School is a very old institution, as old as 1846. It was founded in that year by Nawab Zafar Ali Khan, who gave Rs. 1,76,000 to the East India Company for the advancement of Muhammadan education. The building in which the school is located was built by Ghazi-ud-din Khan, one of the Nizams of Hyderabad, and is a very fine historical building situated outside the Ajmere Gate. The old Oriental school was converted into an English High School about a quarter of a century ago. Khwaja Shahabuddin was

its first Head Master and continued to act in that capacity up till 1907. In 1907 or thereabout the school was inspected by Mr. J. W. T. Wright, the then Inspector of Schools, Delhi, who condemned it wholesale and reported against the Head Master and most of the other members of the staff. The school was practically overhauled, most of the old teachers were sent away, and M. Mohamed Fazluddin, the present Head Master, was appointed in place of Khwaja Shahabuddin. It was hoped that under the guidance of the new Head Master the school would show better results and would progress morally and materially, but a glance at the following table will show that, leaving aside the beautiful lawns and flower-pots and some up-to-date but insufficient furniture and apparatus, the school has made no progress whatsoever. The number of scholars has of course risen from 400 to 1,000 (including one upper primary and two lower primary branches), but the results are bad. It is believed that a large sum of money is spent every year on the school, but like the Prince of Wales's School of Science at Aligarh, it has proved to be another 'white elephant'. The following will justify my remarks:—

Past & Present.	No. of years.	No. of scholars sent up for the Matric.	No. of boys passed.	Remarks.
The old period.— 1894-1907	13	256	159	Many boys secured scholarships, medals and distinctions.
The new period.— 1907-1914	7	257	90	

A glance at this table will show that the school during the old period, though condemned by Mr. Wright, showed better results than under the existing arrangements. In both cases 256 and 257 boys were sent up, but the results show a marked disparity and are in no way creditable to those now responsible for the school education. Apart from the marked falling off in results during the past few years in comparison with the results of the school previous to 1907, it should be noted that the school average in University passes is often much below that of the University and certainly the worst amongst all the public schools in Delhi. And this grave situation exists in spite of the fact that enormous sums of money have been spent on its equipment and the number of teachers has considerably increased.

If we analyse the results for the last five years we come to the following figures:—

Year	No. of candidates	Passed	Failed
1910	39	12	27
1911	38	16	22
1912	39	20	19
1913	50	15	35
1914	39	10	29
	195	73	under consideration.

It will be quite clear from the above that the large sums of money spent on the school are practically wasted and the results are such as call for a searching inquiry into the condition of the school teaching.

It is the duty of every true Muhammadan to ponder over the matter and to find out and suggest remedies for the betterment of the school. To the best of my recollection the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of Delhi promised to make some enquiries last year, but the Mussalmans of Delhi are still eagerly awaiting the results of that enquiry.

It may be pointed out here that one of the chief reasons of the uniformly bad results in the University examinations appears to be the fact that the present Head Master attends to various things outside the school. He has been made a trustee of the Fatehpuri Mosque, is the Inspector of the Punjabi School, the Hon. Secretary of the Public Library, a member of Queen Mary's School Committee, etc., and if my information is correct, coaches boys for various examinations. He finds, therefore, very little time to attend to his duties in the school. He has been getting promotion every year with bad results to his credit, and has often been heartily congratulated by the school authorities on having rendered "meritorious services." What those meritorious services are still remains to be seen. I have no desire to make personal remarks and I have purposely refrained from saying things which may cause offence to the *amour propre* of the school authorities. I prefer to keep silent for the present. But I would be failing in my duty if I do not state here that there have been constant changes amongst the teachers and during the last 5 or 6 years as many as thirty teachers have joined and left the school. It is generally rumoured that the Head Master's treatment has been responsible for the influx and hasty outflight of so many birds of pass-

sage. I do not know how far this is true. At all events the matter should be carefully inquired into. I may also mention here that easy promotions at the school annual examinations are another undesirable feature of the school. Weak boys are generally promoted to the higher class and this may, to some extent, account for abnormal failures in the University examinations.

With these facts before us I appeal to the Muhammadans of Delhi, specially to educated and wealthy Muhammadans, to help the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi, to enable it to fulfil its mission, the mission of imparting free education to Mussalmans. The school is now an aided institution and is tied hand and foot by rules and regulations, and poor Muhammadan boys find it very difficult and expensive to continue their studies in this school—their so-called national institution—and to pay the enhanced fees that are now charged in the school. The following other matters are worthy of immediate attention:—

(1) *Scholarships*.—Scholarships for poor students should be founded in large number. The need for scholarships is greater than before and the question is an important one.

(2) *Library*.—The school does not possess a decent library. This is a great drawback. Good libraries are essential for schools and colleges.

(3) *Building*.—The number of scholars in this school has risen and the school has now on its registers more than 1,000 pupils. Lecture rooms are limited in number and 4 new class rooms are badly needed. Philanthropic Mussalmans like Haji K. S. Baksh Elahi Sahib, O. I. E., can find no worthier use for their superfluous wealth than to endow the school with much needed classrooms. A sum of Rs. 25,000 will enable the authorities to commence building operations without delay.

(4) *Science Department*.—Money is also required for the Science Department, which is still below the required standard. A qualified B. Sc. or M. Sc. is required to look after it.

(5) *Shorthand and Typewriting Branch*.—This branch of the School receives monthly Government grant of Rs. 120, but nothing has been done up to now to induce students to join this class. Students go to other institutions and pay higher fees simply because they do not get proper tuition in the Anglo-Arabic School. There are no suitable tables, chairs, and machines. The head of the institution should remember that the school is not a money making machine, but that it was started for the benefit of Mussalmans. Economy should be combined with decency and the class should be made to serve a useful purpose and not allowed to rust.

I regret that for want of space I have had to curtail my letter and I reserve further comments for some future time. I would, however, request you to note that for the present I shall find myself amply repaid if I find that the Honorary Secretary of the School and the Managing Committee and the public are willing to join hands to work for the good of the school.

I remain,
Sir,
Yours respectfully,
V. P. Z.

5th July 1914.



Debate on the Council of India Bill The Marquess of Crewe's Speech

THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, in moving the second reading of the Council of India Bill, said:—At the end of July last year I outlined the general principles which we proposed to bring before your lordships' House in the form of a Bill as soon as possible, and I am thereby relieved on this occasion from troubling you at such length as might otherwise have been necessary. The general conclusion that has been reached by all those whose opinion I have had the opportunity of consulting has been that it is desirable as a matter of business to make certain amendments in the Act of 1858, in addition to any changes which might be made *proprio motu* by the Secretary of State of the day.

The present position of the Council briefly is this—Its functions are mainly consultative and advisory; it has a restricted veto on certain actions of the Secretary of State, and it is bound by a series of rigid rules of business founded on the Act of 1858. The numbers of the Council have somewhat varied since then, but I think it may be taken that opinion in more recent times has found a Council of 10 or thereabouts as likely to be the most convenient number for business. It is more or less agreed by people of all schools that the functions of this Council ought to be in the main of an advisory character, but different schools of thought adopt very different views as to the elements of which it should be composed and of the manner in which its advisory powers should be exercised. Of those schools one is extreme and would depend entirely on the administrative experience of the Secretary of State's Council for the advice which should be given. They would, if they could, compose the Council entirely of Indian ex-Civil servants of experience, and they do not regard the introduction of any other element of

advice with much favour. At the other end of the line is a completely different school, represented in India by those who attend the Indian Congress and supported by a certain body of opinion, partly of former Indian officials and partly of English members of Parliament, in this country. They would like the advice which is given to the Secretary of State to be in the main advice of a political character founded on general principles or political theories. They would like to see—although they would not exclude administrative experience altogether—a large majority of the Secretary of State's Council framed with the object of giving advice on those lines.

I cannot pretend to be a supporter of either of those schools in its extreme form. I do not hesitate to say that for a great many subjects which come before us at the India Office it is of the highest importance that we should have at our disposal advice founded on administrative experience, varied, and gained, if possible, in high posts. For instance, there are cases in which the Government of India finds itself putting forward a different opinion from that held by one of the local Governments, or where the India Office is pressed to make some abrupt departure from precedent in favour of particular persons, or where preference is to be expressed for one object of expenditure against another, both of them, perhaps, being desirable in themselves. For all purposes such as these, and for many others, the administrative experience which has been gained by occupants in high office in India is of the greatest value to our Council. On the other hand, there is a danger that the Secretary of State in Council may be tempted to worship administrative efficiency as his sole idol. I therefore think that before we are to come to a final decision on important matters affecting the Government of India it is valuable to obtain the views of an important section of Indian opinion in revising the conclusions of the Government on the spot.

REPRESENTATION OF INDIAN OPINION.

Therefore in Clause 1, subsection 2, of the Bill it is proposed to make it a statutory obligation that two Indians, or rather persons domiciled in India, should invariably form part of the Secretary of State's Council, and that a list of Indians should be framed by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and the Legislative Councils of the different provinces, forming a panel from which a selection may be made by the Secretary of State when a vacancy occurs. There has been a certain demand in India that Indian members should be directly elected. I do not think that the demand for such direct election is reasonable. I do not know any institution of the kind in which a system of direct election is used for the creation of such an important advisory body as the Secretary of State's Council is. I may be asked, Why cannot you be satisfied with a system of pure nomination? As far as the present members are concerned I would be well satisfied if they remained as long as they could and were succeeded by others of the same calibre. All the Indian gentlemen who have been on the Council since my noble friend held office have been men who have had no difficulty in speaking their minds frankly and also in expressing downright difference either with me or any members of the Council whom they did not agree with. But I found that no small fear was entertained in India that this might not always be the case, and that the time might come when the Viceroy or Secretary of State might desire to see nobody on such a Council who could not be relied on to agree with the supreme authority in every instance. It was felt that somebody might be appointed whose presence might in the opinion of more liberal-minded Indian opinion be worse than the absence of Indians altogether because they would give the impression that their race was represented by people who acquiesced in everything said or proposed by the officials. Therefore this form of qualified and limited representation has been introduced. From the list I have mentioned, the Secretary of State would in all cases be able to make an adequate selection of men of real ability and administrative experience, whose advice would be of great value.

SALARY.

In subsection 3 it is suggested that the salary of a member of the Council should be restored to the figure at which it originally stood—that is to say, £1,200 a year. I think it is desirable to make this increase in order to emphasize the idea that the services of the members of Council should be more strictly and exclusively whole-time service than is the case at present. We also propose to give a special allowance of £600 a year to Indian members of the Council. One of the reasons for that is that we pay higher salaries in the Indian public service because, in addition to having to live away from home, it is often necessary for the members to keep up a second establishment in their own country for the education of their children. I am told that one body of Indian opinion objects to any idea of differentiation between the two races, but I think it can be defended on lines of reason and common sense. In subsection 4 I have proposed that a person possessing special financial qualifications shall be appointed as a member of the Council upon special terms. It may not always be necessary or agreeable to such an adviser to

Supplement to "The Comrade", July 25th 1914.

Hindu University.

Conditions of sanction for Hindu and Moslem Universities.

THE following letter has been addressed by Sir Harcourt Butler to the Maharajah of Durbhanga —
SIMLA, the 18th July 1911

My dear Maharaja Bahadur,

Please refer to my letter to you, no. 117 Education, dated Simla, the 2nd June 1913, in which I regretted that I was not yet in a position to indicate the lines on which the constitution of the University should be framed as the matter was still under consideration and reference to his Majesty's Secretary of State was necessary, but noted your desire to go ahead with the preparation of a scheme and thought it would be of assistance to you to know the conditions the fulfilment of which the Government of India regarded as necessarily precedent to the introduction of any scheme. These were (1) that a suitable site be provided; (2) that the Central Hindu College be transferred to the University; (3) that a sum of 50 lakhs must be collected (in this amount may be included the capitalised value of the property mentioned in paragraph 6 of your letter and the perpetual grants mentioned in paragraph 9 of your letter, provided the documentary title is satisfactory in the case of the latter and possession of the property has been made over in the case of the former); (4) that the constitution of the University proceed on lines to be indicated to you hereafter; (5) that a committee appointed for the purpose report that the Central Hindu College is fit to be developed into a residential and teaching university.

2. I understand that substantial progress has been made in regard to (1), (2) and (3) and action can at any time be taken under (4). As regards (4) I am now in a position to make a further important communication to you.

3. It has been an understanding throughout that in essential and especially in regard to their relations to Government the proposed Hindu and Mahomedan Universities should be on the same footing. As you are aware the Mahomedan University Committee have not accepted the constitution laid down in the case of the proposed University by Government. The original proposal of the Mahomedan University Committee was that the Viceroy should be Chancellor with powers of intervention and control. It was decided, and I finally decided that this should not be. The scheme offered to the University Committee left the University through the Court power to appoint their own Chancellor while it gave the Governor-General in Council the necessary powers of intervention and control. This arrangement was considerably criticised at the times. In consequence the Government of India and his Majesty's Secretary of State have reconsidered the whole question with every desire to assist a solution. They recognise that the Government of India is an impersonal body situated at a distance and cannot give that personal attention to the University which is required in the case of a new institution of a novel type in India. On a review of all the circumstances of the case and the criticisms which have been advanced, the Government of India and his Majesty's Secretary of State have come to the conclusion that the best form of constitution will be to constitute the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces the ex-officio Chancellor of the University with certain opportunities for giving advice and certain powers of intervention and control. The Hindu University, though not empowered to affiliate colleges from outside, will be impartial in the sense that, subject to regulations it will admit students from all parts of India. On the other hand it will be localised in or by Benares. There will be obvious advantages in having a Chancellor of the University the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, who is also Chancellor of the Allahabad University and who will be able to help to correlate the work between the two, secure their corresponding advantages and foster a spirit of healthy cooperation. Moreover, such a constitution is in accord with the general policy of decentralization which is now pursued by the Government of India.

4. As regards the powers which it is necessary to reserve to the Chancellor, these are —

(a) The right of general supervision and the power to advise that such action be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, with power if necessary to see that such advice be given effect to.

(b) the right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high, and for other purposes;

(c) the right, as a special measure to appoint if necessary (as the result of such inspection or otherwise) examiners for the university examinations who would report to the Chancellor;

(d) the annual receipt of accountants;

(e) the approval of the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost;

(f) the approval of the initial regulations, etc., and of subsequent changes;

(g) the approval of the incorporation of local colleges in the University.

(h) The nomination of five members to the Senate, and

(i) the approval of the institution of new faculties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time.

Some of these powers have been suggested by your Committee. Others are emergency powers which may never be exercised and can be exercised only very occasionally. The principle underlying them all is that in the interest of the rising generation and the parents, the Government must be in co-operation with the University and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance. The interests of the Government and the students and their parents in this matter are necessarily identical.

5. As you are already aware the decision in regard to affiliation of outside colleges is final. It was realised at the time that this decision would cause some disappointment, but I may take this opportunity to observe that it was not reached without due notice to the University Committee. At an informal meeting of the constitution committee of the Mahomedan University held at Simla on the 23rd September 1911, I told the committee that this question of affiliation might come prominently forward, that there had been a great deal of criticism of the idea of denominational universities, especially in so far as they cut across existing territorial jurisdictions, that the chief justification of the Aligarh University was that it would be a teaching as opposed to an examining university, that the young men who get their degree and diplomas of the University would have imbibed the spirit of Aligarh, which could not be acquired elsewhere. I again drew attention to the matter at a subsequent meeting held on the 27th of the same month. In an informal discussion with the promoters of the Hindu University held at the Town Hall, Delhi on the 11th December, 1911, I clearly pointed out the difficulties which beset the proposal to grant affiliation. I mention this because there has been some misunderstanding on the point.

6. In order to meet the sentiment of the subscribers, it has been conceded that the University shall be called the Benares Hindu University. It will have no religious test and will be open to students of all denominations as well as to Hindus. Hindu theological teaching and observances will not be compulsory for any but Hindus. It will also be a teaching and residential university.

7. The terms mentioned above represent the condition the acceptance of which is necessarily precedent to the elaboration of any detailed scheme. I hope that your Committee will realise that they are worked out in the best interests of the University and the Government whose close association with it is essential. If they are not all that some of the subscribers may desire, they will enable you to realise an aspiration which a large body of opinion thought impracticable at the outset and which had been rejected by the Universities Commission of 1902. Should the Committee accept the conditions, the detail of the constitution can be settled. Sir James Meeson will be at Allahabad on the 28th instant and will be ready to discuss the matter with us there.

I may add that his Majesty's Secretary of State reserves his final decision on the details of the constitution of the University until they are before him in the form of a draft bill and regulations.

In conclusion I have to state that when a satisfactory scheme has been evolved the Government of India will be glad to show their interest in the new University by making a liberal financial grant-in-aid. His Majesty's Secretary of State, the Government of India and the local Government have only one object, viz., to assist your Committee to start this new and interesting experiment on lines best calculated to secure its success, and in so doing to cultivate and promote that enthusiasm for sound education which all who wish well to India whole-heartedly desire.

Yours sincerely,

HARCOURT BUTLER.

receive the full salary, but it may be desirable sometimes to bring home from India a financial expert whose career in India is not entirely finished, and in order to obtain the best possible man it would be necessary to give him special terms in regard to salary, pension, and duration of his term of office.

THE COUNCIL AND ADMINISTRATION.

I come now to Clause 2, which has caused more comment, founded on a singular amount of misunderstanding, than any other part of the Bill. One unfounded suggestion is that we intend to turn the Council of the Secretary of State into an administrative body. I do not know on what ground that charge is made. On the last occasion I spoke of our intention to limit the present procedure by which an enormous number of comparatively unimportant matters go to Standing Committees, causing much waste of time and much unnecessary delay, and I propose to limit that by making some kind of more regular attachment of members to particular departments. The attachment which exists at present is of an informal character, and I propose to make it more formal and close, but certainly not in any way to make members of Council the heads or even members of departments. What is to be done is that the chief of a department and a particular member of the Council can, in consultation with the Under-Secretary of State, arrive at conclusions on a number of matters which have now to go through a whole series of Committee stages. There is no intention to turn members of the Council into purely administrative officers, though a great deal will be done to expedite work by using them more as individuals and less as members of Standing Committees. Our present machinery is precisely the same for moving a tree trunk as for picking up a pin. I do not propose to abolish procedure by Committee, and for specially important subjects *ad hoc* committees of the Council will be nominated. That is a preferable plan in my view, than the continuance of Standing Committees, because reference to Standing Committees is liable to have, in very many cases, little regard to the importance of the particular subject. There are many matters which do not involve any principle which, I am certain, can be treated far more expeditiously than they are at present.

I have had some figures taken out of the number of papers which we considered last year at the India Office. About 260,000 of all sorts were dealt with, but it is important to note that a large number of these were concerned with such matters as the purchase of stores in this country, and so on. Of these, 922 papers came before the Council and 3,517 were laid on the table for seven days, and then passed. Under the Act of 1858 every communication of any kind that goes to India has either to be passed by meeting of Council or it has to lie on the table of the Council for seven days, unless urgency can be claimed for it by the Secretary of State. If urgency is claimed the Secretary of State has to state in writing his reasons for claiming it, and, strictly, those reasons have to be submitted to every member of Council. The effect of that is that every telegram sent to India, sometimes by the Under-Secretary and sometimes by myself, constitutes an evasion or, indeed, an actual breach of the Act of Parliament. I do not think it is desirable that the business of a public office should not be able to be carried on at all from day to day without perpetual breaches of the law. As everybody knows, because mine is not the only office in which this is the custom, a large proportion of very important business is done by private communications, letters, or telegrams. Those constitute at any rate, an evasion of the Act, and, similarly, all subjects except those which come under the head of "secret business." I venture to say that is a most ridiculous proceeding, and I cannot understand why an attempt to alter this procedure should be looked upon, as I have been half amused and half pained to remark it is referred to, as some attempt on the part of the Secretary of State to obtain a vast amount of control over the India Office which he does not at present possess. That particular charge is one which, I think, it is entirely impossible to sustain.

"SECRET" BUSINESS.

The Secretary of State is supposed to be grasping at power, by eliminating the Council altogether to dispatch secret orders to India. The so-called secret business at the India Office is of a purely technical kind. The secret business consists of business that has to do with levying war, with making peace, with treating or negotiating with any Prince or State in or out of India, or with the policy to be observed in respect to any Prince or State. But there are numbers of matters which, in the strict sense though not in the technical sense, are secret matters—matters affecting the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Foreign Office—which do not come under any of those heads, and which, strictly speaking, cannot be said to be in any direct sense the concern of the Council of India. In matters of that kind it is proposed somewhat to amplify the powers of the Secretary of State.

Perhaps some noble lord may say that the Secretary of State ought not to be able to communicate with the Government of India on some subject affecting the tranquillity of India without first consulting and obtaining the assent of his Council. I do not think that is an objection which ought to be pressed, because I think there are certain matters on which the views of the Government of this country ought

to be able to be conveyed directly to the Government of India. It is possible in more ways than one to conduct the discussion of such matters purely privately, but I will not say how far that is a desirable practice. There is also another and much simpler way. If the Government of India sent a secret dispatch to England, the Secretary of State could treat it as secret and reply to it in the same form. He has, therefore, only to intimate to the Government of India that they can send a secret communication on a particular subject, and after that the whole series of communications backwards and forwards remain secret. There, again, the sole object and intention of the clause is to regularize, to put into a formal and reasonable shape, what has been found to be the best method by which business can be reasonably and efficiently done, having special regard to the fact that these regulations were made when the ordinary access to India was round the Cape of Good Hope and when the electric telegraph had not been invented.

"THE TIMES" CRITICISM.

I noticed a curious error, due possibly to a certain looseness in the wording of the Bill, which was made by *The Times* newspaper in a leading article on this subject. Speaking of myself it says—"He also seeks to enlarge the category of matters described as 'secret' which he may handle without consulting or informing his Council. The provisions in this respect are extraordinary. The Secretary of State will not communicate his 'secret' order to his own adviser, but undertake to lay them before Parliament." Of course, my lords, that is obviously an error. In subsection 2 of the Bill the following is substituted for section 20 of the principal Act—"It shall be lawful for the Secretary of State in Council to make rules and orders for the transaction of business as regard the powers which, under the principal Act, are to be exercised by the Secretary of State in Council. Provided that any such rule or order, so far as it affects any matter or question in respect of which concurrence of a majority at a meeting of the Council is required by this Act, shall not be valid unless made with the concurrence of a majority of the members of Council present at the meeting of Council at which the rule or order is passed." Later on it is stated that all rules and orders made under this section shall be laid before Parliament. The writer in *The Times* includes all orders sent to India under subsection 1 which extends section 27 of the principal Act, enabling the Secretary of State to send certain secret orders without communicating them to the members of his Council, to any order, not being an order in respect of which concurrence of a majority at the meeting of the Council is required by the principal Act, which relate to any question gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India or the interests of India in any other country, or the peace or security of any part of His Majesty's Dominions, and which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State is of the nature to require secrecy. As that mistake was made, it is clear that some verbal amendment may be necessary, but I need not remind the House that we did not intend to lay on the table of the House secret orders which have been sent to India, although it is proposed to lay rules and orders made by the Secretary of State in other respects. As to the operation of the rules, it may be objected that too much is left to be arranged by rules made by the Secretary of State and that not enough is put in the Bill, but if we tried to put into it the minor office changes which it may be impossible to make without some general alteration of the statute I am afraid that we should enlarge the Bill almost to the dimensions of the Act of 1858.

THE REDUCED QUORUM.

If it is objected that by reducing the quorum the Secretary of State might get together a scratch Council and induce a majority out of three to pass drastic rules and orders which would generally upset the existing state of things, I shall be very glad to meet it and say that no alteration of the rules shall be made except at a full meeting of the Council; but I cannot understand what fear there can be under the safeguards in the Bill. With regard to the abolition of the weekly meeting of the Council, I think I said a year ago that the longest holiday the Council can take is from Monday until the following Saturday week, and I do not expect that under our proposals the meetings of the Council will be any fewer than at present. I should not be surprised if they were not somewhat more frequent, but cannot see what necessity there can be to bind them down to meet within the seven days of a particular week. I see Lord Curzon has placed on the paper a motion for the rejection of this Bill, and tell him frankly that I have no idea at all of the particular motive which actuates him in resisting this modest piece of legislation. I can hardly imagine that he will say that the present system is so perfect as to be incapable of improvement, and shall await his reasons with real curiosity. Although I do not think that the appointment of a Select Committee is the most practical proceeding, yet if the House prefers to adopt the motion of Lord Courtney I shall be prepared to fall in with the suggestion, for simply to burke the second would probably create a false impression in India.

Lord Curzon's Speech

MOTION FOR REJECTION.

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON.—In moving the rejection of the Bill I shall have to give your lordships a very different impression of

its scope and possible consequences from that which the noble marquess has sought to give. He has as good as said how can you be so unreasonable as to ask the House to throw out this modest little Bill? But it appears to me and to everybody of experience whom I have consulted to be a bad Bill founded upon radically unsound principles. While affecting to maintain the Council of the Secretary of State, the Bill, as far as I am sec, must reduce it, even if retained, to an impotent and costly sham. The measure does affect, if it does not actually destroy constitutional safeguards which have hitherto surrounded the Secretary of State. It introduces into the composition of his Council a new, an inappropriate, and, as I personally think, a perilous method of appointment in regard to the Indian members, and I greatly doubt whether it really represents the collective wisdom of the noble marquess's advisers in England or India. It is common knowledge that this Bill in its main features is the product of the late Under-Secretary (Mr. Montagu), who during his term at the India Office found that the machinery that existed did not suit his ideas and set about to destroy it to the best of his ability. If my description of the Bill is correct it seems to me impossible to amend it satisfactorily in Committee, and if we sent it to a Select Committee we should be committed to the main structure of a Bill which we repudiate. There is, therefore, no other course than to move the rejection of the second reading.

The Bill is a different measure from the one which we were led to expect by the speech of the noble marquess last year. He then described his amending measure as one that was required to reform the cumbrous and dilatory procedure of the India Office and to do away with delays. Yet now, we get this great measure, which it has required an hour and a quarter to explain, and which is intended to revolutionize the methods by which the Secretary of State conducts the government of India in this country. As regards delay, there is, of course, great and sometimes intolerable delay in all departments, but my impression is that generally in the India Office there is creditable celerity. But if there are delays it is absolutely in the power of the Secretary of State to overcome them at once. I believe there is no office in the world in which it is possible for the official head to push matters on with greater rapidity. This, therefore, is not a question of mere procedure.

AN UNFORTUNATE OUTLOOK FOR INDIA.

The powers of the Secretary of State were immeasurably greater than those of any Secretary of State in any Department of the British service. He can overrule his Council on anything except matters that involve a charge on the revenues of India. He can withdraw certain classes of subjects from their cognizance or control. And great as are the powers of the Secretary of State in theory and in statute, they are greater in practice. One might have thought that with an instrument so flexible and pliant, the Secretary of State would have been able to get along as well as his predecessors have done for the last 50 years. But no; he is not satisfied. He proposes a reduction of the numbers of the Council, varying from a minimum of seven to a maximum of 10. With a Council of only seven strong there will be only two Indian civilians to represent the entire interests of the Indian Civil Service. I think this will be rather a serious situation. At the present moment in the India Office, there are in the official hierarchy only the Permanent Under-Secretary and the Secretary to the Military Department who represent India. The whole remaining members of the Secretary of State's Department are drawn from the home Civil Service. It is clear that with a permanent staff thus recruited from home, and with a Council reduced to seven or to eight or nine, Indian administrative experience would be in a hopeless minority. Starting with the idea you had in 1858 that an English politician, the Secretary of State, was to rule India with the aid of Indian official experience and with due regard to Indian interests, you will end by finding your Secretary of State an English officer ruling India with, in the main, English officials and applying English standards and methods to the discharge of those duties. I think that is an undesirable and unfortunate outlook for that country. (Cheers.) As regards committees, under the present system, when matters come before the Council the case in question is already well known. The discussion is, therefore, not prolonged, and you have the advantage of the double inquiry—first, the inquiry by a committee of experts, and then the final examination and deliberation by the Council. Now that there are to be no committees or fewer committees, look at what will happen. When a case comes before the Council no one will know anything about it, and one of two consequences will ensue. Either things will be hurried through with imperfect discussion, or, if there is a difference of opinion, and if the Council insist upon further information, you will have to fall back on your system of committees, only they will be set up after the Council meeting instead of before, and you will have greater delay. With a Council of seven or eight members, however, you cannot work a committee system at all, and at bottom that is what is in the mind of the Secretary of State. He proposes to get rid of them. It is not fair of him thus to tie the hands of his successors. Although he may prefer to work without the committee system, his

successors may like to work on the old lines. How unfair, then, to tie their hands in a way which renders the duty of working by committees almost impracticable. (Hear, hear.) The vital point was what was to be the relation of a member of council to his department. The future administration depends upon that. As I understand it they are not to be members for departments comparable in any sense to those in India, where the member is the administrative head of his department and acts for it, subject to the consent of the Viceroy. The real head of the department, I take it, is to be the Secretary who has access to the Secretary of State. The Committees are to be broken up, and these unhappy members, with nothing to do, are to be scattered about the departments without any real responsibility or power. I can conceive circumstances in which the relations between the member and the Secretary will be very difficult. One may be a pushful man who will reduce the other to impotence. Everything is now done upon the cumulative responsibility of the Council, but the Council will be dethroned. The noble marquess was offended because public opinion in India had misinterpreted his proposals. I do not think he had any cause to be surprised, for the conduct of the Financial Committee in the India Office, which has recently been the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, was not such as to reassure public opinion. The fears may have been exaggerated, but I do not think they were unreasonable, for after listening to the noble marquess I have some fear that the advisory powers of the Council are going to be diminished, and that administrative functions are going to be embarked upon.

A GRAB AT POWER.

Clause 2, in my opinion, contains the most astonishing series of provisions ever submitted in a Bill. Not even any member of his Majesty's present Government—I cannot put it higher—has ever made a more unblushing grab at power. The present law is that the Council must meet once a week, but in future it is to meet only when the Secretary of State pleases. He may dispense with meetings altogether if he is of autocratic temper. The Secretary of State argues that no one would be so unreasonable as to do that. I speak with great respect of Lord Minto, but it is notorious that in the early years of his *regime* he dispensed with the assistance of Council to a large extent, and grave feeling was excited. Under the powers in this Bill you might have the Government of India conducted by a *diplomate*, one here and the other there, with small reference to advisers of Indian experience. When a meeting of the Council does take place the quorum is to be reduced to three, and two persons might by their votes decide matters of extreme importance. Powers of the most arbitrary description are to be conferred upon this microscopic body. This provision is an absolute repeal of the central provision of the Act of 1858, and is destructive of the main financial safeguards which now exist. It is true that the rules made in Council must be laid on the table of Parliament, but it would be much safer to keep your Secretary of State in order by adherence to statutes on the Statute-book than by debates in Parliament after he has done something which he should not have done.

THE DISPATCH OF SECRET ORDERS.

Then we come to what really seems to me to be the culminating act in this rake's progress, as I view it. That is the proposal to extend the category of secret orders and communications which the Secretary of State can issue without reference to his Council. The Secretary of State represented this as an innocent provision and as only somewhat amplifying the power which he at present enjoys. But in the new category he has drawn up an enormous class of questions, covering the whole government of India, which is to be withdrawn from the Council at home or of which they are to know nothing unless the Secretary of State chooses to inform them. I must confess I cannot see in these circumstances what would be the good of keeping a Council at Whitehall at all.

I am almost tempted to say that I am not surprised to see one more constitutional check swept away by noble lords opposite, but I will only say that, whatever they may do as regards this House or the other House of Parliament, I do hope that they will keep their devastating autocratic hand away from Departments of State, and that, most of all, they will refrain from anything which has a suspicion of autocracy in a case like that of the Government of India, where, I humbly submit, autocracy would not only be a blunder, but almost a crime. (Cheers.)

THE ELECTION OF TWO INDIAN MEMBERS.

I come to that which is, in some respects, the most remarkable of the innovations which have been made in the present Bill—the provision for the election of two Indian members. I have always thought that the introduction of two native gentlemen on the India Council was one of the most justifiable acts of the policy of Lord Morley, and I never had any doubt myself that the practice, successful as it has proved, must be continued by his successors. I believe the experiment would be continued sincerely and loyally by both parties, and I do not in the least object to give it statutory effect if it is desired to do so.

But it is quite a different matter when you come to election. I venture to say that is an utterly indefensible proposal. In the

first place, I do not think the Secretary of State has any right to lay aside the power placed upon him by statute to choose the members of his Council. Secondly when he goes to India, as he will do, to select his members in future, instead of going to his natural service of advice and authority, the Viceroy, he would have to go to a power provided for him by members of quasi-Parliamentary bodies in India. And thirdly, he will not easily find, either in the electoral college or in the panel chosen by it, the particular class of experience which was essential to the work his Council has to perform. That work and experience is administrative work and experience, and that can only be acquired by familiarity with the Indian administrative system. The men who would be put upon the panel would be public men, platform speakers—men who are identified with popular movements in India. Such men, however useful they may be in India, are not the men you want to put on the Secretary of State's Council in England, and I submit that the appointment of such men is contrary to the whole theory of the Council of the Secretary of State. That body is a body of experience, not of politicians and public speakers, and you cannot anywhere choose administrators by popular franchise. I shall be greatly surprised if this system of indirect election is approved by the Viceroy or his colleagues, and as regards English opinion in India, I have received telegrams of protest against the Bill from the president of the European Association at Calcutta, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and the Madras Chamber of Commerce. If an inquiry should be made into the procedure of the India Office, it should be into its monstrous cost of £250,000 a year which falls on the voiceless taxpayer of India. If the Council wants reform, it is not in the direction of reducing its powers, but of relieving it of the enormous mass of unimportant matters that has to be referred home. Ought any Government in the throes of extinction and almost on its deathbed—I make no political reference; my remarks are purely chronological—to be allowed as an expiring act to bequeath to its successors a form of administration which they may cordially dislike; which public opinion in this country and in India has had no opportunity of pronouncing upon: which has been concocted inside the India Office; and which vitally affects, if it does not destroy, the Government of India as we have known it since 1858? I hope that I have gratified the curiosity of the noble marquess in stating the reasons why I think this Bill ought to be rejected.

Lord Courtney of Penwith's Speech.

Lord Courtney of Penwith said that the point at issue was one on which it was impossible for the House to arrive at a correct judgment, and one which could only be solved by critical examination before a Select Committee. The noble earl had used language which seemed to imply that he was not certain that he had the authority of the noble lords sitting near him for the course which he had taken. (Earl Curzon.—“I believe I have.”) He was sorry to hear that, because the rejection of the Bill without further consideration would be a very grave misfortune. He reminded the House that a deputation of Indian gentlemen had come to this country to support the noble marquess and to lay before him their views as to the way in which the Council of India should be reformed. To send them back without first examining the subject dispassionately through the instrumentality of a Select Committee would be extremely inexpedient from the point of view of the interests of the Government of India. All knew that there was an element of grave unrest in India, and it was manifested too frequently in very serious ways. The only effective method of dealing with it was to consider exhaustively all the possible ways of introducing the cooperation of Indians into the system of government, and that was a question which could be properly thrashed out by a Select Committee. To send the deputation back with a refusal from us to go any farther would be to send them back with a message of ill-omen for the peace and welfare of India.

On the motion of Lord Ampthill the debate was adjourned until Monday.

The House rose at half-past seven.

The New Turkish Army.

(FROM THE “TIMES” CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 28.

THE problem how best to redistribute the Ottoman Army in order to meet the situation created by the Balkan War, the alleged danger of Hellenic attack on the Anatolian littoral, the necessity of keeping a firmer hold on the Arab lands, and the increase of Russian strength and mobility in the Caucasus was among the first to be discussed by the Turkish military authorities after the conclusion of peace with Greece. It has been solved as follows. Under the distribution scheme of 1910 the 14 Army Corps and five independent divisions of the Turkish Army were thus stationed:—Europe and Smyrna, 24 divisions; Eastern Asia Minor, seven divisions; the Arab countries (Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia), 11 divisions; with one division in Tripoli in Africa. The new scheme provides for a total of 18 Army

Corps and two independent divisions. Five Army Corps (1 divisions) are to be quartered in Thrace and Western Asia Minor. The three Army Corps on the Russian frontier are to be brought up to a strength of nine divisions. The Arab provinces are to be held by five Army Corps and two independent divisions, totalling 12 divisions. The total strength of the Army is now 36 divisions, as against 43 divisions in 1910, and is better concentrated than when Turkey held Albania and Macedonia.

THE REDIFS.

The old “Redif” (territorial) formations seem to have disappeared from the Army list. The Redif divisions, extensively employed in all stages of the Balkan War, were of small value. Under-officered, short of baggage animals and wheeled transport, too often full of untrained men, they were sent into action before they had a chance of “shaking down,” and mostly melted away in the first month of the campaign. In place of the commanders of Redif divisions a number of “officers commanding reserves” have been appointed to various stations. It is not known what the military authorities propose to do with their second line reservists in case of war. They may draft them into the first line to fill up gaps as the need arises, they may, again, extemporize a certain number of reserve divisions.

The 36 divisions are each composed of three two-battalion regiments and a rifle battalion. To each Army Corps is attached a two-battalion rifle regiment. The one exception is the Adrianople Army Corps, two divisions of which (the 4th and 6th) are composed of three three-battalion regiments and a rifle battalion, while the rifle regiment attached numbers three battalions. It is difficult to form any idea of the total war effective of these 285 battalions. The peace effective of those which have passed through Constantinople on their way to their new quarters in Asia Minor varies from 300 to 400 bayonets. Those stationed at Constantinople average 400. Enver Pasha has proposed new legislation whereby service will be reduced from three to two years and all exemptions abolished, even for the sole supports of their families, who are to receive an allowance from the State. The fact that the Government annually obtains a revenue of over £900,000 from the military exemption tax renders it unlikely that military exemptions will be immediately abolished, whatever may be urged in favour of such a measure.

As for the cavalry and artillery, it need only be said that the former is under-horsed and will not be able to put more than 50 per cent. of its nominal effective in the field for some time to come. Owing to the heavy losses of modern material, most of the artillery regiments stationed in Asia are armed with old B.L. Krupp field guns, and it is, indeed, doubtful whether the first four Army Corps are entirely supplied with Q.F. pieces. Very heavy expenditure must be incurred to make good these deficiencies. Nothing seems to have been decided as to the reorganization of the Transport and Sanitary Services. The heavy losses among officers and men from disease last winter, especially in Thrace, where typhus raged, show that the latter service requires to be thoroughly reformed.

OPINIONS OF OTHER ARMIES.

Turkish tactical and strategical methods appear to be still based entirely on German models. This does not prevent Turkish officers from having a high opinion of the fighting qualities of the Austrian and still more of the Russian forces, though Germany, owing to the real or alleged superiority of her Great General Staff, would be “first favourite” here in the event of a European war. Of the French Army little is known and still less of the British. Of their recent antagonists Turkish officers rate the Bulgars first, and after them the Serbs, though they consider that the latter will be weakened rather than strengthened by the incorporation of Bulgarophil Macedonians in what was previously a very homogeneous force. The solidity and determination of the Bulgar and the efficiency of his staff work and general organization have inculcated a very wholesome respect for his fighting powers among the Turks, who, on the other hand, seem to hold the Greek Army in unwise contempt, and base their appreciations of the Italian Army on its unnaturally passive attitude in Cyrenaica and Tripoli. The Constantinople garrison is certainly being more efficiently trained now than formerly and though, musketry instruction is still rudimentary, the tactical handling of the men is good.

It is difficult to obtain much information as to training in the provinces, or to express an opinion as to the ultimate success of the German military mission, which now numbers close on 50 officers. There is a strong desire for progress among most junior officers and in the General Staff, but recent appointments and dismissals have not allayed the suspicion that political considerations still play too large a part in the allotment of the higher commands, and it remains to be seen whether the young leaders of the Army will have the patience for the plodding “spade-work” which reconstruction demands. In the Army, as in other departments of State, the Turks, however much they may now rely on foreign advisers, have in the last resort only themselves to thank if they succeed or fail.

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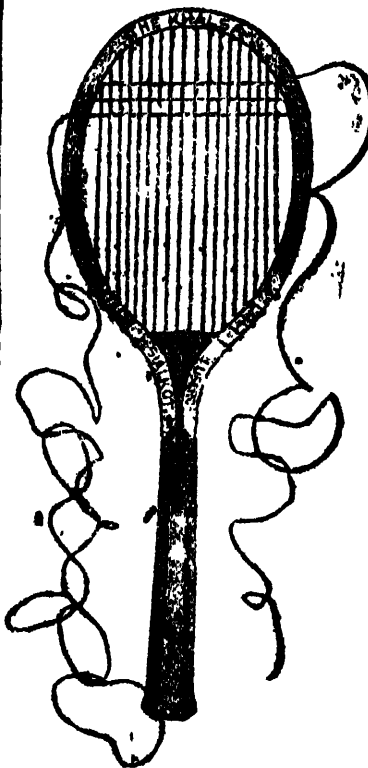
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Thoughts on the Present Discontent.

By Mr. Mohamed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.)
(Published in 1907.)

Price, As. 8.

Some Press Opinions.

... Mr. Mohamed Ali has read widely, and has thought well over the present conditions of India. He has the ardent temperament of the East, controlled by knowledge, and he wields a powerful and attractive pen. Above all he is absolutely honest. We recommend the study of his brochure, because it is a frank statement of the views of many educated Indians, and without the sympathetic appreciation of those views it is impossible to approach that great problem in the governance of India—the position of educated Indians in the State. ... Mr. Mohamed Ali has found so strong a supporter as the Secretary of State. We believe that his diagnosis of the complaint is substantially accurate. —*The Times of India*.

... The reader will find much that is fresh and excellent on the perennial topic of Indian discontent. The style of the book is piquant all through, and carries the reader through without becoming prosy. We find across combination of culture and common-sense, and knowledge of both East and West. The originality which we have mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic of his book appears not in his theories but in his presentation of it. —*The Madras Times*.

... Mr. Mohamed Ali is right in his prescription for the present fever. We commend the booklet to the thoughtful. —*The Empire*.

... He is particularly frank in certain of his views, what he says being well worth the careful attention of Englishmen and others who are really desirous of getting at the point of view of men whose minds are not always open books at garden parties and mere ceremonial gatherings. —*The Morning Post*.

... Racy and thoughtful articles. Their literary merit is by no means their least attraction, and the piquancy of the style will stimulate thought. —*The Indian Spectator*.

... We accept his assurance that he made a conscientious effort to set down what many of his countrymen feel, without malice and also without cowardice. —*The Bombay Gazette*.

... Every thoughtful Indian and Englishman who would like to see India well and wisely ruled might learn something and profit much by a perusal of the "Thoughts on the Present Discontent," as written by a Mohammedan gentleman who shows no bias either on the one side or the other. He takes a common-sense view of the questions and bestows praise or blame either on the rulers or the ruled as he thinks it is necessary. His remarks are generally pungent and witty. The pamphlet contains a good deal of honest straightforward criticism which makes it a most valuable addition to that mass of literature which the present situation in India has evoked in the public press. —*Hindu Patriot*.

... Mr. Mohamed Ali disclaims allegiance to any of the political parties or prejudices on either side, but he justifies his outspokenness which is put into print quite regardless of anybody's uneasy conscience. ... An opinion if no good unless it is strong, but it is not necessarily strong—in fact it is essentially weak—if it is violent or delirious. In Mr. Mohamed Ali's little brochure we have strength, but we have neither delirium nor violence. —*The Paria*.

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Vol. 8.
No. 5.

Single Copy
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Delhi: Saturday, 1st August, 1914.

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CONTENTS

	Page.		Page.
WEEK	... 69	Religion and the Young Turks	76
THE CRISIS IN EUROPE	... 69	Generous Help	... 76
OUR LONDON LETTER	... 72	LEADING ARTICLES—	
TESTS & TESTS—		The Haj, New Proposals for	
Moslem Education	... 74	Old,—II	... 76
Local Governments and		The New Kali	... 77
Agents	... 74	GHASITA: A BADMASH	... 80
Horror of Change!	... 74	THE COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL	... 81
The Armageddon	... 76	HINDU UNIVERSITY—	
War Strengths of the Powers	76	The Committee Meeting	... 85
Hindu University	... 76	Press Opinion	... 85
		ADVERTISEMENTS	... 90—92

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying such communications.

The Week.

Persia.

REUTER wires from Teheran, dated July 24, that M. Mornard, Belgian Treasurer-General, has resigned.

A message, dated July 25, states that Lord Inchcape has been appointed Second Government *ex-officio* Director of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Albania.

THE Albanian insurgents, in a letter to the Powers, demand the withdrawal of Prince William, otherwise they threaten to destroy Durazzo, and say that if the battleships fired, they would not spare the inhabitants.

London, July 24.

REUTER wires from Durazzo that the Powers have resolved not to answer the insurgents who insulted the Prince and threatened to make Durazzo a battlefield.

The Dutch gendarme officers have resigned.

London, July 27.

REUTER wires from Durazzo that those killed in the recent affray between soldiers and Nationalists, were buried yesterday. The streets were crowded.

The Haj Question.

Bombay, July 24.

THE Commissioner of Police, as President of the Haj Committee, opened last evening the new Musafir Khana for use of the Haj

Pilgrims New Institution, which is a commodious structure with accommodation for several hundred people having been built in place of the old one at Frere Road, acquired in connexion with the Alexandra Dock scheme.

Indians in Canada.

London, July 25.

THE following special cablegram appears in the "Pioneer": The Times Toronto correspondent says that seven Hindus belonging to the Indian colony at Vancouver have taken passages on the "Komagata Maru" declaring that they are going to India to assist in spreading the revolutionary movement. The "Standard's" Ottawa correspondent says Sir R. Borden has been in communication with the India Office through Mr. Perley, acting High Commissioner. The correspondent understands that a conference of representatives of the Dominion's Home Ministers to deal with the whole problem is likely to take place shortly at Montreal.

The "Star" says: Canada ought if possible to discriminate in favour of British subjects when dealing with the question of Asiatic immigration. An Asiatic born under the flag ought to feel that he gets better terms than any other Asiatic and gets them because he is British born. Hindus of education should visit Canada with the freedom they enjoy in England.



The Crisis in Europe.

War Between Austria and Servia.

London, July 23.

REUTER wires from Berlin that in official circles here, it is considered that the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Servia, the possibility of which is not denied, can and ought to be localised.

Budapest: Speaking in the Chamber, Count Tisza, the Premier, said, that the foreign situation was not now of such a nature that a serious turn was to be regarded as certain or probable. The situation abroad was now absolutely uncertain, but it could be settled by peaceful means, though the possibility of a serious complication also existed.

London, July 24.

Belgrade: The Austro-Hungarian note has been delivered to Servia. It demands the suppression of the Pan-Servian movement and the punishment of accomplices in the Serajevo assassinations. An answer is required by six o'clock on Saturday evening.

Vienna: The Austrian note to Servia demands the publication of the Servian Government's condemnation of, and regret for, the anti-Austrian propaganda and the punishment of offenders, the suppression of anti-Austrian teaching in schools, dismissal of officers and functionaries whose names the Austrian Government reserves the right to communicate, the acceptance of the collaboration of Austrian officials in suppressing the anti-Austrian movement, and the prosecution of accessories in the Serajevo crime, with the collaboration of representatives of the Austrian Government. The note also demands the arrest of the Servian Major and the State official who are compromised as the result of the enquiry into the Serajevo crime.

The Austrian ultimatum is unexpectedly severe and uncompromising, leaving scarcely a loophole for negotiation. The situation is regarded as most grave and everyone is asking what attitude Russia will take up.

The semi-official "Pester Lloyd," of Budapest, affirms that Germany will suffer no third party to intervene between Austria and Serbia.

Vienna: The semi-official "Freundenblatt" says the Austro-Hungarian demands are the outcome of long and careful reflection and do not go beyond what is strictly necessary. "We have to destroy the mine which has been dug in Serbia and which penetrates to the heart of our southern Slav territories."

Vienna: It is understood that no negotiations or bargaining on the part of Serbia will be allowed, nor extension of the time limit, nor mediation by other Powers. Should Serbia reply in the negative, it is intimated that the Army will be called to enforce Austria's demands.

Paris: Commenting on the Austro-Servian crisis, "Le Journal" says: "We find ourselves face to face with anti-Slav reaction to which Russia cannot be indifferent."

St Petersburg: An extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet has been held to discuss the foreign situation. The Cabinet sat for four hours. It is understood that Russia will immediately intervene and ask Austria to prolong the ultimatum to Serbia in order to give time to European diplomacy to exercise action. In the event of a refusal, extreme measures on the part of Russia may be expected.

Vienna: The Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade has been ordered, unless the ultimatum is complied with to-morrow evening, to leave Serbia with the whole of the Legation staff.

London, July 25.

With the exception of the "Vossische Zeitung" which criticises interference with Servian's dignity, the German Press raises a chorus of approval of the "dignified earnestness" of the Austrian note to Serbia and promises the fullest support in the event of outside interference.

The Italian Press is astounded at the severity of the note and characterises it as an unprecedented humiliation.

Reuter learns that Diplomats in London take the gravest view and are of opinion that no Servian Cabinet could comply with the Austrian demands. In other circles, opinion is expressed that Serbia may ask for proofs of the charges against Servian officials and that meanwhile the Powers will endeavour to mediate.

Berlin: Austro-Hungarian reservists have received 25 hours' notice to rejoin their regiment.

Belgrade: A semi-official note describes the situation consequent upon the Austrian note, as most critical.

St. Petersburg: An official *communiqué* has been issued stating that the Imperial Government is seriously preoccupied with the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, and is attentively following the development of the dispute to which Russian cannot remain indifferent.

Belgrade: The details of the Austrian note were only known yesterday evening from the Austrian papers. Servian papers published special editions which eagerly discussed. The situation is considered more serious than prior to the Balkan War. With the exception of the "Morning Post" which inveighs against the most high handed procedure on record in imposing the terms, such as have never been enforced on a conquered State, the London Press is generally anti-Servian in tone and counsels submission on the ground of the indefensibility of making one country the centre for intrigues against the integrity of another.

St. Petersburg: The Tsar presided at a council at Peterhoff to-day. Mobilisation of the Russian army is momentarily expected. While acknowledging that Austria has grave cause for complaint against Serbia, the "Times" condemns the precipitancy and harshness of her ultimatum which appears to imply that Austria is determined to settle the controversy by the sword. That newspaper warns Austria that the very existence of her monarchy may be involved by a general conflagration.

French newspapers are very indignant at the conduct of Austria who, they point out, has selected a moment when Great Britain is pre-occupied with the Ulster crisis and Russia with strikes. They consider that Serbia cannot accept the humiliation imposed on her and urge the Triple Entente to intervene.

On the Stock Exchange to-day, international stocks were demoralised. Consols fell one and a quarter, and Russians and Austrians three. Other markets were depressed.

Vienna: Austria is awaiting Serbia's decision with the greatest composure. Patriotic demonstrations were made throughout last night.

Vienna: The Russian Charge d'Affaires to-day called at the Foreign Office and asked for extension of time for Serbia's reply to the Austrian note. He received a negative reply.

Belgrade: The Cabinet has been in constant session to-day. The Crown Prince asked the Opposition leaders to accept any decision of Government. Safes and archives have been removed to the south.

Vienna: Newspapers announce that Serbia accepts Austria's terms under protest.

Vienna: Government announces that it will not extend the time limit.

Later.

The reply to the Austrian note is unsatisfactory. The Austrian Minister has left Belgrade.

The King of Serbia and his Court are evacuating Belgrade and mobilisation is in progress.

The crisis has caused a rush of Ambassadors on holiday to return to their posts. Mr. F. D. Acland, speaking at the Steyning to-day, said the European position was far graver than that in Ireland. No one could imagine the disasters which a great war might bring. Britain's whole influence would be directed towards the maintenance of peace.

Berlin: Hundreds demonstrated outside the Austrian Embassy and sang the National Anthem. The Ambassador thanked the crowd.

St. Petersburg: It is reported that five army corps are mobilising.

The Tsar has approved of the decisions of the Cabinet. Mobilisation is proceeding forthwith.

Cetinje: Important movements of Austrian troops are reported from Ragusa. Twenty-two Austrian warships are assembled in Cattaro Bay.

Reuter learns that the Servian capital has been transferred to Kraguevac and that the Servian reply accepts some and rejects others of the Austrian demands.

Budapest: Though rain is falling, the multitude is parading streets shouting "Live the War" and "Down with Serbia."

It is significant that France and Russia made concerted representations at Vienna this afternoon.

London, July 26.

Martial law has been proclaimed throughout Austria-Hungary. The Reichsrath and the Diets have been closed. The Servian Minister has left Vienna. General Von Moltke, Chief of the General Staff, has left Karlsruhe to return to Berlin.

M. Poincaré, French President, is at Stockholm.

Sir John Simon, speaking at Manchester, said that any part Great Britain might play in the European crisis should throughout be the part of the mediator, singly, desirous of promoting peaceful relations.

Reuter wires from Berlin that a procession of twenty thousand men singing "Die Wacht Am Rhein" and "Deutschland's Deutschland Ueber Alles" paraded in Unter Den Linden and made enthusiastic demonstration in front of the Austrian Embassy. Patriotic scenes were witnessed in cafés and restaurants. Enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of war were held in Vienna and the provinces.

The Kaiser left suddenly for Germany yesterday evening. It is reported that all the divisions of the German fleet were ordered to assemble yesterday evening at pre-arranged places on the Norwegian coast.

A Vienna message states that it is reported that partial mobilisation has been ordered.

Berlin: The semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" hopes that in the event of rejecting by Serbia of Austria's just demands, the Powers will strive collectively to prevent complications.

A St. Petersburg message states that the Tsar has promoted cadets who have completed their course to be officers a month before the usual date.

Vienna: An official *communiqué* says that the foreign situation has so developed that regard for military necessities has become the supreme consideration. The *communiqué* proclaims ordinances suspending throughout the Empire constitutional laws on the liberty of the subject of assembly and the Press. Private correspondence is being suppressed and juries are restricting the issue of passports, partially prohibiting export and import of goods and enforcing military jurisdiction generally.

Vienna: Proclamations of the order for a partial mobilisation in Berlin and naval concentration, are denied.

Reuter wires from Stockholm that M. Poincaré has left for Copenhagen.

The Austrian and Russian censorship is most rigorous. Belgrade is isolated.

Reuter wires from Budapest that General Putnik, the Servian Generalissimo and four officers were arrested in Hungary last night while returning to Belgrade. General Putnik was astounded when he was told that he was a prisoner. He said he was not aware that a state of war existed.

Berlin: Pro-Austrian demonstrations continued throughout the night. A crowd of thirty thousand assembled outside the

Reichstag and cheered the Speaker's call to arms. The police did not interfere and even allowed demonstrations outside the Palace.

Vienna: It is officially stated that Italy has spontaneously informed Austria that, in the event of an Austro-Russian war, Italy will support the Triple Alliance.

The splendid loyalty of Germany and Italy has aroused the greatest enthusiasm and gratitude.

Special editions of the London papers announce that war has been declared.

The German newspaper "Lokalanzeiger" says that unless all signs are deceptive, Britain, whose majestic fleet is still gathered at Spithead, is prepared to do everything to preserve peace and will exercise a moderating influence in Paris and St. Petersburg.

Vienna: Newspapers here are unanimous in declaring that war is inevitable unless Serbia at the last moment submits.

Vienna: General Putnik will be allowed to proceed to Serbia to-morrow.

There is no confirmation of the reported declaration of war. A continual exchange of visits occurred among Diplomats in London to-day, and everywhere the gravest views are held.

Berlin: It is semi-officially announced that Germany has notified the Powers that she regards the Austro-Serbian conflict as a concern of the two countries involved alone, and therefore it must be localised. Germany's efforts will be directed to inducing the Powers to accept this standpoint.

Reuter wires from Brussel that the Government is preparing to reinforce the peace effectives, and a plan for a general mobilisation has been completed.

St. Petersburg: Decrees have been issued forbidding the publication of detailed information with reference to the Army and Navy and declaring a modified form of martial law in the cities and provinces of St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Paris: Slav students here made a hostile demonstration in front of the Austrian Embassy. It was immediately suppressed and the French Government expressed its regrets at the occurrence.

Reuter understands that Austria's military preparations still give Serbia time to reconsider her reply.

London, July 27.

While peace is hanging in the balance news comes from Vienna that Serbian troops on board a steamer on the Danube opened fire on Austrian troops near Temeskubin. The Austrians replied, and an engagement of some importance ensued.

A telegram from Vienna received in Paris states that military action against Serbia will be taken to-morrow morning.

The evening in St. Petersburg was calmer in expectation of the success of British and German influence.

Feeling in Paris is pessimistic, it being thought that Austria will prove unconciliatory.

Berling is more hopeful that Austria will agree to mediation.

The Vienna press urges further action by Austria.

The Rome press urges the non-intervention of Italy.

Demonstrations in Paris against war were interrupted by members of the patriotic leagues. Disorder ensued which was quelled by the police charging the crowd.

Reuter wires from Vienna that a *communiqué* embodying the Austro-Hungarian semi official view has been issued here. It says that the object of the Serbian reply is to create the false impression that Serbia is prepared in great measure to comply with the Austro-Hungarian demands, whereas the move is filled with a spirit of dishonesty, clearly showing that Serbia is not seriously determined to end the culpable tolerance hitherto extended towards intrigues against the dual monarchy. The Serbian reply must be regarded as unsatisfactory.

In the House of Commons to-day Sir Edward Grey said he saw the Ambassadors on Friday afternoon, and expressed the view that so long as the dispute was between Austria and Serbia alone, we had no title to interfere, but if Austro-Russian relations were threatened, that would be a matter of the peace of Europe, and would concern us all. When he heard that Austria had broken off relations with Serbia Sir E. Grey telegraphed to Paris, Berlin and Rome, to ask whether they were willing for their Ambassadors in London to meet him in conference, and endeavour to find means of arranging the present difficulties. Sir E. Grey simultaneously informed Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Belgrade of this proposal, and asked them to suspend military operations pending the result of the conference, regarding which complete replies had not yet been received. Mr. Bonar Law asked whether the Emperor William had accepted the principle of mediation which Sir E. Grey proposed. Sir E. Grey replied that the German Government was favourable to mediation in principle as between Russia and Austria but he was waiting Germany's reply regarding the conference. Continuing, Sir Edward Grey explained that in a crisis as grave as the present one the efforts of one Power were ineffective. The co-operation of all four was essential. He was unable to ascertain, owing to shortness of time, whether the proposal was welcome. He thought, however, in view of the Serbian reply that this proposal should at least provide a basis on which a friendly and impartial group of powers should be able to

arrange a mutually acceptable settlement. "The moment when the matter ceases to be one between Austria and Serbia and any great Power is involved," the Foreign Secretary concluded, "it cannot but end in the greatest catastrophe which has ever befallen the continent of Europe. Nobody can say what would be the limit of the issues raised. The consequences would be incalculable."

Reuter wires from Paris: "We learn that France has accepted Sir Edward Grey's proposal."

A Rome message states that Italy has accepted Sir Edward Grey's proposal.

The so-called "balance crews" of the second fleet have been ordered to remain in their ships at present instead of returning ashore.

A message from Gibraltar states that all furlough has been stopped. The refitting of H. M. battleship *Bellerophon*, due to begin to-morrow, has been postponed.

H. M. battleship *Bellerophon* has been recalled from Gibraltar to England.

A Berlin message states that the Kaiser has arrived in Berlin.

Reuter wires from Berlin that it is announced that in the event of a further decline in prices the banks will intervene. One great bank has declined to pay gold. Severe runs on the savings banks have occurred in Germany.

Instead of visiting Copenhagen and Christiana, President Poincaré in returning hastily to Paris, passed through the former city to-day on his way back.

General Putnik has been released.

Reuter wires from Budapest that the Bourse has been closed until further notice, as have the outside markets in Paris and Berlin, but the official Bourses remain open.

Reuter learns that Greece and Rumania have exchanged views regarding the maintenance of the balance of power in the Balkans.

The Netherlands are taking steps to maintain their neutrality.

London, July 28.

Newspapers announce that the 29 battleships and nine cruisers at Portland were coaling all night long and embarking war stores and provisions for several weeks. It is rumoured that they have been ordered to a point in the North Sea. The Admiralty has not issued the usual list of movements of ships. The King has postponed his visit to Goodwood owing to the crisis.

According to a telegram to the "Times" from St. Petersburg, the Tsar has gone to the Finish Skerries. On authorising a partial mobilisation, the Tsar is quoted as saying: "We have stood this sort of thing for 7½ years. This is enough." Simultaneously Germany was informed that the remainder of the Army would be mobilised in the event of a German mobilisation.

Vienna: The Government has published the reply to the Austro-Hungarian demands with a commentary explaining why it considers the reply unsatisfactory. The Government emphasises that Serbia should have made spontaneous enquiries with regard to the Sarajevo assassinations. It accuses the Belgrade Government also of altering the text of the Austro-Hungarian Note. Besides the reply, a pointer of the alleged proof of Serbian plotting has been published. The situation is one of patient waiting, the pendulum swinging backward and forwards. The news of one moment is superseded the next. It is useless even to attempt to indicate the chances of war or peace. All that can be said is that every moment of delay is a moment gained. Austria-Hungary appears to be determined to attack Serbia and if the Russian once cross the frontier, then German will instantaneously intervene and the catastrophe mentioned by Sir Edward Grey will become imminent.

Reuter's agency has been informed that Germany has intimated that while sincerely sympathising with Sir Edward Grey's object she considers that the conference has no prospect of success as Austria-Hungary will not consent to submit her policy to such a tribunal. Germany thinks that conversation between the Powers is a better course than a conference.

Berlin: The fleet is gathering at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven and other important points and then pause permitting an opportunity for some reconsideration.

Russia has accepted the principle of Sir Edward Grey's proposal. At the same time she desires to continue a direct exchange of views with Vienna.

The declaration of war was received in London after the Stock Exchange had closed.

"Yankees" were the only market remaining, and they slumped two or three points.

Runs on savings banks in Germany are continuing,

Later.

Austria has declared war.

A *Déclaté* in diplomatic quarters in London, to-day, suggests that Austria-Hungary and Russia have arrived at some sort of understanding based on the former's positive disavowal of intentions of conquest or permanent occupation.

It is thought possible that Austria-Hungary may occupy

London, July 29.

The comparative steadiness of consols in to-day's slump is attributed to Government's buying for sinking funds and purchases by big banking houses.

The German and Russian military have assumed control of Railway stations along the frontier.

Consols fell to 69½ to-day. Other stocks were not quoted. Government is buying consols which are now at seventy and a half. Already three small failures have been announced. The Bourses at St. Petersburg and Amsterdam have been closed.

The statement which Sir Edward Grey is making to-day, is being awaited with expectancy, unequalled in living memory, by the bulk of the public. While witnessing the collapse on the Stock Exchange in general, with extreme anxiety, businessmen are as yet scarcely able to realise the momentous issues impending and ask why Great Britain should be involved in a squabble between Austria and Serbia in which it is felt that Austria has considerable right on her side. The question which Sir Edward Grey is expected to solve decisively, is what are precisely Great Britain's obligation to the Triple Entente and whether Great Britain can hesitate to take up arms if the Balance of Power is threatened by her friends being plunged into war. Many think that a plain declaration that Great Britain would throw in her lot with the Entente, may even now prevent war from spreading.

The "Times" says it is imperative to patch up domestic differences without delay in order that the whole nation may present a united front to the threatening international crisis. The paper says there cannot be a question of change of Government at present.

Vienna: The Emperor Francis Joseph, in a manifesto, reviews the "Serbian intrigues." His Majesty says he is fully conscious of the consequences of his decision and his responsibility to the Almighty. He says he grasps the sword to secure the honour, dignity, and territorial integrity of Austria-Hungary. A message to the *Times* from Drazza says the Austrians have blockaded Antivari. Extreme tension prevails everywhere. The British Cabinet is sitting. Sir Edward Grey was late in arriving owing to a prolonged conference with the German Ambassador.

Reuter learns that Russia partially mobilised in the south and southwest. This does not necessarily imply a rupture and it is hoped that some Power will yet bring about an understanding.

News from Vienna reports big concentrations of Serbian troops. Serbian aeroplanes are scouting on the frontier. A Montenegrin brigade with artillery near Pribog, is supporting Serbia.

The British Cabinet sat to-day for over two hours and at its conclusion Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, Sir Edward Grey and Viscount Haldane conferred together. In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith said that the situation was one of extreme gravity. He could only usefully say that Government was not relaxing its efforts and would do everything in its power to circumscribe the area of the possible conflict. Mr. Lloyd-George announced that he had consulted the Bank of England and was advised that it was neither necessary nor advisable at present to call a meeting of bankers to deal with the financial situation. Although Sir Edward Grey was expected to make a statement, he did not do so.

To-night's situation is more favourable on the report of a possible meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser. The news is most conflicting. For example, it was announced that Austria had assured Russia that she will respect the territorial integrity of Serbia and that she will not occupy Belgrade. Almost simultaneously a telegram from a Russian source stated that Belgrade had been bombarded and that the bridge over the river Sava had been destroyed.

Lord Rothschild is of opinion that the war is being localised.

In the House of Lords to-day, Lord Morley said the Powers were actively communicating with a view to averting war beyond the area primarily concerned.

The Kaiser and the Tsar have exchanged telegrams on the situation.

M. Poincaré has arrived in Paris where he was accorded an enthusiastic reception.

Vienna: it is semi-officially stated that the Serbians destroyed the bridge at Semlin, a few miles north of Belgrade, yesterday morning. The Austrians bombarded the Serbian positions and compelled the enemy to evacuate them. Two Serbian steamers laden with ammunition and mines have been captured.

Later.

St. Petersburg: The war fever is growing. Thousands demonstrated here and at Odessa yesterday evening, cheering for England and France. A crowd of twenty thousand gave an ovation to Serbian officers departing for Belgrade.

Berlin: German troops are moving in response to the Russian advance towards Wirballen.

London, July 29.

There is a faint hope that direct Austro-Russian conversations will avert a European conflagration. In the meanwhile, Germany

is taking military and naval precautions and people in Paris are calmly preparing for war. British dockyards are very active. The declaration of war was cheered by crowds in St. Petersburg and demonstrations were attempted in front of the British and French Embassies, but they were prevented by the police. There was no disorder.

Reuter wires from Rome that it is stated that dissensions have arisen between the Marquis Di San Giuliano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Signor Salandra, Premier. It is said that the latter insists on Italy's absolute neutrality.

A message from Vienna states that the official "Fremdenblatt" says that Europe will now see that Austria-Hungary is a nation and not merely a political entity. The idea of a greater Serbia will be shattered by Austria's united strength. Twenty-eight Socialist anti-war meetings have been held in Berlin. Speeches were drowned by the singing. There was a huge patriotic demonstration in Unter Den Linden.

Reuter wires from New York that the declaration of war caused a panic on the stock market. Scenes occurred in the wheat pit which have been unprecedented since the Luter corner in 1893. Transactions were made in over twelve million bushels and prices rose ten cents. Coffee and cotton slumped.

Prices of provisions in Vienna have risen fifty per cent. and stall-keepers in the market have been mobbed.

Hitherto seven failures have been announced in London and two in Glasgow. Some of them are of moderate importance.

Later.

Consols closed at 71. Money exchanges are absolutely disorganised. Cheques on Paris have slumped, the quotation ranging from 24-50 to 24-90. An advance of one per cent in the Bank rate is expected tomorrow. Wheat has advanced two shillings and other cereals a shilling. The net gold withdrawal yesterday amounted to £911 000 for the Continent and Egypt. To-day was the blackest day ever known on the Stock Exchange. Such a universal cessation of business is unprecedented. The extent thereof is illustrated by the closing of Montreal and Toronto Stock Exchanges until a definite improvement in the situation sets in. All day the air has been full of conflicting reports favourable and unfavourable. The feeling to-night is a trifle better in view of the reports of a possible meeting of the Tsar and the Kaiser. The fact that Sir Edward Grey did not speak in the Commons to-day, is regarded as an indication that he is still labouring to promote peace.

The strict censorship being exercised in Vienna, and Belgrade, except for official telegrams, prevents information leaking out as to the course of happenings in Austria and Serbia, if any. Reuter learns that Russian mobilisation extends to thirty-two army corps at Kieff, Olessa, Moscow and Kazan, being thus entirely on the Austrian and not on the German frontier.



Our London Letter.

London, July 10.

THE CABINET AND THE NEW SITUATION.

Mr. A. P. NICHOLSON, who is usually in the "know" of the inner working of the present Government, writes in the *Daily News and Leader* of yesterday on what is generally considered to be the true position and intentions of the Cabinet and the Liberal Party in face of the new situation arising from the tremendous fall in the Government majority in the House of Commons on Tuesday last.

The Cabinet, according to Mr. Nicholson, met yesterday in a mood of surprise after the division in which their majority had fallen to 23 owing chiefly to the abstention of some of their supporters on a vital motion (concerning the Finance Bill of the year). The situation was discussed in all its bearings, but no decision was arrived at as to a change in program or the course which the business of the session should take. The next meeting will probably be held on Monday. The situation is one which must be faced seriously, and as the interests of the Government and the Liberal Party are at stake the course of the ministerial discussions yesterday may with advantage be indicated with more frankness than is usual.

The Cabinet first discussed the state of feeling in the Liberal Party. They are not yet fully aware of the causes which led to the check given to them by several sections of their supporters, and they were genuinely amazed that any Liberals should apparently be ready to let the Liberal cause be ruined rather than go to any length in support of the formidable program of business which has been placed before Parliament in this critical session. This is regarded as a new situation. If they had been defeated on Tuesday the Government would have resigned, for it is only a defeat on a "snap" division that they can ignore.

But Ministers are very willing, in the light of a sincere protest in their own ranks, to reconsider the business situation, and this spirit was manifested in their deliberations. One of the factors in

that the Cabinet as well as the Liberal Party are tired. On the whole, the feeling of Ministers seems to be general that it is impossible to push straight on with the present session till all the business in sight is concluded. The financial business would take till the end of this month, if we include the Appropriation Bill, and one or two other necessities and the proceedings on the Home Rule Amending Bill in the Commons might easily take two or three weeks in August. For this Bill in the shape in which it comes from the Lords must go through all stages in the Commons, and be remoulded after its drastic treatment by the Opposition peers.

The Opposition are not going to settle the Irish question promptly, if they settle at all—which is doubtful—in order to help the Government out of their difficulties of time. Their policy is delay. It would be fatuous to ask the Opposition to take some other settlement than the proposals grafted on the Amending Bill, in order that the Government might the better get through their other business. The Opposition are opposed to this business and do not want the Government to get through it.

The session should be ended at latest by the third week in August. Among the alternatives discussed yesterday were:—

Whether the Revenue Bill and some other measures should be dropped, in view of the graver issues hanging in the balance:

whether the session should be adjourned in August, and an autumn session be begun in October, in which the remaining business should be done; and

whether the session should be prorogued as soon as possible in August, and Parliament be summoned to meet for the new session, say, in November, when the Revenue Bill, the Housing Bill introduced by Mr. Runciman yesterday, the Non-conformist Education Bill, dealing with single school areas, and the Insurance Bill should at once be tackled.

There are various considerations to be taken account of, but the balance of advantage rests with the last alternative. If the Revenue Bill and other measures were dropped, there would be a loss of prestige to the Government and discontent among other sections of their supporters. If this business were postponed to an autumn session, during the whole of the delay arising the Parliament Act Bills would not have been placed on the Statute Book, and would be subject to any accident. In addition, Parliament would certainly have to meet as early as October to get through before Christmas, and a number of Ministerialists are opposed to attendance then.

If, however, the session were closed in August, the Parliament Act Bills would be on the Statute Book. If the new session began in November it would, at any rate, be a month later than October. There would be a long holiday at Christmas, and the Revenue Bill, perhaps in a simple form, would be passed before 1915 was much advanced. If the Opposition were not satisfied with the Irish Amending Act, a conference or convention could be held in the autumn, with a view to the further consideration of the question in the next session.

The discontented Ministerialists rallied to the Government yesterday. Having made their protest, the bulk of them have no intention of playing the Tory game. Mr. Asquith's announcement of the comprehensive inquiry on the income-tax has given satisfaction.

The Opposition imagine that the situation is analogous to that which obtained in the last years of Mr. Balfour's Government in 1908-5, when a rot set in which got worse and worse. It is far from the case. There are dissatisfactions on this score and on that—one criticism that is heard is that the Local Government Board has set the pace too fast. But there is this vital difference. Whatever difficulties exist now in the Liberal Party, they will not increase with time, but will diminish. For if the Government continue in office till next summer the Plural Voting Bill will be won. And if there is a settlement on the Irish question, or if the Government override their Irish difficulties, there will be a great reaction in their favour in the country, and their course will have been justified. Mr. Balfour's Government had no such possibilities in their favour.

INDIA COUNCIL BILL REJECTED.

It must, of course, be at once admitted that Lord Crewe's Bill was by no means perfect from the purely Indian point of view; but the Lords have certainly undertaken no little responsibility by thus rejecting the Bill without giving the House any opportunity to thoroughly discuss the measure in Committee and thus modify it by means of amendments. The latter course would have been more advisable and indeed would have produced a better impression in India. "India" is supposed to be a non-party subject in the Imperial Parliament, but the recent debate on this important Bill was conducted on strictly party lines, with very few exceptions. The most important feature of the debate was in reality not what was said or done but Lord Lansdowne's silence. The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, whose Indian experience is as great as that of Lord Curzon or any other peer in that assembly, ought to have inter-

vened in this important debate. His silence on this occasion is indeed remarkable and is, in my opinion, very regrettable. Lord Lansdowne had perhaps fully realised the gravity of the question, and a statesman of his calibre and weight could not be expected to cordially approve of the course so bluntly taken up by his less responsible colleague on the Front Opposition Bench, who had moved the rejection of the Bill. He may possibly have voted for Lord Curzon's motion, though so far no division list has been published; but the fact that he has deliberately abstained from taking part in the debate and according the motion his formal approval is very significant.

The Tory Press is naturally jubilant and hail the action of the Lords as a far-sighted and patriotic duty. The Anglo-Indian papers as well as some Indian papers, such as the "Bombay Chronicle," I see from the telegrams, are equally happy over the course events have taken. But personally I am sure the rejection of the Bill on its second reading is a gross mistake on the part of the Lords, who are beginning to treat Indian matters also in the narrow light of party politics.

The Bill, as I have said before, was not an ideal measure in any way; but it was certainly an attempt, I admit a very bad attempt, on the part of the Government to reform the India Council. Hopes and expectations had been realised in India and the Congress delegates over here were primarily concerned with this Bill. All of a sudden the measure has now been thrown away by the peers on the initiative of Lord Curzon, whose friends are describing his action in this respect as yet another "service" rendered to India. The House of Lords has been thus deprived of any opportunity it could have to amend and modify the Bill and the House of Commons is equally robbed of facilities to discuss this all-important measure. It is quite probable that the Bill, when duly discussed, amended and passed through both the Houses of Parliament, would have received the Royal Assent in a more agreeable form. But the rash act of the Tory peers has killed it in the very beginning of its career. It will be a bad day for England, India and the Empire if Indian affairs are to be henceforth dealt with on purely party lines. Lord Curzon's recent attitude and that of most of his supporters only too clearly indicate that they are rapidly tending towards that perilous and dangerous practice.

"MOSLEM DAY" IN LONDON.

The Managing Committee of the Islamic Society, in consultation with the Exhibition authorities, have arranged for a series of lectures and addresses on various Islamic subjects, which are to be delivered in the Palace of Music at the Anglo-American Exposition in Shepherd's Bush on Friday, the 17th instant. The proceedings of the day, which has been aptly designated as "Moslem Day," will begin by the Juma-Namaz, after which, throughout the day and evening, the public will be offered an excellent opportunity of learning something about the great religion of Moslems.

The happy scheme was hit upon by Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, an English Moslem, who once held the office of Vice-President of the Islamic Society. It at once met with the approval of Khwaja Kamaluddin Saheb, who, being a member of the Committee of the Islamic Society, promptly brought the matter to the notice of his colleagues at their last meeting, and it was naturally supported with great enthusiasm.

Understand the Society is anxious to hold two or three "Moslem Days" in the Exhibition later on in the summer, if their first attempt is successful. It will undoubtedly be an excellent means of spreading information concerning Islam in its various aspects among the vast numbers of the British public who daily visit the Exhibition. It is bound to create a genuine desire on their part to seek information and knowledge about a religion, which, despite all attempts to arrest its growth, is more than holding its own.

CORONATION OF THE SHAH CELEBRATION IN LONDON.

The Islamic Society is celebrating the coronation of His Majesty the Shah of Persia by a luncheon at the Hotel Cecil on Tuesday, the 21st instant, the day fixed by the Persian Government for the auspicious ceremony in Teheran. His Excellency Raghieb Raif Bey, the Councillor to the Imperial Ottoman Embassy, will preside at the luncheon, in the unavoidable absence of His Highness Tewfik Pacha, the Ambassador.

The graceful act of the Islamic Society in securing such a distinguished representative of the Ottoman Embassy to take the chair on such a historic "Persian" occasion will no doubt be immensely appreciated by all classes and sections of Muslims in London and elsewhere. The formal participation of His Excellency Raghieb Raif Bey in the festivities connected with the coronation of the Shah will at once dispel all doubts and fears as to the relations existing between the two neighbouring Moslem Empires. It will further strengthen the bond of friendship and brotherhood prevailing amongst the Moslem subjects of their Imperial Majesties the Sultan and the Shah. It will yet serve to demonstrate the unity of Islam despite its various sects and divisions, of which so much capital is made in certain quarters.

TETE TETE



² The circular of the Government of India on Moslem education was issued more than a year ago, and it was welcomed as a proof of the genuine desire of Government to improve the educational position of the Moslem community. It was based on a clear recognition of the peculiar disabilities which have hampered the Mussalmans in the race for progress since the new order of things came to supplant the old. The duty of a modern State is not simply to preserve peace and order, but to ensure the material and moral progress of its citizens; and the Government of India could not remain indifferent to the lack of equality of opportunity which is responsible for the comparatively backward state of Moslem education. The Government circular was accordingly issued with a view to afford Mussalmans all reasonable facilities to avail themselves of the educational opportunities guaranteed by the State. The local Governments have had under consideration the suggestions embodied in the circular, and small committees of Mussalmans have been engaged in several provinces in formulating their views on the subject. Some of these committees have submitted their reports, but the local Governments have yet to define their lines of action. We trust suitable measures will soon be evolved in every province to carry out the intentions of the Government of India in their entirety. The circular indicates three broad directions along which efforts may be made with tolerable certainty of eventual success. In the first place, it is desirable to establish a system of liberal scholarships in every province in view of the general poverty of Mussalmans. Secondly, all reasonable facilities should be created according to the circumstances in each province with a view to adapt instruction in schools to Moslem needs and thus remove Moslem prejudices and antipathy against modern education. Lastly, Moslem teachers and inspectors should be appointed to ensure sympathetic guidance and encouragement to Mussalmans and their steady advance in education. These are the three chief requirements of the Moslem educational position on which the Government of India has based its suggestions. The ultimate results, however, depend on the sympathy and goodwill of the local Governments who have to devise practical measures, and we trust they will faithfully and ungrudgingly act up to the spirit of the just, wise and liberal policy laid down by the supreme Government in regard to Moslem education.

We have no reason to think that the Government of India merely desired to utter sweet lullabies into Moslem ears, and that its circular on Moslem education was meant to remain a dead letter.

The action taken by several provincial Governments leads us to hope that they are conscious of their responsibility in the matter and would not let the good intentions of the Government of India be strangled by red-tape. It must be frankly confessed that our local Governments have their peculiar idiosyncracies which sometime render their ways and methods quite erratic and incalculable. It is also a common experience that even local Governments are sometimes at the mercy of their agents who find little difficulty in stultifying a policy they dislike. We have just had an apt illustration of this in Burma. The affairs of that outlying province usually receive scant notice in the Indian Press, and it is, therefore, all the more important to give a detailed account of how the question of Moslem education is being treated there. The Government of India circular was issued on 3rd April, 1913, and the Director of Public Instruction in Burma invited a number of Mussalmans on the 1st July, 1913, to a meeting to be held in his office on the 28th and 29th July, 1913, "to consider a letter from the Government of Burma regarding the question of Mohamedan education

"in this province." Objections were raised by some of the Mussalmans invited to that meeting as to the shortness of time given to them for the consideration of the whole question as well as to the absence of the necessary materials for its study. But the Director was disposed to offer few facilities in these directions, and it was only after a reference to the local Government that the necessary materials were supplied from the Secretariat and a Mohamedan educational committee was formed with sufficient time to go through the whole question and report thereon. The Committee set to work in real earnest, held numerous meetings from time to time, and after prolonged deliberations drew up a report which was submitted to the Director of Public Instruction on the 12th January, 1914. The report is a comprehensive document and much labour and thoughtful care have evidently been spent on its preparation. It deals with the whole subject in a thoroughly practical manner, reviews the state of Moslem education in Burma, points out the drawbacks and the obstacles that impede its advance, offers detailed suggestions for its improvement in primary, secondary and higher stages, draws up suitable curricula for Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular primary and secondary schools, lays down the extent of the Government grants-in-aid necessary to supplement Moslem efforts, discusses the means of attracting good teachers and the need of appointing special Moslem educational inspectors, and finally recommends the formation of "an advisory standing committee of select educated Mohamedans" to advise Government from time to time on the question of the education of Moslem boys and girls. The report was forwarded by the Director together with his note to the Educational Syndicate of the Province for its consideration. The Syndicate left the matter to be dealt with by its Executive Committee, which has summarily dismissed the whole question of Moslem education by the following windy resolution:—"The Syndicate, while recognising that the position may be different in those parts of India exclusive of Burma, are strongly of opinion that there should not be preferential treatment in educational matters for Mohamedans in the province of Burma. As far as the information and knowledge of the Syndicate goes, the Mohamedan community in Burma is a most progressive one and not, as a whole, in any way more backward than the Burmese Buddhist community and that, in places, it is pushing itself ahead of the Burmese Buddhist community. It has only to be mentioned that the Mohamedan education committee state that the Mohamedan community pay one-third in taxes of the total revenue of the Rangoon Municipality and that alone shows how wealthy they are getting in the province. The Syndicate is therefore averse to these proposals of the Director that give any preferential treatment to Mohamedans." The President of the Educational Syndicate, at its meeting of the 27th June, 1914, while referring to the report of the Moslem Educational Committee, remarked that the question of the improvement of Mohamedan education had been before the Syndicate in recent years, in connection with the resolutions passed by the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference at its Rangoon session in 1909 and its Nagpur session in 1910. The Executive Committee of the Syndicate, to which the matter was referred, replied that "preferential treatment of Mohamedan pupils was neither necessary nor desirable." In 1913 the Committee was of the same opinion. And now when the Government of India has urged the local Government to take the necessary steps to improve Moslem education, the Committee of the Syndicate still talks of "preferential treatment," and its President takes occasion to make the epoch-making announcement that after correspondence with the Principals of the Government College, Rangoon, and the Government High School it has been ascertained that "the conditions relating to the education of Mohamedans have not changed in any way since 1911, except that there is now one Mohamedan on the college staff." And to fortify this attitude an inevitable Khan Bahadur, a Moslem member of the Educational Syndicate, comes forward to disclaim all need of Government help and is reported to have delivered himself thus in the meeting of the Syndicate. "He expressed his entire concurrence in the decision of the executive committee concerning Mohamedan education. No self-respecting community would seek preferential treatment with other communities and for special provision for 'poor students of all.' The future of Moslem education in Burma has thus been placed at the mercy of obdurate officials and officious Khan Bahadurs.

It seems to have been the constant refrain of the Executive Committee of the Syndicate and its President that the Moslem educational position has not changed, as if a change for the better would mean a catastrophe! Yes, there has been no change, i. e., no improvement in Moslem education since 1873 and 1885 when the Government of India expressed its concern in the shape of a number of resolutions, embodying several measures of reform. The Moslem Educational Conference twice reminded the Burma Government that things had been practically stationary since the establishment of the British Rule in that province. The Government of

India circular may also be taken as the latest reminder to the Burma officialdom that Mussalmans have certain special needs which demand certain facilities, and that it is the duty of the State to provide those facilities as soon as practicable. The one thing that the Mussalmans of Burma complain of is that there has been no change in their educational position and the educational authorities of the province have been treating their just demands with indifference. Yet the Committee of the Educational Syndicate of Burma talks of "no change" with evident gratification and chooses to call all reasonable proposals matured by the Moslem Educational Committee on the basis of the suggestions of the Government circular as "preferential treatment." We think we know the real inwardness of this righteous cry, and we know as well that it is raised with loud insistence whenever Mussalmans get some chance of having their interests treated with justice and fairplay. Preferential treatment indeed! One can only realise the levity of these hollow words when one understands the actual conditions that confront the Mussalmans almost in every province of India in the field of education. To state it briefly, these conditions prescribe for them perpetual disabilities; they have taken the shape of something like monopolies and vested interests; they have rendered public schools and colleges in the majority of cases inaccessible to Moslem boys, not only on account of their expensiveness, but also on account of their unsympathetic atmosphere, in a word they deny the Mussalmans that equality of opportunity which it is the duty of Government to ensure to all communities in India alike, and without which "equal treatment" can have no possible existence. It is for an equality of opportunity that Mussalmans have been crying for many years in Burma as well as elsewhere, and not for boons or favours and preferential treatment. The "well-respecting" Khan Bahadur, who is so satisfied with the resolution of the Syndicate, has evidently no notion of the educational needs of the Moslem community in Burma or of the measure of responsibility that rests on those who presume to speak in its name. As a matter of fact the Moslem Educational Committee, which included men of the position and capacity of Mr. Ahmad Moosa Pawood, who can speak with the greatest authority on Moslem requirements, has asked for nothing that is not in accordance with the intentions embodied in the Government circular or is against the just demands of the community on the public funds. Apart from its suggestions regarding the appointment of special Moslem inspectors, the Committee asks for grants to help Moslem schools and the establishment of a modest system of scholarships to help poor Moslem students. The Committee says: "The amount of scholarships and grants that is asked for by the Committee may at first sight seem too large, but a closer examination of the part the Mohamedan community plays in Burma would show that the amount asked for is out their due. The amount is also justified by the proportion they bear to the whole population of the Province. They number about 4 per cent of the total population and so they are entitled to a proportionate allotment of the total expenditure on Public Instruction in Burma. The Rangoon Municipality alone contributes about 4 lakhs of rupees towards education. Rangoon Mohamedan boys are alone, therefore, entitled to one-fifth of the same with reference to their population only. If taxes are taken into consideration they would be entitled to one third of the same, as the taxes paid by Muhammadans amount to one-third of the total revenue of the Rangoon Municipality. The population of school-going ages is considered to be 15 per cent. of the whole population. According to this there should be at least 60,000 Moslem boys and girls going to school; whereas their actual number is roughly about 18,000 only. This is certainly due to poverty on the one hand and lack of encouragement on the other. The Muhammadans are, therefore, undoubtedly entitled for their education to an expenditure of at least 2 lakhs of rupees out of the total expenditure. The average expenditure of Rs. 7 per head on the population of the Province, as shown in the Public Instruction Report of the Province for 1912-1913, also justifies the above claim." The resolution of the committee of the Syndicate seems to have been framed by some petti fogging attorney concerned with scoring off points in argument rather than by a body of responsible men dealing with the important question of the education of a large community. It says that Mussalmans can not be poor because they pay about one-third of the total revenue of the Rangoon Municipality. The argument shows the spirit in which the question seems to have been disposed of. It scarcely does any credit to the Educational Syndicate of Burma and its capacity to deal with educational matters in a broad, honest and impartial manner. Because a few wealthy Mussalmans pay proportionately large taxes to the Rangoon Municipality it does not surely mean that the entire Moslem community is rolling in wealth. As we have said, there is a strong suspicion of brusqueness amounting almost to levity with which the whole question of Moslem education in Burma has been so far treated by responsible officials. But things can not be allowed to remain there. We trust the Mussalmans of Burma will approach the local Government

with a view to secure fair dealing and failing that they should address the Government of India which, we are sure, will not allow its circular on Moslem Education—certainly a most valuable public document inspired with the best of intentions—to be thus reduced to a dead letter.

Few could have guessed that the terrible Serajevo crime, which resulted in the death of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, would have as its aftermath a crisis of the colossal magnitude with which entire Europe is face to face just now. The drastic Austrian ultimatum delivered to Serbia on 24th July was the first and most sudden signal of alarm. Events have within the last few days moved with a rapidity that is bewildering. Europe is on the brink of the Armageddon with which its pacifists and its prophets have for generations been threatening the world. Austria-Hungary has declared war on Serbia, and according to an unconfirmed message Belgrade is already in Austrian occupation. Russia, as the patron of the Serbs, is in no mood to see her protégé humiliated to the dust and has ordered the general mobilisation of her Army. Austria has issued a similar order and Germany, her brilliant second, has followed suit. France and England are making breathless military and naval preparations. Diplomatic conversations initiated by Sir Edward Grey with a view to localise the area of conflict seem to have practically failed. Bourses in the principal European capitals have been closed, business has been disorganised, general panic is already producing acute crisis in the money-markets of the world, continental communications have been suspended, and amid martial laws and frantic popular excitement, huge armies are concentrating for battle. Only a miracle can save Europe from a terrific struggle that would bring world-wide devastation and ruin in its train and may possibly end by destroying all the fruits of European civilization. The outlook has never been so forbidding and there is little hope now for the European diplomacy to be able to save Europe from the catastrophe of a general war. Those who have striven to create the existing balance of power in the relations of the European States are primarily responsible for the nemesis that threatens to overwhelm Europe. The crisis now in existence was bound to come sooner or later. Artificial checks and impromptu devices can not permanently stave off the force of the economic laws or abiding moral principles. The States of Europe have individually sown wind throughout the world in the name of race and nationalism, and they must reap the whirlwind. The tragic murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand has only supplied the match which may set the powder-magazine ablaze. We need not attempt to speculate about probable developments. No one can be certain of what may happen next moment. The whole world is waiting in acute suspense, for issues at stake are such as have seldom been known in history. If the war becomes general and all the great Powers of Europe are involved, the world is sure to witness strange mutations and changes. The horror and misery that it would entail is almost unthinkable. The Power that shapes the ends of this world is all-good, all beneficent, and can it not be that even a catastrophe of such magnitude may in some inscrutable way prove to be a blessing in disguise. The latest messages show that Germany has declared war on Russia and France, and Italy has declared her neutrality. The titanic struggle has at last come over Europe, and no one can venture to estimate its consequences.

We give below the approximate figures relating to the strength of the armies and navies of the various Powers which may be affected by Austria's declaration of war upon Serbia, should the efforts to localise the conflict be unsuccessful. According to the latest information available, the forces of the leading Powers are as follows:—The Army of Austria on war strength, including the Austrian *Landwehr* and the Hungarian *Honved* as well as the "common army," numbers 1,820,000 men. It is believed that by embodying all classes of the *Landsturm* over 3,500,000 men could ultimately be put in the field, trained and untrained. Austria had a battle fleet of 11 battleships in January last. The latest figures regarding Serbia's Army put the war strength at 270,000, but this does not include the Third Ban of the Army, that is the militia. These were the figures previous to the Balkan war. In that campaign Serbia had an army of about 350,000 in the field and it is probable that in a great national struggle for existence, such a war with Austria would mean a force of something like 400,000 could be mobilised. The total war strength of the German army is approximately 4,350,000 men, including the field army and its reserve formations, the *Landwehr* (1,800,000) and trained men of the *Landsturm* (800,000). The highly trained and vigorous first line would not greatly exceed 1,500,000 men. In January last Germany's battle fleets consisted of 85 battleships and 4 battle cruisers. The total war strength of the Italian forces is roughly as follows, but it has to be remarked that the men of the territorial militia

are untrained:—With the colours 250,000, on unlimited furlough 450,000, mobile militia 320,000 and territorial militia 2,200,000, giving a total of 3,220,000 of whom 1,020,000 may be set down as more or less trained. In January last Italy had a battle fleet of 9 battleships. The war strength of the Russian forces consists of about 56,500 officers and 2,855,000 men. These form the Active army, but not all are available in any one part of the Empire. To these figures must be added the available reserve, estimated at 1,064,000, frontier battalions 41,000, Cossacks 150,000. The total war strength of trained men is estimated at 5,400,000. The Russian battle fleet on January last consisted of 8 battleships. The total first line effective of the French army is estimated at 2,500,000 and 2,000,000 older men could be put in the field. The standing forces, plus 800,000 of the younger recruits, would constitute an active field force of nearly 4,000,000. France had a battle fleet of 21 battleships in January last.

We reproduce elsewhere the opinions of some of the leading organs of the Hindu Press on the Government terms offered to the promoters of the Hindu University. An overwhelming body of opinion is against the acceptance of those terms,

The Hindu University.

and many of the most influential supporters of the University project have counselled their rejection *in toto*. Some of the leading members of the University Committee had an informal conference with Sir James Meeson, Sir Harcourt Butler and Mr. Sharp at Allahabad, the result of which has not yet been made public. It is understood that the governing body of the University Society are going to call a meeting of the donors and subscribers of five hundred rupees and upwards in order to ascertain their views on the Government terms. We do not know what course the leaders of the Hindu University movement may ultimately choose to take. If a Behar paper is to be believed, they would seem to have made up their minds to accept the Government terms, though it is difficult to imagine that the leaders will go against popular wishes which have been expressed in no uncertain tones. We would at any rate prefer to wait till the promoters of the project have arrived at some matured decision.

Our readers would perhaps remember that we had occasion to write a couple of notes on "Religion and the Young Turks" in our issue of 26th April last in connection with an Army order issued by Enver Pasha exhorting the commanders of the various Army Corps to take the necessary steps with a view to make the Ottoman soldier strong in the precepts and practice of his religion. Those notes seem to have attracted considerable notice in Turkey, and from the comments of the Turkish Press it would appear that there has been some mis-understanding of the tone and spirit in which they were written. A long passage in the letter of our Constantinople Correspondent, published last week, referred to "the buzz of excitement" created by those notes, and we have also received a passionately worded communication from our friend Ahmad Foad, a staunch Egyptian Nationalist, who writes to us from Hlyuec Pasha forwarding an English translation of the article that appeared on 12th June in *Tajir-i-Ikhtla*, one of the leading dailies of Constantinople. We will publish Ahmad Foad's letter as well as the *Tajir-i-Ikhtla*'s article in our next, with such comments as may be necessary to show how greatly we have been misunderstood.

A FRIEND of the *Comrade* sent to us some days ago a cheque of Rs. 1,000, as his generous donation to help the paper in its existing financial condition.

Generous Help.

While acknowledging with deep thanks the spontaneous help rendered to us, we requested the donor to authorise us to publish his name, but he has declined to do so. All we can say is that we are grateful to our supporter who has thought of our difficulties and has come forward of his own accord with such a measure of assistance to us in carrying on our task. We have also to thank another supporter of ours, Mr. Z. A. Jamal, merchant of Rangoon, from whom we have received a letter this week forwarding a certificate of transfer, in the name of Mr. Mohamed Ali, of the thirty shares of the *Hamdard* debentures which he had bought. Mr. Jamal says that he hands over these shares to help the *Comrade* in the stability and progress of which he is so deeply and genuinely interested. We need not say how indebted we feel to such sympathisers whose liberal support, given in the most helpful spirit, enables us to persevere in our duties and face our difficulties with added confidence and strength.

The Comrade.

The Haj : New Proposals for Old.

II.—Monopoly or Free Competition ?

LAST week we had dealt with the new proposal of the Bombay Government substituted for the old proposal of compulsory return tickets, and we had shown that, in spite of the declaration that the original proposal had been withdrawn, that proposal was served again, only this time with a new garnish. To-day we turn to another new proposal which appears on the surface to have nothing whatever to do with the monopoly, but which in practice establishes a monopoly almost as rigorous as had been proposed last year and proves, as we said last week, that like Banquo's ghost at the feast of Macbeth, the proposals of the Bombay Government regarding Haj "rise again with 'twenty mortal murders on their crown.'"

Let us first look at the proposal of the Bombay Government contained in para. 15(b) of their letter. It is proposed to raise the minimum tonnage of pilgrim ships prescribed in Rule 4 of the rules framed by the Government of India under Sec. 58 of the Pilgrim Ships Act, 1895 (XIV of 1895), which came into effect only as recently as the 4th October, 1910, in supersession of those promulgated on the 5th October, 1896, i.e. only a day before the Act itself came into force. The relevant portion of Rule 4 runs as follows :—

"No certificate under Sec. 12 shall be granted between May 20th and September 20th in any year in respect of a ship of a tonnage of less than 500 registered tons, or which is not capable of steaming at 8 knots an hour in ordinary monsoon weather."

The italics are ours, and are meant to make it clear that the regulation of minimum tonnage and speed applies to pilgrim ships plying during the monsoon season only and not during the remaining eight months of the year also. It must be noted that although the rules framed in 1896 were superseded by the new rules framed fourteen years later and less than four years ago, it did not occur to the Government of Bombay before this to recommend any alteration in tonnage and speed nor to the Government of India to do it *suo motu*. Even last year when Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co. were recommended for a monopoly no such alteration was suggested. It is only now that the grant of a direct monopoly has been abandoned owing to the determined opposition of Mussalmans that the Government of Bombay recommend as follows :—

"The development of shipping, coupled with the reasons advanced in paragraph 14 ante, justifies the raising of the minimum of size and speed which was fixed nearly 20 years ago; and the Governor in Council is advised that it is possible and legitimate immediately to raise the minimum tonnage from 500 to 2,000, with a warning that after 5 years it will be further raised to 2,500."

The Bombay Government have furnished the Government of India a statement of "the ships recently engaged in the traffic," which shows that, of the 24 ships, only 9 were below the standard they had suggested. But although this statement was forwarded as recently as the 21st of April last, on enquiries made by us a fortnight ago we learnt that of the 24 ships included in it only 14 were running. Now, it is worth while enquiring how Muhammadan ship-owners would be affected by raising the tonnage so suddenly from 500 to 2,000. Of these 14 ships which are still running only four belong to or are chartered by Mussalmans, the remaining ten being the property of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. or chartered by the firm. If the proposed alteration is carried out, Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would only lose three ships, or 30 p. c. of the total; but the Moslem ship-owners would lose as many as two out of four, or 50 per cent. If the tonnage is further raised after 5 years to 2,500, only three ships chartered by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would be able to book the pilgrims to the Hejaz. And yet the Bombay Government "is advised" that it is not only "possible," but also "legitimate" immediately to raise the minimum tonnage from 500 to 2,000."

Apart from the obvious disadvantage to existing Moslem ship-owners, the increase of tonnage would result in nothing short of a "Slaughter of the Innocents," for the smaller companies that could now own a number of small ships would be compelled to give up the pilgrim traffic. With the capital at their disposal the small companies that could own or charter, say, four ships of 1,000 tons each could now own or charter only two of 2,000 each. Now this, coupled with the insistence on the issue of return tickets, would mean the end of small companies. With four steamships, A, B, C and D, each a company could possibly arrange a weekly or ten-day service so that on its return journey the steamship A could bring back approximately half the complement of passengers, consisting of as many of pilgrims as desired to return immediately after the Haj from among those who had done the outward journey in any of the company's four ships A, B, C and D. Similarly, the steamship B could bring back approximately half

full complement, consisting of such of the remaining passengers as desired to go a week or ten days later; and so on, till all the passengers brought by the company had been conveyed back to India. After the new regulation such a company could control only two ships, E and F, twice as large as each of her former ships, A, B, C and D, and each of them carrying twice as many passengers. Here the difficulty begins, for if E has carried, say, 800 pilgrims on the outward journey, she, or her sister ship F, must wait at Jeddah a fortnight or three weeks instead of only a week or ten days to bring back her full complement of 800 out of all those passengers that had been conveyed in the two ships on the outward journey. If she does not wait for the full complement of 800, but, considering the convenience of the pilgrims, conveys on the homeward journey only 400 who had gathered at Jeddah as before within the first week or ten days after the Haj, she would have to do two journeys where she did only one journey before. If, however, the company did not wish to ruin itself by doubling its recurring expenditure, and made its passengers wait an unconscionable time at Jeddah, it would require more patriotism in the pilgrims than we have any right to expect to resist the temptation of booking by Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co's steamers with their bi-weekly service. Ship-owners like that well-known friend of the Hajis, Abdullah Mian Khandwani Sahab, who, thanks to the inspector of pilgrim ships, now controls only one pilgrim ship—because the ss. *Kanzler* was declared to have an unworkable boiler for pilgrim traffic, although it has ever since been plying safely enough between Bombay and Mauritius—will have to go out of the pilgrim traffic altogether on account of the insistence on return tickets, even if his ss. *Lawos* was not turned out of the pilgrim traffic because she has a tonnage amounting to 1,800 only. If the *Lawos* takes 750 passengers say, on the 7th October this year, it is certain that these 750 will not all be ready to return to India when she sails back, say, on the 7th of November, and as she has no sister ship some passengers, of which who had arrived very early at Jeddah she could take back along with her own, it is obvious that she could only take back a very few of those who had done the outward journey on the 7th of October and a few more out of those that had done it a month or two months earlier in her earlier outward voyages. These would never make the full complement of the *Lawos*, and in any case, as the *Lawos* could not be ready to take back the second batch before a month, those who had to await her arrival for a month and were even then possibly left at Jeddah for her third homeward journey after another month, owing to a sudden overcrowding of those who had a return ticket like them, would never think of booking a passage by her, but would book through Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., who had enough ships to give them a full complement on the return journey every time and to take up the overflow of the last preceding ship within three or four days.

Thus it is obvious that the insistence on the return journey places the small companies at a serious disadvantage in competition with large companies, and the addition of the increase of tonnage drives them and the owners of single, or, what the big companies would call, "pirate" ships, altogether out of the traffic. Therefore, unless the Mussalmans start a company of their own as big as the one which the Mussalman owner of the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company found it convenient, if not profitable, to part with to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. just in time for them to be recommended by Lord Sydenham for a monopoly, Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would have their monopoly just the same as if the Bombay Government had never abandoned its last year's proposal of giving it to them.

It must be noted that the sole reason for the Bombay Government's proposal of the last year was the question of Indian pilgrims' detention at Jeddah, and no proposal was then advanced by Lord Sydenham about "the improvement of the conditions in which the voyage from India to the Hejaz and back is performed." Why then is the Governor in Council "prepared to recommend immediate action" now that his predecessor's proposal of a monopoly has been "reverted to by the Government, determined and uncompromising" and "the Moslem community"? Have the pilgrims themselves complained about the tonnage or speed of pilgrim ships within the twelve months and 10 days that have intervened between the Government of Bombay's letters of the 11th April, 1913, and 21st April, 1914? We note that the Government of Bombay have consulted Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co. at every turn. Had they also consulted them with a view to their suggesting the most effective scheme of giving them a monopoly of the Haj traffic without the jobbery attending itself too manifestly to the public, and involving the Government of Bombay in well-deserved odium, we can safely say that this favoured firm could not have hit upon a better device. And yet "the Bombay Government recognise that the present is not a time when it is desirable to introduce measures which can by any possibility be misunderstood." A tremendous gulf seems to yawn between that Government's theory and practice; but in one thing it has been unconsciously prophetic. The present is certainly not a time when it is

desirable to introduce measures which lend themselves so admirably to the art of the fanatical Moslem agitators that love a "misunderstanding" no less than the Government of Bombay seems to love Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co.

Let us offer a respectful warning to the Bombay Government while yet there is time. We have not yet met a Mussalman in Bombay or outside whose honesty and frankness was above suspicion who does not regard the Bombay Government's strange predilection in favour of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. as unfortunate. The record of Indian Local Governments in the matter of fair dealings has been such that they could challenge even the ideal wife of Caesar and it is because we ourselves firmly believe that their reputation has been earned by many generations of officials, from the humble Under-Secretary to the Hon. Member of Council, and His Excellency the Governor that we would respectfully suggest that the way in which things have been rushed through has exposed the Bombay Government to sordid suspicions. When we argue with people who shake their heads in a knowing manner, they offer us a still more sinister explanation, an explanation which, though it does not do injustice to the official reputation for fair dealing, exposes Government to political suspicions which are bound to arouse ill-feeling against Government. We beseech the Government of India to reject the main revised proposals of the Bombay Government, for this is no time to create "misunderstandings" in a hurry and regret them at leisure.

The New Kali.

We reproduced in our issue of the 20th June last a letter contributed to the *Times* of the 29th May, by Mrs. Annie Besant, on "India and the Empire," in which she had urged a powerful plea for justice to India as a member of the British Empire. The *Times* had acknowledged on the following day, in the course of a leading article on "The Problem of India," that Mrs. Besant's letter "draws attention in a very fair-minded way to certain spacious problems affecting the future of British Rule in India," but had evidently felt compelled to offer a feeble reply which was in the traditional style of the *Times*. This article was followed by a letter contributed a few days later by Miss Cornelia Sorabji. We must confess that if we did not reproduce the reply of the *Times* it was only because it was a feeble and futile effort; but if we did not publish Miss Cornelia Sorabji's rejoinder to Mrs. Besant it was because her contribution was not only foolish but also saturated with a fulsome flattery of the British and honeycombed with the grossest injustice to her own countrymen, which made us hold our head down with shame that even to-day educated Indians had among them persons so devoid of patriotic fervour and so full of subservient praise of those that helped them to butter their bread. This is no doubt a harsh judgment, but those who will carefully consider what follows will agree that it is much less harsh than what this good lady deserves. The most charitable course to adopt towards her was to ignore her letter altogether, and we therefore refrained from reproducing it and offering thereon some comment of our own. If we turn our attention to-day towards Miss Cornelia Sorabji it is because, encouraged by the silence of Mrs. Besant and others, she has contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* and *After* an article which, if it had been published by an Indian paper, would have made it liable to severe punishment not under the Press Act of 1910—which means so little—but under the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908. It is a vile performance, and if this good lady has not lost all sense of shame we would advise her to bury herself in the oblivion that she merits instead of flaunting her criminal flattery of the British in the manner in which she has done.

Unlike her patron saint of the *Times* who admits Mrs. Besant's fair-mindedness at the very outset, this good lady begins her onslaught with the following statement: "But her great gift of oratorical language is so misleading that no one acquainted with facts, and belonging to India, and living and working in India, is entitled to keep silence if there is even one further word which can be said to minimize the inflammatory nature of her statements." Now, as we shall prove later, if anyone has used inflammatory language it is Miss Cornelia Sorabji herself, though we regret to say her inflammatory statements, although misleading, are not relieved by a "great gift of oratorical language." As for belonging to India and living and working in India, those who know both Mrs. Besant and Miss Sorabji can easily say which is likely to be more intimately acquainted with the country. We quarrel no more with Miss Sorabji's Christianity than with Mrs. Besant's theosophised Hinduism or Hinduised theosophy; but is it not a fact that the one is more likely to bring its adherents into touch with the heart of India than the other? Again, even though Miss Sorabji's official patrons have seen to it that she is officially labelled as the legal adviser to *purdah-nashin* ladies whose

property is managed by the Bengal Court of Wards, those who know how and where Miss Sorabji and Mrs. Besant live can judge best which of the two belongs to and lives and works in India in a greater degree. As for minimising what she calls the inflammatory nature of Mrs. Besant's statements, we fear there will not be a single Indian who would be induced to appreciate British Rule any better than he does by reason of having read Miss Sorabji's letter to the *Times*, while we are only too certain that many would be disposed to think less pally of people who have such apologist as Miss Sorabji.

Whether Miss Sorabji knows everything or something or nothing about the needs of *purdah-nashin* wards we do not know, but she is almost the last person to be considered qualified to speak about the Indian Vernacular Press. We have yet to know whether Miss Sorabji knows any vernacular of India, including her mother tongue, Gujarati, sufficiently well to be able to read with tolerable ease any vernacular paper of India. Naturally her official work, which is concerned with the *purdah-nashins*, is carried on behind the curtain, but such of her social life as is unveiled and undraped is thoroughly Anglo-Indian, and it would not be too much to say that she is an Indian only partly in name and wholly in colour. And yet because Miss Cornelia is not a Smith or a Jones or a Browne but a Sorabji, and because her skin shares its pigment with that of many of us, she must presume to sneer at Mrs. Besant's knowledge of India and talk as if she belonged to India and lived and worked in India any more than the Anglo-Indian bird-of-passage with whom she flirts, even though not of a feather with them.

Let it may be considered that our resentment is due to her attack on a section of the vernacular press of the "violence and inaccuracy and incitation to rebellion" of which she speaks as if half a dozen daily papers in as many languages of India from as many provinces were daily devoured by her along with her breakfast, let us say that this part of her letter is too commonplace to excite those whose emotions have become jaded and have been staled by the daily working of the Press Act in Northern India. There is enough besides to excite contempt, if not indignation, and as a first sample which is only moderately exciting we may offer to our readers the following — "Indeed, there are those who fear that the large and rapid share 'given to Indians of late years in representative government in India may prove our own undoing' and that it is possible to put 'not too narrow but too liberal' an interpretation on the word 'liberty'—when you are speaking and acting 'in English,' in a 'country where the masses still speak and love the vernacular.'" This could be tolerated in a Tagore or an Iqbal or a Hali who spoke and loved the vernacular; but in a lady who plays the sedulous ape to the English, or rather the Anglo-Indians, it is nothing but a sickening cant.

Then we come to "Eastern Philosophy." We too have no sympathy with those who talk of "the East having nothing to learn from the West." But just as a regard to those who speak and love the vernacular is inconsistent in one who speaks and acts "in English," even more than there whom she criticises with an unjustifiable condemnation of the Vernacular Press which serves the masses, so is the sneer at those who "boast of a dead past" inconsistent with a denunciation of "the struggle to get rich, the 'desire to play the game of politics as played in England.'" And it strikes us as particularly silly to ask if "the old Rishis, whose aim 'was to feel after God, and who even renounced kingdoms to go out 'into the forests and meditate in haply so in silence and aloofness, 'they might find Him', whether the Press Act should remain in force even after the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins." Let any one should suspect that this ultra-smart lady of the 20th century has any love or respect for the "old Rishis" we have the sneer as Mrs. Besant in the very next sentence that if that versatile genius, the friend and colleague of Bradlaugh, the gifted speaker and brilliant journalist, equally qualified to speak and write on politics, education and philosophy the founder and presiding genius of a great College, if she "has any claim to a hearing at all, it would 'be not about politics or the present condition of India, but about the 'meditations of those same Rishis.'" Evidently the poor *purdah-nashin* of Bengal not only provides Miss Cornelia Sorabji with a fat salary, but also furnishes her with a claim to a hearing about politics and the present condition of India.

The following extracts from this bundle of contradictions would be read by the members of the Public Service Commission with some interests and possibly with much amusement:—

Equal privilege of service for India in what is considered the highest grades of that service has long been open to us—although many Indians have counted the cost (loss of caste and family and orthodox Indian social privilege) too great to pay for the liberty of visiting England and becoming a member of the Civil Service. What the discontented Indian now claims, and Mrs. Besant for him, is really not equality but special privilege. He does not say "Give me this because I have the same qualifications as an Englishman," but "Give me this because you must make allowances for me in not having the same qualifications." And he forgets that we do not "make allowances" for our equals, but for our inferiors.

The Public Service Commission took a good deal of evidence during their labours of two years in India, and no sieve could be discovered wherewith to exclude the fool and the flatterer and the knave from the list of witnesses. But we can vouch for it that no witness asked for Indians or attributed to them what this good lady takes for granted to be the aspirations of educated Indians. What follows is the most amusing twaddle that was ever penned even by the leader writer of the *Times* itself, and for sheer inconsistency it easily takes the palm. Miss Sorabji writes that "the Indian had his traditions and ideals too, but he has forsaken them by the very act which has put him in competition with 'Englishmen in the struggle for place and power and wealth and 'temporal aggrandisement.'" Is this not delicious? If the Indian asks for a concession he confesses his inferiority. If he enters the lists as a competitor on equal terms he forsakes his traditions and ideals. And if he keeps his traditions and ideals ever before him and meditates in silence and aloofness, like the Rishis of old, quiet and contented, self-satisfied and self-contained, he instantly becomes an easy target for the sneers of Miss Sorabji about glorying in a dead past and believing that the East has nothing to learn from the West. In fact, as she says "the whole vocabulary of modern Indian 'demand is wrong suffragist methods of aggression and intimidation 'grounded on Eastern claims to be the students of quiet and of the 'renunciation of the temporal.'" An exquisite sentence indeed, and quite worthy of one who combines the clinging tenderness of one of her blushing *purdah-nashins* with the aggressive self-love and loyalty of the most unblushing Khan Bahadur.

Miss Sorabji has destroyed all the idols of the Indian temple, but you shall not accuse her of constructing nothing. She too has her ideals and dreams, and we get in her letter to the *Times* a fascinating glimpse of them. She says—

I dream of an Empire into which every nation shall bring its own special glory and honour, and I would see Indians turning the growing-pains of the transitional period of our history in silence and obscurity until that which the West has taught us has helped us to make the best use of our own national gifts and inspirations for the privilege of service.

What a sweet reposeful dream, suggestive of dark and cool penitentialia where the only sound to be heard is that of the breeze rushing from the thermantidote, while the rest of the world is astir, and throbs with life. But we wonder whether the great fabric of this dream could be reared on a less solid foundation than that of a comfortable sinecure such, for instance, as the lucrative legal advisorship to the *purdah-nashin* ladies of the Calcutta Court of Wards.

Mrs. Besant's passing reference to the social difficulties of Indians such as "the insults often offered to them if they travel by first class in railways", is mentioned by her critic as a reference "to an age-old incident in a railway carriage between an Englishman and an Indian", and this lady of dreams wanders on and says "it has often been quoted". Well, perhaps every one of our readers can give the details of some such incident from his own experience, and we would humbly inform Miss Sorabji that it is not a single incident which has repeatedly been pressed into service in such discourses. The source of such incidents is perennial. We know on an occasion within our own recollection when an Indian lady travelling by railway was referred to by two Englishmen as a "nigger woman". We are now sorry that she was not Mrs. Besant's critic, for she would then perhaps not have talked in her superior manner of "worn out tales of the discourtesy of individualism." But in spite of Miss Sorabji's boast of keeping company with Gurus and Bawaps, who are friends of John Nicholson and Lawrence, we may say that we have the honour to be intimately acquainted with many more old gentlemen of the old school than she can even name. But we never came across one who told us anything so unlikely as her tale of an "England-returned" Bengali "dressed in English clothes pink shirt, patent leather shoes, bowler included", who was furious, because the only available berth on a crowded train was one in a carriage in which "a Hindustani (old fashion) in loin cloth" was already sitting. "his *hookah* beside him", who at the demand of Miss Sorabji's pet aversion "simply held out a first class ticket which he had untied from a knot in his waist-cloth." We do not say that no "England-returned" is capable of such stupidity as demanding the expulsion of an old fashioned gentleman from a railway carriage, but such instances are rarer than a combination of pink shirt, patent leather shoes and bowler in a railway carriage, and much rarer than a combination of loin-cloth and a first class ticket which has to be untied from a knot in it.

But all this that has found access to Printing House Square is the most ardent nationalism compared to the performance of our incomparable Cornelia in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Her contribution to the latter takes the title and form of "A Hindu Guru's Views of the Political Situation in India". This *alter ego* of the writer, Father of Falsehoods whom she miscalls "the Truth-Named", is said to be of all her Guru friends in India "most like King's

Lama," and this Kipling in a *sari* sets down what the Guru is supposed to have said in the archaic conversational style affected by Kipling in his Indian stories but without any of his humour, worldly wisdom or vigour of thought and expression. Miss Sorabji's knowledge of the vernaculars is sufficiently testified to by her translating a "gossip" as "*bat*", which may or may not be the Anglo-Indian's Hindustani and by her spelling it as "*baq*," which not even an Anglo-Indian would perpetrate. Her "Truth-Named" Father of Falsehoods supposed to visit this lover of India's old Rishis and her ancient ideals and traditions, who is, however, fittingly called by him "Miss Sahib", not of course because she is a "Sorabji," but because "Cornelia" predominates in her psychology and surroundings. He repeats to her a conversation in which a Bengali youth and a Kabuli are the principal speakers, and a Mahajan and a Mussalman from Delhi walk the boards. It may or may not please the Maiwaras of Calcutta to know that Deep Lal the Mahajan is a gambler and a coward, but it will certainly not please the Kabulis that according to Miss Sorabji's Bawaji "they are not clean folk"—though it is not clear whether this refers to their heart, their habits or their habiliments—and Kasim Mia from Delhi—Dacca would be more appropriate—does not seem to be a credit to the new capital of India if he is a "rogue" and "cats *dustoori* over the selling of a shoe"—whatever offence that may be under the Penal or any other Code for the time being in force in Miss Sorabji's India.

Well, the young Bengali whom the Bawaji calls "the foolish Bag-of-wind," a title which he shares with the "Dundee Wind-bag" of the *Natural River*, otherwise the Right Hon Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Navy comes to the Bawaji and boasts that "after all your preaching, we have done the impossible", which is subsequently explained by the remark "we have made them afraid—the *Sahib log*." A further explanation is supplied by the Bengali student in this wise "What say you to this? Always and always we have heard, *Touch the women of the English, and you touch that which is held sacred*—you will suffer. "Three months ago one of our brave liberators killed two women of the English (I tell you, Gungu, with bombs, a fearful death) What has happened? Nothing, trials, appeals. . . *They are afraid*." To this the "unclean" Kabuli replies "Oh down-country fools, all this while you have sat in comfort under the British umbrella, why you now want to creep forth from that shelter God knows, but it is for this very moment that we men of the North have waited. What care we for your quarrel? The hour will be ours. Eh? but, the years of peace have been dull years enough, and glad men will they be who come over the Border swiftly, surely, shall we come on fleet horses, and we will stoop and take and ride away laughing as a Kabuli should, knife at belt. We will stoop and take—women perhaps, who knows? They are now better worth the taking than of old. And we will stoop and take money bags, full well know we that these be worth the taking, eh? Mahajan Sahib."

The Bawaji then informs "Miss Sahibji" that when "the *bag* (gossip) went to talk of war, 'the Bengali's air bag was letting out wind, 'as he knew, when he moved on, and Deep Lal crept upstairs, asd we 'hearted as if a Bengali banker had made him bankrupt" and that "next morning he went not to bet at the Silver Market, and by 'now his money is safely buried in some far place where the Kabuli 'will not find it, when the second great war has come upon us."

Now the hope that when the British umbrella is closed, or blown away in the storm, or torn to tatters by the showers of hail, the hour will be the Kabuli's, may possibly flatter some Mohammedans' sense of their military prowess a good deal. But even if the tremendous accusation against British Rule that it has unsexed one fifth of the entire male population of the world be accepted as just, does Miss Sorabji think so poorly of the effect of British Rule on our brains that we shall tamely submit to an eternity of misrule and anarchy in which Kabulis, far more demoralised than ever before in history, would be permitted to come on fleet horses, stoop and take our wealth and our women, and ride away laughing, as not even a Kabuli should, even though, thanks to 'the Arms Act', he should be the only one "knife at belt"? Even Miss Cornelia Sorabji does not suppose that the British would leave India unless they are driven out of it, whenever that remote contingency occurs. In that case, is it not a shameful reflection on the puissance of the British that India should not be strong enough to keep out the Kabulis who come on fleet horses when it has shown its strength by forcing the British to take to their fleetest ships? This threat of the Kabulis is if we may borrow Miss Sorabji's phrase, age-old, and we had hoped that all sensible persons had discarded all ideas of using it in these days when nothing is more certain than this, that no nation can rule over another for long except with its acquiescence, and surely Miss Sorabji does not think so poorly of Indians as to believe that they would prefer the roughs of the Border to her British patrons.

But the threat of the Kabulis is nothing compared to the question which Miss Sorabji's Bawaji asks of the "Miss Sahib" and the advice that he offers through her to the British. He asks her.

"Are the present English not like the *Asli* (former) English, not like 'my English, Miss Sahib?' and tells her that his English were "John Nikensen and the giants of his time," and why he asks the question is "because were my English now in the country there would 'be legs and arms lying about, and villages burnt." In the following extracts is summed up the advice of the Guru and, of course, of Miss Cornelia Sorabji—

And my advice is—Consider the past. How would the old rulers of the people have acted in these circumstances? John Nikensen knew. There would have been legs and arms lying about, and villages burnt. That Miss Sahibji is the language understood in the country. That is Hindustani Justice, Law Courts? What connexion have Law Courts with justice, or with crime? What effect as punishment? See, how even that Bengali student who should have understood (are not Bengalis *H. A. and M. I.* people?), see how he boasted. The deed was done look you the women killed, *get* the murderer was alive to defend himself and even to make appeals. The people cannot understand that. In some way or other then, to kill must have been right is what they will argue. If I were the big Lord Sahib I would let the *Sayer Log* at the Fort who wear the Nautch girls' skirts and make songs out of a skin water-bag (he meant the Gordon Highlanders) I would let them settle the question. What matter how you could punish the soldiers afterwards, after the fight had helped to rid the Hindustani people of the harm done by the agitators and bomb-throwers and talkers. *De shaq* (without doubt) so would I do were I the big Lord Sahib, he concluded.

Then again. The language is all wrong, always. If you will not fight why not *curse*? Cannot the English people's priest curse, Miss Sahib? Why not let all the priest folk of the English wear then priests' clothes and walk through the city cursing—the priest folk and the Lord Padri Sahib, cursing, and cursing, and cursing and saying no other word? Have you not some ceremony of cursing in the Christian religion cannot that at least be done? If men who are soldiers will not fight?

Yes the language of English justice is wrong for our country, he continued, all wrong. For children and grown up people there should be different ways of justice. All the ways of the English are wrong. Hindustani Courts had a simpler way. God and Fate made judgement not man. *Phen* not *men* taking and taking is to blind the other men who listen. Ordeal by the fire, ordeal by the animal, ordeal by some device invented by the Guru, this was the Hindustani way, and it entered as men countering still it was God's decision, and He could make good in the life that was to follow, in rebirth.

On my *Asli* English knew all these things. They acted in it and talked all sorts. For every life taken, only asked me one life but many lives. They spoke and it was done. What they willed that was justice. . . Only one way is there for the Brahmin People.

We have no doubt that some of our readers must have been wondering why we had adopted such a harsh tone throughout the article against the writer of the *Time* letter and the author of Bawaji the Guru, particularly when it happens to be a woman. None we trust will now feel surprised any more at our tone and temper. Here is an Indian, a Christian, and a woman who preaches not only the unpatience but the un-Christian and unwomanly sermon that Courts of Justice are of no use in India, that her rulers should act first and talk afterwards, that what they willed should be considered justice, that for every life taken not one life should be taken but many, that the Indian people cannot understand what justice means, so to kill is right, and that the gallant regiment of the Gordon Highlanders which has a famous record of frontier fighting should be let out on the entire population of a peaceful enough town to slaughter, perhaps to ravish, and sully its record even more than the Nautch girls to whose skirts its kilts are likened, that legs and arms should be about and peaceful villages burnt down. And to make her appeal to the worst passions of mankind, she refers not to any recent outrage, but of the very first in which two English women were killed through mistaken identity, and tries to inflame the men by attributing to the English a tradition, as if it was something peculiar to them, and not common to all self-respecting races that their women were inviolable. In our time we have read many fearful things in the Anglo-Indian Press, but nothing so shameful and vile, nothing so wicked and degrading as this woman has unblushingly sent to a Review which we never expected to publish such incitements to violence and, in fact, massacre. Had the writer been a man we know what treatment we would have recommended for her, but although our views on woman's suffrage are not the same as hers, we have "made allowances" for this "superior" being. There is no reason why this new goddess of destruction should not be exposed to the gaze of Government in the Legislative Council and a question asked why the Review that has published such vile stuff as this should not be proscribed under the Press Act and the writer prosecuted for instigating a general massacre and exciting hatred between the Indian and European sections of His Majesty's subject. This is the least that she deserves and we ask Government not to deny her her deserts. She has tried amply enough the sweet uses of flattery, but in her greed she has gone much too far and it was time that the law which she studied at Oxford, but all respect for which she seems to have lost in the long interval, taught her to abate her "loyal" fervour. This was not perhaps the kind of worship that the new Kali of Calcutta expected. But she is going to get it all the same and a good deal of it. *De shaq*!

Ghasita : a Badmash.

IV—Murder, most foul.

WHEN Ghasita awoke after his exciting experiences of the previous night, he was not slow in noticing a marked alteration in the demeanour of his host, the Sonar Manphul, however averse he might be to having an escaped convict as a lodger, had managed to conceal his feelings in that respect so far, but now evinced a wonderful eagerness to be rid of his dangerous guest. Tidings of the dacoity at the railway station, and the murder of the 'luckless' pointsman, had, with the proverbial celerity of bad news, travelled quickly to Tajgunj, and when calling at the Thana on his way to the city, the Sonar at once detected a decided coolness in the greeting accorded him by the Station Officer. It was one thing to ignore the ordinary peccadilloes of a man belonging to a caste commonly suspected of acting as receivers of stolen property, but a much more serious business when it came to harbouring a notorious desperado. The women-folk of the house, attacked by Ghasita and his companions, had taken careful note—despite their apparent attitude of helpless panic—of the appearance of the dacoits—their height, features, manner of dress and speech, in fact the *tout ensemble* of their ruffianly assailants. The descriptions given may not have been very accurate in every detail, still were sufficient to lead the investigating officer to suspect that Ghasita was present on the occasion and must, in all probability, have fired the fatal shot which was responsible for the death of the Jemadar—as a pointsman is called in railway parlance. The audacity shown in committing a dacoity so close to the police lines, and within a hail of the railway cantonment station pointed to its being the work of somebody with little fear of consequences or dread of the authorities, and the character of Ghasita for reckless daring was becoming well established. His past history had been unearthed and made known to the Agra Police—the mysterious theft of a rifle from the trolley of the Permanent Way Inspector (already related in a former story), and sundry rumours arriving from there concerning the murder of the Rajgung constable—all served to connect our hero with those incidents.

The Phansidar remarked to Manphul that it always willing to assist at a house search in the guise of the respectable witness, he might not be equally eager to be present with his own abode subjected to a similar ordeal. Altogether the Sonar returned home fully determined to be freed at all costs from the noxious presence of the unwelcome stranger, though puzzled how to convey his wishes to the person in question. He interviewed Ghasita and purposely exaggerated the hue and cry being made for the perpetrators of the dacoity. Confident that he had left no clue to his whereabouts—even were his identity with the leader of the gang and the man who fired the deadly shot suspected—it took some little time ere Manphul could impress Ghasita with the gravity of the situation and the likelihood of an approaching domiciliary visit from the police that would result in his capture. What vexed the Kach more than any thoughts of impending arrest was the loss of nearly half his pack of Winchester cartridges, which had got split in his hurried flight from the scene of the crime to the spot where the gharry had waited for him and his pals.

He certainly had the revolver taken from his Kanjar allies, but that weapon was of ancient design—not guaranteed to shoot straight if it went off at all.

The Sonar took advantage of that misfortune to advise Ghasita to visit a Deputy Collector who had in his friends of the Mamoon of Unrighteousness and who was well known to let a criminal help to a criminal on the clear understanding that such services would be duly paid for. As a matter of fact, Manphul never imagined that the "Dipty Sahib" would either furnish Ghasita with a fresh supply of ball ammunition or put him in the way of procuring that article. Lax as he might be when seated in the Court, fear of after revelations would surely deter him from aiding a criminal for whose seizure a reward was offered and in search of whom the whole of the Agra Police was becoming interested. He presumably would continue to detain the dacoit under pretext of sending for his cartridges, and, instead of those missiles, summon a posse of constables to take Ghasita into custody. The Sonar happened to have a grudge of his own against this Deputy Collector for having recently deposed in favour of a personal enemy of Manphul's, and revenge for such conduct would be sweet. Think of the *balamshi* incurred when gossip spreads news in the city bazars of the "Dipty Sahib" being visited by an escaped convict at night! The hostile comments were bound to arise when it was known that Ghasita had actually entered the private house of a Magistrate as if he was on intimate terms with that official! Manphul hoped to get out of his released from his Old Man of the Sea—for he was as anxious to be freed from the presence of Ghasita as was Sindab of the individual alluded to—and, at the same time, to attach odium to the Magistrate, no matter how devoid of truth might be the stories told about the latter on this occasion.

Accordingly he did his best to win over Ghasita—who at first bluntly refused to go into the city yet awhile, far less to call on a

public servant—and after a long effort persuaded the dacoit to adopt his advice and lose no time in replenishing his stock of cartridges. Always prepared to act on the impulse of the moment, Ghasita announced his intention of looking up the Deputy that very night, as soon as it would be safe for him to stir abroad. Thanks to the clear information given by the Sonar, he felt sure there would be little difficulty in finding the house he wanted, still—on thinking matters over—Ghasita resolved to have a comrade on the trip: somebody to lead him to the place by the shortest and least frequented route, for a man credited with a couple of murders, a dacoity, and an escape from Jail was desirous of shunning all publicity in his movements. Manphul was at a loss where to find a guide of the right stamp, till he remembered a young Mahomedan, a great gambler, who would gladly perform a light job in return for a rupee or so to stake at his favourite gambling den. All necessary preliminaries settled, Ghasita lay down for a short sleep, bidding the Sonar call him when darkness set in—and have a decent evening meal ready for his benefit before setting forth on his perilous expedition. Not caring to trust his safety to the dubious protection of an old revolver, Ghasita borrowed a couple of thick blankets from his host, which he meant to wrap round his person in a manner to keep out the cold night air—it was the end of November—and also to conceal his beloved rifle from view. His nature partook more of the brute than of the man with brains, so he never suspected that Manphul was enticing him into a trap, but roughly thanked that worthy for giving him information as to replacing the cartridges he had dropped the preceding night. The sentry on duty at Tajgunj station had barely finished striking eleven o'clock on the gong used for that purpose, when Ghasita met his guide—Nurz Ali a city *badmash* of a type familiar in the streets of Agra and Lucknow—who made no objections to leading him to the house tenanted by the Deputy Collector, and had little idea of the character of his companion. The latter muffled up in his blanket covering showed small desire to enter into conversation *en route*, so the gambler walked quietly along the road leading past the Fort and into the Tipooda Bazar, humming to a love ditty learnt among the trail sisterhood of the city, and only keen to get his task finished; payment for the same handed to him; and a rapid journey to the nearest resort of fellow workers of Dame Fortune. The "Dipty" resided in one of the long narrow lanes (*gullies*) which lead up from the riverside to the heart of that portion of Agra city. His house was one of many like forbidding structures, whose wide expanse of a black wall built of thin narrow bricks that date the age of an Indian empire, since they are no longer manufactured, a feeble glimmer of light perceptible in an upper room and whose doors seem to repel any possible visitor, places that have the air of being mystery, if they do not actually hide secrets in their inner recesses.

Ghasita had begun to fumble in his *dhoti* for a cartridge to load the Winchester—for he was not a person to run risk unduly, and had long ago sworn to resist any attempt at arrest to the utmost—when the sound of a gong striking the hour of midnight gave him a start, the noise coming from the immediate vicinity. Thoughts of treachery on the part of the Sonar entered his mind for the first time, but the other man reassured him by saying that it was only the *phauwallah* at the little Police Outpost of Chata, on the bank of the Jumna, striking the hour. Another unpleasant surprise was in store for him and his companion. Gung up the lane, on whose brick pavement their naked feet made scarcely any sound, they perceived a lamp-post at the top of the narrow path and beyond it—so Nurz Ali whispered—was the house of the Deputy Collector. That personage had, like many others of the same class, several friends belonging to the Mutual Benefit Society (known otherwise as the Municipal Board), and had suggested the advisability of erecting a lamp-post just outside his abode. He had besides persuaded the City Kewal—an other firm associate of his—to depute a constable for nightly watch and ward at the house, lest out-does or rioters come to disturb the repose of a huddled Government servant. The policeman detailed for this duty on the night in question happened to be a Sikh: illiterate, but anxious to perform his work correctly. The outpost was to be inspected by the Assistant Superintendent next day, and the men had been learning by heart the descriptive rolls of all proclaimed, or absconding offenders in the circle, one of the points sure to be taken up by the officer referred to when examining the constables of the different beats. The Sikh had tried his best to learn the distinctive features of several *badmashes* on the list, more especially those of Ghasita, since it was very probable that that person would form a subject of inquiry. With the solid perseverance of his race, he was going over the rapid data "short stature, stout build, broad nose, small eyes, sallow complexion, etc.," in order to be well posted in the matter when the time for examination came. He was seated—for a waste of superfluous energy in patrolling was not recognised, and his real work was to guard the house of the "Dipty Sahib"—in a dark doorway, half asleep, half awake, but repeating his lesson in mechanical fashion. Suddenly some sub-conscious influence—one of the strange notions

that physiologists and professors of animal magnetism endeavour to explain—caused the constable to look up, when, to his astonishment, he saw by the light of the street lamp, a living representation of the person whose personal characteristics he was striving to commit to memory. Not cursed with nerves or imaginative powers, the bucolic son of the Khalsa sprang to his feet, shouted: "Who comes there," as nearly as he could render that military watchword, and running forward when no answer was returned to his challenge, seized Niaz Ali firmly round the waist. Ghasita had shrunk back from the light, and was taking his rifle out from beneath the folds of his blanket. Although puzzled to find another person in his clutches than the one he had just seen, the constable manfully held on to the struggling Mahomedan, shouting lustily the meanwhile for help. He cried out *Ghasita agya*, to bring help all the faster, fully convinced that the convict was close by. In a minute any doubts he might have experienced on that point were set at rest by Ghasita stepping to the front and bidding him at once release his captive or take the consequences of refusal. What these were, the sight of the rifle pointed at him from a few paces distance plainly told, yet the gallant Sikh declined to obey the order and only called all the louder for help. No time was to be lost if they wanted to avoid arrest, so Ghasita pulled the trigger and added a third murder to his two previous crimes of the same description. The poor constable sank to the ground mortally wounded, while Niaz Ali and the murderer swiftly ran down the lane in an opposite direction from whence they had come, hoping to reach the Fort road by traversing the net-work of small streets surrounding the Tripolia bazar and environs, certain to be empty of people at that late hour. The sound of the shot, more than the cries of the constable, had aroused the Police at Chitra Outpost, and soon they came running to the scene of the fatal deed. Nothing could be done for their dead comrade, beyond recording the time and place of his death and such details as might occur to the inventive genius of a skilful *Mohurni*, due to a being left on their having heard the cry "Ghasita has come" when hastening in response to the shouts of the Sikh. Meanwhile, the fugitives made for the railway bridge across the Jumna as a new place of refuge, and halted in the deep shade of one of the massive buttresses at the first alarm should have died down. They were a good way from Chitra Outpost by this time and not apprehensive of immediate pursuit. Niaz Ali regretted having acted as guide to a man like Ghasita, thus led to shed blood on the shortest notice and, apparently, without any remorse for having committed so terrible a crime. Gambling and minor offences against the Law he did not mind, but this night's work was too dangerous to have attractions for a *butcher* of his type. Accordingly he walked moodily beside Ghasita when they deemed it wise to proceed back to Taigun, going along the lonely road, bordered on one side by numerous wickets which lead to that suburb from the old Fort. Arrived at the dwelling of Munphul, the door of which was opened for them by the Sonar in person, Niaz Ali blurted out information of what had occurred and then hurried off to his own home, to vainly try and fancy the events of the last two hours a horrid nightmare, a painful dream, rather than a real drama in which he had played a part, albeit only that of a "super".

Frightened for his own safety, Munphul plucked up sufficient courage to tell Ghasita that it was impossible for him to be sheltered there any longer, since the Police were certain to search the house next day on hearing of this fresh crime. He had no great objection to harbouring an ordinary breaker of the Law, but to commit murder two nights in succession was to him a modern slang term—a "bit too thick". At last such was the opinion of the Sonar. Ghasita realised the force of some part of his arguments, so bade an *ekka* be sent for at dawn to take him to the Cantonment station as he meant journeying back to Suran and Bhurpore territory. Too delighted at getting rid of the incubus of his divided guest, Munphul agreed to keep the Winchester rifle in safe hiding place till Ghasita should send for that weapon; the latter resolving to travel light for the present, only armed with his old revolver and a dagger. He had no intention of visiting Sojan, but was anxious to throw dust in the eyes of the Sonar, convinced that under police pressure the latter was likely to tell the truth in order to save himself from a possible trouble in the case. He meant in reality to spend the Diwali festival—then close at hand—in Goherdhan, a famous pilgrim resort in Muttra district and within easy distance of the eastern boundary of Bhurpore, should circumstances render it necessary for him to pass outside British jurisdiction for a season. Furnished with a suit of old clothes by his host, Ghasita calmly drove down to the railway station, regardless of any fear of detection by members of the station staff who had turned out when the house of the Assistant Station Master was broken into by him and his gang. He espied Nasibun squatted on the platform with her basket of fresh fruit, but thought it more prudent to affect ignorance of her presence there. He managed, however, to let her know his destination by purposely dropping his ticket

for Muttra near where she sat, and in picking it up remarked, in casual fashion, that he was proceeding to Goherdhan but would spend that day in the city sacred to memories of Krishna, most popular of the many avatars of great Vishnu. Nasibun was quick-witted enough to take the hint, and when his train was about to start, she passed along the carriages, stopping for a moment at that where Ghasita was comfortably ensconced to utter the brief sentences—"this evening—the Waiting Hall" (*musafir-khana*)—in as careless a tone as she employed in praising the excellence of her stalks of sugar cane and other articles of the fruit and vegetable world. The person for whom the words were spoken perfectly understood what the speaker meant to convey, and when the afternoon train from Agra steamed alongside the Muttra platform a sturdy individual, clad like a man of the lower castes, might have been noticed receiving a young woman from a third class compartment, and so shortly afterwards jogging along with her in *ekka* on their way to holy Goherdhan, some sixteen miles out of Muttra. When the Police Circle Inspectors, Kotwal, and the officers in charge of all Thanas within municipal limits were gathered in a solemn conclave discussing the late crimes and evolving schemes for tracking down Ghasita—now universally supposed to be the leader in these deeds of murder and house breaking—that personage and his *belle amie* were enjoying a hearty supper in the *serai* of Aring, a halting place for travellers between Muttra and Goherdhan.

A. N. G.



The Council of India Bill.

Debate in the House of Lords.

The debate was opened on Earl Curzon's amendment to the second reading of the Council of India Bill—namely, that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Lord Amphill urged that the proper course, in all the circumstances, was to refer the Bill back to the India Office, and that would be the effect if the amendment were carried, until such time as public and official opinion was so far matured that they could form a better and more accurate judgment of what the measure would do and what its effect was likely to be. He asserted, with some caution, that if the House returned a second reading to the Bill they would not seriously displease anybody. On the contrary, such a course would greatly relieve the minds of some of those who were then supporters of the Bill. A big mistake had been made, and it would be far better for all concerned to make a fresh start in a better way and at a better and more convenient time.

In supporting the amendment he was not endeavouring to set aside the questions which the Bill raised. It was very anxious that these questions should be fully and fairly considered in Parliament, and he earnestly hoped that the Marquess of Lansdowne would see his way to declaring, on behalf of the Unionist Party, that the question of improving the machinery of Indian administration would receive careful attention as soon as the present national crisis was over. All of them recognized that improvement was possible in many respects besides those with which the Bill was concerned. They were all agreed that it was fair and right that the Council of India should contain Indian members, and none would object to seeing that object by statute. They most of all wished that members of the Council should be men of independent judgment instead of dependent creatures of a Secretary of State, and that they should have full opportunity of bringing their opinions to bear. It was just for that reason that they did not like the reactionary and autocratic provisions of the Bill. Their lordships might have noticed a telegram the other day from the Bombay Correspondent of *The Times*. He could not vouch for the accuracy of judgment of *The Times* Correspondent, but the impression was that he was a reliable person, and the information he gave had been corroborated independently in the Indian newspapers. The Correspondent said: "For a series of recent proceedings in Parliament which have been telegraphed over here in letter an extraordinary misapprehension as to the nature of the opposition to the India Council Bill. Nothing is further from the truth than the impression that the opposition mainly comes from Anglo-Indians. The most vehement critics of the Bill, especially of the clauses reducing the collective importance of the Council, are the organs of the Indian Press. Thus the *Bombay Chronicle*, an authoritative exponent of Congress opinion, hopes that Lord Curzon will press the motion for the rejection of the Bill. It says that Lord Curzon's ignorance of the present and prospective position of the Secretary of State is amazing, and that the proposed delegation of powers is dangerous. It concludes that it would be better to withdraw the Bill than to send it to a Select Committee." So much for the noble lord's remarks about feeling in India. Opinion in that country would not be disappointed if the Bill was not passed. The threat of

a recrudescence of unrest came from Lord Courtney, and not from the members of the delegation to this country.

POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS.

The Bill provided that the Council should consist of not less than seven and not more than ten members, and required that six of them should require certain qualifications of domicile or service, while the seventh would probably be a financier. No qualification was required in the case of the remaining members, so that the Secretary of State might appoint any person he pleased. That was a dangerous power to place in the hands of any Secretary of State. Human nature being what it was, and party government what it had become, the people appointed to these posts would either be personal friends of the Secretary of State or else troublesome political supporters of the Government. When the present Government wanted a post for a member of the House of Commons who had lost his seat they created an appointment at the India Office, and they could well imagine what kind of appointments would be made in future. The Council of India ought not to be capable of being used for the exercise of party patronage in this country. There was a general opinion that the scheme revolutionized the whole conception of the Council, converting it more or less from an advisory to an administrative body. The result would be the establishment of that Departmental tyranny which was the inevitable tendency of officialism, and which in India ought at all costs to be avoided. The Bill would imperil the power and prestige of the Viceroy, and there would be a demand all through India that an elective system should be introduced into the Viceroy's Council and other councils. With politicians instead of administrators at the India Office, and with a Secretary of State exercising practically autocratic powers, whether he were a strong man or a weak man it would not be possible to avoid perpetual friction between the Government of India and the India Office between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Legislation would be initiated without consulting local opinion in India, patronage would be exercised under the pressure of political parties in this country. In short, India would be governed from Whitehall instead of being governed in India, and nothing was more likely to check the aspirations of those classes in India whose aspirations they had encouraged. He submitted that this was not a time when they could fairly consider the questions raised by the Bill. They ought to get over their own difficulties in Parliament and the country before raising new difficulties in India. The British Constitution ought to be restored before any attempt was made to pull down and reconstruct the Constitution of India. He only contended for a reasonable postponement and would be content were the Secretary of State to withdraw his Bill on the understanding that the Opposition would give careful consideration to a better measure when all those who had a right to be consulted would have been consulted and would have made their opinions known. (Hear, hear.)

Speech by Lord Morley.

EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED CHANGES.

Viscount Morley.—The noble lord has not really mastered the conditions with which the Bill proposes to deal nor the way in which it proposes to deal with them. He is apparently curiously ignorant of the conditions under which the Secretary of State holds his office. He predicts that immense friction is sure to follow, from the passage of the measure, in the relations between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, but we have heard of friction between them before this Bill, and there is no possibility that the changes now proposed will in the least degree or in any way affect the relations between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. The noble lord presses for two views of the Government of India. I would point out to him that the Bill does not directly concern the Government of India. It is a Bill for regulating the constitution, the business, and the procedure of the Secretary of State at Whitehall, and the Government of India is not directly or even indirectly concerned in that.

Lord Ampthill.—Does the noble viscount contend that the Government of India is not concerned in these legislative councils which are asked to elect members?

Viscount Morley.—All I can say is that if there has been an important change in the constitution of the Council of India it is the change made by myself, namely, the introduction of two Indian gentlemen into the Council of the Secretary of State, that change was made. I will not say without consultation with Lord Minto, but independently of the judgment of the Government of India. To give the Government of India authority over the constitution and procedure of the Council at Whitehall, which was created to control the Government of India, would be contrary to the Act of 1858, which places the Government of India under the control of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. That does not mean that a Secretary of State would not be careful to correspond with the Governor-General and ascertain his views, but that is private correspondence in my judgment and experience. The noble lord spoke of

this Bill as revolutionizing our conceptions of this and that. I do not know what he means by revolutionizing conceptions, and the Bill has nothing to do with that. The noble lord has asserted that we are promoting this Bill to serve the purposes of party passion.

Lord Ampthill.—I did not say that was the object and design, but I said that would be the effect.

Viscount Morley.—The noble lord surely assumes that we are not so blind and foolish as to forget what will be the effect of the Bill.

Lord Ampthill.—I was very careful to explain that I was quoting the opinion of others, particularly of critics in India.

Viscount Morley.—It is rather dangerous for a member of this House to quote opinions which may be those of other people. The noble lord said he had sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India, but this was not the time to introduce this Bill. The time will never come. If the noble lord is waiting until this House and the other House are entirely agreed on everything and have nothing else to do but attend to the Council of the Secretary of State for India he is like the rustic waiting on the edge of the stream until the water has flown by, it will never flow by. Suppose the Irish questions were settled next week, does the noble lord think there is nothing else to do? It is a futile position to take up.

APPEAL FOR MAGNANIMOUS TREATMENT.

Here is a demand from some portions of India, and the Secretary of State after two years' deliberation, has devised a plan and framed a Bill for meeting those aspirations. Surely we had better deal with the situation as it exists to day without waiting for some millennial period when there is nothing else to do except pass an Indian Council Bill. The noble earl (Lord Curzon) took a severe and uncompromising line in regard to the Bill, and I cannot but contrast the tone of the noble earl on this occasion with that of the Marquess of Lansdowne and the noble earl in regard to the measures of far-reaching importance which it was my fortune to introduce a few years ago. No measures could have received more considerate treatment than those measures received from noble lords opposite, and it was owing to that support that we were able to carry out proposals which events have justified. This Bill is carrying out, rightly or wrongly, the policy which was started then, and I wish the noble earl could have consented to treat this Bill with the same show of magnanimity which he showed towards proposals which were of much more revolutionary effect in my measures. He used language in regard to this Bill which in calmer moments I am sure he will feel was not justified. He said the Bill violates the Constitution, dethrones the Council at Whitehall, and revolutionizes sound principles. It really does something to put the Secretary of State for India in the same position as any other Secretary of State. It does not materially alter his position in relation to the Council.

"AN ENLIGHTENED DESPOT."

The noble earl has misconceived the scope and purport of the Bill. He says it is a grab at power. Viscount Morley was understood to say that when Earl Curzon was Viceroy of India he claimed, he would not say excessive or illegitimate power but still he claimed that which in the case of the Marquess of Crewe he now described as arbitrary power.

Earl Curzon.—During the seven years I was in India I neither initiated nor carried through any policy of any importance without the knowledge, consent, and approval of my Council. I never overruled them on a single occasion. I employed and was proud to enjoy their co-operation, but I am not certain, since the noble viscount has raised the issue, whether he can quite say the same thing about his own career at the India Office, where he is well known to have been one of the greatest, though I have no doubt one of the most enlightened despots that Office has ever seen.

Viscount Morley.—With respect to the description which the noble earl has given respecting my career at the India Office, I may say that most of the members of my Council have happily survived and I can confidently appeal to them, individually or collectively, as to whether there was anything that could fairly be called despotism or anything approaching despotism. (Hear, hear.)

MR. MONTAGU'S POSITION.

It has been said repeatedly as a matter of reproach to Mr. Montagu that he went to India, and on the strength of having been in India for some months he presumed to dictate or inspire the schemes of India Office readjustment. As a matter of fact the scheme of the Bill is not Mr. Montagu's scheme. It used to be a standing reproach to me that I had never been to India. I do not believe it would have done any good if I had, and I am not pretending that Mr. Montagu is better—I do not know whether he is or not—for having been there. I do not say that he would be more unfitted to arrive at opinions on the strength of six months' or three months' visit to India than would the noble earl to talk about the interior administration of the India Office after the period to which he referred, which was much shorter than Mr. Montagu's period in India. I should, however, like to say that there seem to me few abler men than I know of than Mr. Montagu.

Will the House pardon me if I tell them what goes on in the India Council? A paper arrives from India. It is sent to the Department at once. The Department minutes it and it then goes to the Under-Secretary, who transmits it to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State sends it to a committee, and if there is money in it he sends it to the Finance Committee as well. Then it goes back from the committee to the Under-Secretary; and the Under-Secretary sends it to the Secretary of State, who marks it for Council. At the next meeting the Council consider it or it lies on the table for a week. There may be such a thing as possible obstruction even in the India Council, and if any particular member of the Council should feel dissatisfied with the line taken by his colleagues, he could move and almost insist upon it being referred back to India and on the return of the matter from India the whole of that process is repeated.

Viscount Midleton.—Is there any one of these processes except sending it to Council which the Secretary of State cannot put an end to by a stroke of the pen?

Viscount Morley.—I think not. The whole process under the most favourable conditions takes the best part or the whole of a month. The new plan is that instead of going to a committee a paper has to go to a member of the Council, or if money is concerned to two members of the Council. A single member reports to the Secretary of State—and the House must remember that all these questions have already been threshed out in India. The noble earl has given a perfect travesty of what goes on in the Council. I have attended scores of meetings of the Council, and I will never speak at any time of that Council without the language of respect and gratitude. In spite of my despotism (laughter) we always got on with perfect goodwill and commonsense. But it is not to be denied that a meeting of the Council is not what the noble earl supposes, a great deliberative assembly. It is in nine cases out of 10 not very much more than a formality.

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE.

The suggestion that the Council is being changed from an advisory to an administrative body when closely examined is really in the nature of moonshine. The noble earl says that you are going under the new system to appoint men who have had no administrative experience. He insists, on the one hand, that the Council must be an advisory body and nothing else, and yet he insists, on the other hand, that the members chosen will be less well chosen if they have not had administrative experience. My point is that you might improve the India Council by introducing men who have not had administrative experience.

Earl Curzon.—My remark was exclusively confined to Indians.

Viscount Morley.—Even then the principle on which I myself acted when I was concerned with administration was that whenever you wanted fresh light on subjects considered by the Council you must not regard administrative experience solely.

I come to the point raised by Lord Amphill as to the expediency of going on with the Bill. It is quite true that the noble earl opposite read some telegrams from Chambers of Commerce and other bodies of authority and repulse hostile to the Bill. It is quite true that you will find in the Press, vernacular and otherwise, expressions of Indians adverse to the Bill. But that makes the very case for examining and looking into it, for considering the system, and not for taking so precipitate—I think precipitation without parallel—a step as throwing the Bill out. I do urge upon the House that to do this in the face of India—it does not matter to you, but it does matter there—and in the face of the expectations that have, rightly or wrongly, been aroused, would be, I do not think I use exaggerated language, something like a disaster, and certainly a grave blunder.

"AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF INDIA"

Earl Roberts expressed entire accord with the views of Lord Curzon and of the other noble lords who had taken part in the debate and were intimately acquainted with India. To reduce the number of the members of Council would, in his opinion, be detrimental to the interests of India, especially if, as pointed out by Lord Curzon, only two of these would be likely to belong to the Indian Civil Service, and, as he understood was to be the case, the two native members were always to be included in the Council. He was not opposed to native members, on the contrary, he thought their presence on the Council was most desirable, but then the Council should always consist of more than seven members, and the native members should be true representatives of the various classes in India, men selected, after careful inquiry by the Viceroy, and not forced upon him by what Lord Curzon had described as "quasi-Parliamentary bodies." It would be dangerous, he thought, to appoint what he might call young civilians to the Council. They could not have the lengthened experience of India which was so desirable.

The proposal to give the Secretary of State power to communicate secretly on all points with India was also, he thought, against the interests of India and unfair to the members of the Council. He

could not imagine any worthy of the position being willing to become a member of the Council under such a condition. A Council constituted as now proposed would make the Secretary of State absolutely despotic. He would become more of an autocrat than he was at present, and that would be injurious both to the authority of the Viceroy and to the interests of India.

Lord Islington thought the step which Lord Curzon invited the House to take was an extreme one in regard to a measure of this kind and at this stage of its progress. He suggested that all the objections which had been raised by noble lords opposite could be dealt with quite effectively if the House were allowed to consider the Bill in Committee.

Lord Sydenham said that they did not know at present on what authority the Bill rested. Some of its provisions seemed to have been drawn up by somebody without any real knowledge of India. Many years must elapse before the electoral principle could become thoroughly acclimatized to the soil of India where all the traditions of the past were absolutely opposed to it. The Bill gave no idea of how elections were to be carried out, who would be eligible, or how large the panel was to be. The proposal would be peculiarly distasteful to the princes and chiefs of India, who had not the least belief in electoral methods and would never dream of employing them in the selection of their councillors. He regarded the scheme as vicious in principle and dangerous in practice. The existing powers of the Secretary of State, already very large, would be increased and the Government in India would be correspondingly weakened at a time when it was essential that it should be strengthened. He suggested to the Leader of the House that a small independent body should be appointed to inquire into the whole question of Indian administration, and contended that this was not the time to yield to the demands of a small section of a vast population. He thought that we had ignored too much the opinions of those who best knew and best loved India. Because he believed that the Bill would naturally lead to a further weakening of the foundations of our rule he felt bound to support the motion for the rejection.

Lord Reay said that the fact that the Secretary of State was responsible to Parliament had been to a large extent overlooked during the debate. The Bill was needed to secure efficiency, and to expedite business at the India Office. It did not involve constitutional change, and it did not increase the powers of the Secretary of State or alter the character of the Council. He had not heard a single argument which justified the rejection of the Bill.

Lord Faber said he was a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance, and as there were good features in the Bill he would be sorry if it were rejected on second reading. The Royal Commission found that in dealing with finance the Council was subject to dreadful delays, which were injurious to India, and the Commission expressed the view that they would welcome any change, whether requiring legislative sanction or not, which would simplify the procedure in regard to finance and avoid the delays in determining financial questions. In some respects Clause 1 of the Bill met these defects. The Bill also carried out a recommendation of the Royal Commission in taking power to appoint as a member of the Council an expert in the London money market.

Lord Icheape thought the work of India Office compared very favourably with the work of any of the great public offices in this country, but the arrangements made half a century ago were capable of improvement. He did not agree with some of the proposals in the Bill, but he appealed to Earl Curzon to give it a second reading in view of the fact that he agreed with many of its provisions.

Lord Harris said the proposals of the Bill were far-reaching and drastic—they were the direct antitheses of the 1858 Bill and in contradiction to the policy of Viscount Morley when he was in office. Viscount Morley had expressed himself in favour of greater celerity in the work of the India Office. He could not help being reminded of the advice which Queen Victoria gave him when he was going out, more than 20 years ago, to the Presidency of Bombay. "You cannot," her Majesty said, "go too slow in introducing changes in India." The noble viscount told them that this Bill did not really affect the government of India. He submitted that it contained provisions which most vitally affected the government of India, and the House would not be wise to give it a second reading because it would emerge from Committee in a shape that would be quite unrecognizable, because it contained proposals which, he honestly believed, were radically opposed to the best interests of the general population of India and because it did not contain that spirit of impartiality which he believed to be the keynote of the just administration of India.

Viscount Midleton declared, in opposition to the view expressed by Lord Morley that the Bill would have very little effect on the government of India, that it was the greatest change ever made in regard to that government, and that it would make the Secretary of State for India by far the most uncontrolled Minister who had ever done business in this country. Mr. Montagu had written a letter to *The Times* complaining of the "intolerable procrastination" inevitable under the India Office system. He asked whether it was not

in the competence of the Secretary of State to make his own rules and regulations for every single step, with one exception, that was taken in the India Office. During the last eight years and seven months two Secretaries of State had done nothing to remedy what was now condemned as procrastination which could have been removed by a stroke of the pen. He was sorry to have to put a personal point, but it was extraordinary for administrators to ask the House to cut up an Act as though it were at the root of the difficulties when it only bound them in one particular. Were the Council consulted upon the moving of Delhi, involving a complete change of policy and an expenditure that might amount to £14,000,000 or £15,000,000? The noble marquess called them into his room, bound them to secrecy, and presented them with a *fait accompli*. He had shown that when he chose he could take short cuts, and now he wanted an Act of Parliament to protect him from the interference of these inconvenient people.

AUTOCRACY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

A good deal had been said about autocracy. The present Government had developed autocracy beyond any body of men in this country, but their action was nothing compared to the position in which the Secretary for India would be placed by this Bill. He would be an autocrat among autocrats.

SHAM AND HYPOCRISY.

He should be profoundly sorry if the rejection of the measure were to cause the impression that noble lords on his side of the House were inappreciative of the desire of our Indian fellow-subjects to be connected with the government of India. But the Opposition disapproved of their being deluded by the Bill before the House. Were the House to read the Bill a second time hopes would be fostered which would certainly be disappointed.

LORD CREWE'S REPLY.

The Marquess of Crewe—Lord Harris has spoken of the necessity of the existence of a Council to advise the Secretary of State. I in no way dispute that necessity, but I would remind the House that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for the Colonies have no assistance of the kind. It is considered apparently that the Act of 1858 is to be regarded as a sacred measure in all respects, as sacred as the Act of Union with Ireland; and the noble viscount who has just sat down has said that we are tearing up and destroying the statute. He, however, fell into an error which tends to vitiate a great part of his argument. He is apparently under the impression that the Council by this Bill would lose the whole of its financial control, whereas it will lose absolutely none. I never accused the Council of procrastination, though I have said that the system in itself is a difficult and impossible one to work with the same rapidity with which business can be done in other offices of which I have seen something. The noble viscount opposite pointed to the case of Delhi as one about which the Council ought to have been consulted at all stages. We need not, I think, go into the reasons which made it imperative that the knowledge of what was contemplated should be imparted to as few persons as possible. Nothing the noble viscount has said has convinced me that I did anything wrong on that occasion, and if I had to do it again I should proceed in precisely the same manner.

AN ASSUMED AUTOCRACY.

One of the criticisms levelled against this Bill has turned upon the assumed autocracy which is grasped by the Secretary of State under its provisions. Both Earl Curzon and Viscount Middleton have been rather hard on me in that respect. Earl Curzon dreams the excessive assertion of a single personality in the matter of government, and regards corporate responsibility as superior, in all respects for the purpose to individual responsibility. There may be much to be said for that point of view, but I do not think it ought to be pressed to the almost pedantic length to which he pressed it. It is impossible not to have a vision of the time, if the wheel of fortune should revolve that way, when the noble earl will be First Lord of the Admiralty or Secretary of State for War, and when he will become the absolutely docile mouthpiece of the Generals or Admirals by whom he may be surrounded. (Laughter.) It would be a rather novel reading of the noble earl's character: but the advice which he has lavished upon me in this respect leads one to suppose that that is possible. As a matter of fact, there are countless checks imposed upon anything approaching autocratic action by the Secretary of State. Noble lords opposite seem to assume that the Secretary of State in future will only appoint to the Council incompetent people who will be his obedient slaves.

The Secretary for India is subject to the control which all his colleagues in the Cabinet have to submit to, not in matters of detail, but in the perpetual knowledge that any errors which he may commit rest upon the Government, and that makes him exceedingly careful to direct his steps in as straight a path as possible. Then there is the perpetual and in some respects the over-increasing control of Parliament, and there is the increasing force of public opinion in

India and the power of the Press. Therefore, I cannot help thinking that noble lords are pressing too far the point of the autonomy of the Secretary of State. As regards the weekly meeting of the Council, to which noble lords attach such vast importance, it seems to me somewhat unnecessary that the Council should meet once a week during the months of September and October or at certain other times when the move of the Government of India has taken place and there is generally little business to be done. The noble viscount seemed to imply that one of the reasons which had actuated me in introducing this measure was that certain burdens would be removed from my shoulders. The passing of this Bill will throw considerable extra burdens upon the Secretary of State for India.

QUESTIONABLE "SHORT-CUTS."

It is impossible to do anything of a really serious labour-saving character within the walls of the India Office without modifying the procedure that everything that ought to come before the Council is to lie on the table for seven days. The noble viscount said, "Look at the Delhi case—what a short cut. Why does not the Secretary of State perpetually take these short cuts if he desires?" We do take a great many, but I fear that we are, if not actually breaking the law, uncommonly near breaking it on a great many occasions. It is no satisfaction to me to break the law. On the contrary, I would very much rather regularize our proceedings, and that is the main object and purpose of this Bill. The noble viscount spoke of the change in the panel system with regard to the Indian members as being the main object and purpose of the Bill. That is not so.

As regards the panel I do not think any noble lord has done me the honour to notice the reason which I give for suggesting this procedure—namely, that it was feared by a number of persons in India that at some future time Indians might be appointed not really representative of Indian opinion in any sense. The only speaker who alluded to that fear was the noble marquess himself, and he confined himself to saying that, as a matter of fact, the Indians who were appointed would be of the same high calibre as those who now sit on that Council. I daresay they will, but it must be admitted that those who take the contrary view are within their rights in assuming that these panels may be unwisely and from their point of view unfairly used and they will not be satisfied by a mere assertion that no such unfair use will obtain.

The two hostile points which I have seen as coming from India have been in the first place, that the Council is going to be turned into a directly administrative body, as to which I have explained that there is no such intention, and in fact no such possibility; and in the second, I am told that these proposals are almost retrograde, because they do not involve direct election by some constituency of a large number of Indian gentlemen. I have endeavoured to explain before why I consider these demands in their nature impossible to carry out.

MR. MONTAGU AND "THE TIMES."

I should like to say one word about the rather strong attack the noble viscount made on Mr. Montagu. I most heartily concur in what my noble friend said of Mr. Montagu's services and abilities. But those who speak of him as being the author of the Bill, as he was spoken of in *The Times* newspaper, are altogether beside the mark. I should like also to mention that in an article in that great journal there was a singular and not easily explicable confusion arising out of something that I have said, between the Parliamentary Under-Secretary and the Permanent Under-Secretary—two officials, as noble lords are well aware, of most different experience and with very different work to perform.

REJECTION OF THE BILL A BLUNDER.

The noble earl is going to ask your Lordships not to read this Bill a second time. It may be assumed, I imagine, that the noble earl will have his way. I do not say if he does that we will not be able to get on at the India Office. Of course we shall get on. I can go on skating over very thin ice as regards breaches of the law, and I shall continue to do so with the knowledge that my action is heartily approved by noble lords opposite, and I may, perhaps, be sometimes tempted to extend them. I venture to think the machine is, in some respects, a faulty one from its age and from the fact that it was intended to apply to a quite different set of circumstances, and I cannot think your Lordships are wise in altogether declining to consider any change. Whether any opportunities will occur in anything that may be called the immediate future for any reconsideration of these questions I am not in a position to say. I regret that your Lordships are not going to see fit to give a second reading to this Bill, and, although we certainly will not agree, I believe that in the action you are taking you are making a blunder.

The House divided, and there voted:—

For the second reading ...

Against ...

Majority against ...

The House rose shortly before half-past 8 o'clock.

Hindu University.

The Committee Meeting.

An informal meeting of the promoters of the Hindu University movement took place at Allahabad on Saturday and Sunday last. On the latter day the Hon. the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga presided.

At both meetings gentlemen from other stations were also present. Preliminary to the consideration of the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler at a formal meeting for which a month's notice is needed, they proceeded to discuss the matter informally. The said letter and the draft of the bill as submitted by the Committee to the Government on the 25th October, 1912, were carefully compared and considered. It was decided to record no formal resolution on the subject, but the general trend of opinion was that the provisions of the draft bill submitted to the Government on the 25th October, 1912, (and a copy of which was published in the papers at the time and sent to every member of the Society in the month of November) by the Committee were adequate and that a representation should be submitted to the Government asking for a reconsideration of the terms in the letter.

It was decided that a formal meeting of the Society and its Committee of Management should be convened at an early date.

On the morning of Monday, the 27th July, 1912, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor accompanied by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler visited Benares and were shown over the sites proposed for the Hindu University by the Hon. the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Press Opinion.

"The Madras Standard."

I

A most serious crisis has arisen in the life of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and we return to the subject, on which a short note appeared in our columns yesterday. The whole future of this national institution trembles in the balance, and on the clear-sightedness and strength of the Hindu University Committee everything now depends. Let us recall what has already passed.

The Central Hindu College and High School were founded and have been maintained by the exertions of a small band of devoted Hindus, with the object of creating a National Institution, in which the Hindu religion should be systematically taught, in which character should be built on Hindu lines, in which loyalty to the British Government should go hand-in-hand with patriotic devotion to the Motherland, and which should be controlled by Hindus, independently of, but in no way hostile to, Government authority. While it was necessary to accept educational curricula of the Government, and to conform to its general rules as regarded the educational arrangements, the C. H. C. preserved its independence by taking no Government grant, and no rupee from Government coffers has ever been accepted by it. It has depended wholly on voluntary contributions from the public, and those were obtained on the distinct understanding that the Institution was under Hindu control, and that the Government had no hand, no voice, in its management. On these lines it was founded, and has been maintained.

The scheme of a Hindu University was conceived by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and, after much discussion, it was decided by the Trustees that they were willing to take part in realising his ideal, and would, when the time came, surrender their cherished Institution to be the nucleus of the Hindu University.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya devoted his splendid eloquence and generous enthusiasm to the task of collecting the money which was demanded by Government before a constitution should be framed, and the Trustees met the further demand of the Government that an existing College should be the nucleus of the proposed University, by promising to hand over the C. H. C. for this purpose.

A Hindu University Committee was formed with the high ideal of enshrining Hindu culture in a national Institution under Hindu control, and the leaders of Hindu thought throughout the country became members of the Committee. Some 80 lakhs have been promised by the public for this purpose, and a draft constitution was submitted to the Government, which, while inviting H. E. the Viceroy to be the Chancellor of the Hindu University and giving him a veto on many important matters, yet left the effective control in the hands of a Court and of Governors, who should be elected, in various ways, by the Hindu community—I am not going into details concerning Hindu control. It was intended that the Hindu University should have the power to affiliate institutions in which

religion and morals formed an integral part of education, and it was hoped to rear gradually a splendid edifice, a veritable Temple of Hindu culture, wherein the Nation should be built, the Motherland worshipped, and the inspiration of a progressive and philosophic Hinduism should permeate the national life.

The first blow was struck when the Government refused to allow the power of affiliation. But we realized that our infant Institution could not effectively utilize this power for many years, and that, when we had sufficiently organized our University, we might again put forward the claim; so we submitted to the rebuff. The Mussalmans bluntly refused, and their University has advanced no further. They may have been wiser than we, for our yielding has only brought upon us further demands—demands which, if conceded, destroy every hope with which we started, and give us the name of a Hindu University writ across the portal of a Government Institution. In the first place we are made a provincial Institution, and are handed over to the regnant Lieut.-Governor as our Chancellor. Many of us feared accepting a Viceroy as Chancellor, but a Viceroy is at least one of England's best, whereas a Lieut.-Governor may be a man of fourth or fifth rate ability, and is generally imbued with "Service Traditions". We remember Sir Antony MacDonnell, and his accusations of disloyalty when we began our work. We remember how even the kindly Sir James Latouche refused to allow us to invite T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales to the College on their visit to Benares, and how it was only my direct application, in the face of the Lieutenant Governor's refusal, that brought about an expression of a desire from the Prince himself to visit our College. "You have got the better of me, Mrs. Besant," was the good-tempered remark of the kindly ruler of the Province, and he did not accompany the Royal visitors. We remember the arbitrariness of Sir John Hewett, and his attempt to prosecute me criminally in 1910 for my "Appeal to the Government and Europeans" against the shameful insults levelled against Indians by ill-mannered Englishmen. I was saved only by the interposition of H. E. Lord Minto and the generous defence of me by my revered friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. Sir John Hewett never forgave the checkmate. That appeal, signed as President of the T. S. and the Central Hindu College, now lies before me, and in it there is nothing to regret nor to unsay. Lord Minto and Sir Arthur Lawley both thought it too passionate, written as it was in the midst of the assassinations, at the moment of the worst danger, but neither withheld his sympathy from the unarmed youth who was the immediate cause of the "Appeal". But it we had been under the power of the Lieut.-Governor, I should have been deprived of my position in the College. I recall the incident as shewing our past liberty, and in order to lamentate the proposed subjection.

The Lieut.-Governor, as Chancellor, is given sweeping powers; he can appoint and remove members of the staff, send inspectors, appoint Examiners. In fact, he is created the master of the internal management of the University. Why then have the farce of Governors, the useless trouble of electing them? A Senate and a Syndicate to carry out His Honour's policy will be enough. The Hindu University will run in double harness with the Government University, and the *raison d'être* of its existence will disappear. Moreover, if we accept these "terms," we do not know what further disabilities will be imposed in drafting the Constitution. Let us reject them, while there is time. I, for one, would never have given over our free and independent Hindu College to be ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor, for I feel that to do so is to betray a public trust, and to divert money obtained on one pretext to a use for which the donors would never have given it. From my standpoint, it would be a breach of public duty, and I have telegraphed my refusal to agree. I hope that my colleagues will take a similar view, and work out an independent policy on the lines I will suggest tomorrow, or on such better ones as their greater wisdom may design. And I invite the expression of public opinion on the matter in our correspondence columns.

ANNIE BESANT.

II.

The Madras Mail rightly judges that the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler "will create serious disappointment among the organisers of the Hindu University movement," but it urges them none the

less to "receive the proposals of the Government of India in the spirit in which they are offered, and establish the University." The "spirit in which they are offered" is a spirit of distrust in the sober and responsible men who have set themselves to a great national task, and such distrust does not encourage them to accept the assurance of the *Mail* that "the Government of India may be trusted to give the organizers every reasonable" facility, etc. Distrust does not breed trust. Various hopes are then held out as to the results which will accrue from the acceptance of the restrictions imposed. Meanwhile, the Committee is to divert the 50 lakhs collected and the additional 30 lakhs promised from a National University to a Government one, in the unguaranteed hope of greater freedom in the future. The Hindu Committee submitted to the refusal of the right of affiliation, when the Mussalmans declined to yield. They are rewarded with further intolerable conditions. The *Mail* should ask itself why hard-worked men, mostly of limited means, should devote themselves to heavy and exhausting labour and contribute their money in order to build up what is virtually another Government University? These are men of ability, of definite opinions, of clearly-visioned ideals; why should they submit to a Civil Servant, when it is the defects of Colleges controlled by this very class which move them to personal sacrifice and labour? They would have continually to modify their plans lest they should not "co-operate" with the Government Institution, their forward speed would be curbed to suit the slow jogtrot of the Government steed to which they would be harnessed. They can use their money and their energies better than in making a useless appendage to the Allahabad University, and in stretching themselves on the Procrustes bed of officialdom. Oxford and Cambridge would never have become the National Universities they are, if they had been under the control of the Plantagenets and the Tudors. Even before England won her liberties, her education at least was free from Government control and thus her Universities gradually builded freemen. The Bengal National Education Council was wrecked by the withdrawal of Mr. Palit, who withdrew his lakhs from the Nation and gave them to the official University, but he, at least, disposed only of his own money, not of funds contributed by the public, we may regret his action, but we have no right to challenge his liberty to change his benefactions. The Hindu University Committee is a Trustee, answerable to the public, and Browning's words on 'The Lost Leader' must not come true of its members.

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat

"The Advocate."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has addressed a letter to the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga setting forth the conditions on which the Government of India is prepared to accord its sanction to the establishment of the proposed Hindu University at Benares. Whether these conditions will satisfy the promoters of the scheme is more than we pretend to know. Of this, however, we are sure that if the Member for Education had desired to alienate from the movement the sympathy of the entire Hindu community, he could not have done so more effectually than by the terms laid down in his letter. The Honourable gentleman cannot be unaware that whatever may be the official view of Lord Curzon's University Act of 1904, public opinion is unanimous that it has completely officialised the Indian Universities and that there is widespread dissatisfaction felt throughout the country in consequence of this. The simultaneous movements, therefore, for the establishment of a Hindu or a Mussalman University were hailed with satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country. It was believed that as the movements were inaugurated by the people themselves, the Universities when established would be people's institutions and that the Government would have nothing to do with them. Unfortunately, however, the condition laid down in the case of the Moslem as well as in the case of the Hindu University leave no room for doubt that what the Education Department of the Government desires is that Benares and Aligarh Universities should be free editions of the existing Universities so far as their constitution is concerned. In some respects even the small measure of freedom enjoyed by the latter is denied to the former. The first point in Sir Harcourt's letter relates to the appointment of the Chancellor. The Hon'ble member for education says:—

"On a review of all the circumstances of the case and the criticisms which have been advanced the Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State have come to the conclusion that the best form of the constitution will be to constitute the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces *ex-officio* Chancellor of the University with certain opportunities for giving advice and certain powers of intervention and control."

The proposal to make the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province the *ex-officio* Chancellor would not have been open to objection under ordinary circumstances. As however the Hindu University is proposed to be an all-India institution, it is necessary that the Governor-General should be at its head. Then again there is no disposition

to treat the Senate and Syndicate as independent bodies. They are not to be allowed to exercise the functions that legitimately belong to them. Sir Harcourt Butler reserves all the powers and functions of the University to the Chancellor and leaves nothing to be done by these bodies. The spectacle of the ruler of a province advising that such action should be taken by the University and such staff appointed or removed is certainly not very edifying and yet the Member for Education insists upon it. But it is not only this, but as we have said, almost all the functions of the University are to be exercised by the Chancellor. He is to carry on his inspection for the purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high, and the educational experts, Indian or European, are only to sit idle. He will appoint examiners for the University examinations, and the Syndicate or the Senate will do nothing. The appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost should also be subject to the approval of the Chancellor who will also look to the annual receipt of accounts. Of course, Sir Harcourt Butler assures us that some of the powers vested in the Chancellor are only emergency powers which may never be exercised at all. But emergency or no emergency, it all depends upon the Provincial ruler who for the time being holds his sway. When we have a ruler like Sir James Meston, we may depend upon it that there will be no occasion for the exercise of emergency powers. But what guarantee is there that we shall have always a Sir James Meston at the helm of affairs?

This assumption of almost unlimited powers over affairs of the proposed University shows a distrust of the people. Could not men like the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Sunder Lal and others be trusted with the affairs of the University? Sir Harcourt Butler must be aware that there is a strong desire among the people that in the matter of education at least they should have a free hand. It is only this desire that created so much enthusiasm for the Benares as well as for the Aligarh Universities. If the people had been aware beforehand of the intentions of the Government they would not have taken interest in the movements. But the Member for Education justifies the conditions laid down in his letter thus:—

"The principle underlying them all is that in the interest of the rising generation and the parents, the Government must be in co-operation with the University and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance. The interest of the Government and the students and their parents in this matter are necessarily identical."

We do not know how long the Government will continue to treat the people as children. They cannot be trusted with the education of their own sons and the Government must come in their aid. We are afraid the Education Member's proposal will cause profound disappointment throughout the country. We trust His Excellency Lord Hardinge will see that the conditions precedent to the grant of a Charter to the University may be such as may be acceptable to the people.

"The Leader."

Defective instruction with freedom and self-government would in the choice of evils, be better than the most perfect mechanism secured by parliamentary interference.—GILFISTONE

If he were asked whether he would rather have Oxford free with all its imperfections or an Oxford without imperfections but under the control of the Government, he would reply, 'Give me Oxford free and independent with all its anomalies and imperfections.'—DISABLI.

It was after long and weary waiting that the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga was published setting the conditions on which the Hindu University might be established at Benares. The letter has not been received by the community with anything like enthusiasm. It has had a chilling effect on the public mind. If its contents had been different, the people would have received it with delight at the prospect of having at Benares at an early date, the grand educational edifice from which they expected so much for the future well-being and advancement of the community. We have purposely delayed our own observations on Sir Harcourt Butler's letter, to watch with what feeling it would be received by the prominent supporters of the scheme and the public generally. We know now that Dr. Rashbehari Ghose for one "cannot accept the proposed conditions". Mrs. Besant has wired from Madras to express her keen disappointment and her disapproval of the conditions and she has added that she would not have consented to the transfer of the Central Hindu College to the Hindu University Society if she could have anticipated such conditions. The *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as well as the Indian papers of Madras write in terms of keen disappointment, and the former question whether it is any longer worth the while of the promoters to proceed with the scheme. Meetings will be held at Allahabad to-day and to-morrow for a consideration of the situation created by Sir Harcourt Butler's letter.

No exception will be taken to the tone of the letter, which indicates the desire of the Government of India to be of assistance as far as they could be. For this desire of theirs and their willingness to facilitate progress every one has reason to feel thankful. And this very fact encourages the promoters of the scheme and the community at large, of which they are the trusted spokesmen, to cherish the hope that when the difficulty of accepting certain of the conditions is pointed out to them, as it will be, they will consider the representations with an open mind and with a sympathetic desire to comply with every reasonable and moderate request. Because some of the conditions laid down in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter are impossible of acceptance unless modified and a few of them should be abandoned altogether if the Hindu University is to be even an approximation to what it ought to be, a self-governing educational centre, it should not be presumed by any one that the door is closed against suggestions and representations; that all is over with the University project. The very fact that at Sir Harcourt's instance a conference is to be held at Government House on Monday to review the whole position negatives such an assumption. What has now to be done by the thoughtful members of the community is to formulate their views, criticisms and suggestions for the further consideration of the Government. It is to this end that to-day's and to-morrow's meetings are to be held at the residence of the Hon. Dr. Sundar Lal and the Darbhanga Castle.

We may now briefly consider the chief points in Sir Harcourt's letter. The first point is that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces for the time being is to be the Chancellor of the University. This is a condition that would have been cheerfully accepted if circumstances had been different. As they are, however, we apprehend it cannot be. The first request of the Hindu University Society was that his Excellency the Viceroy be the Chancellor. It was not acceded to. In its place it was suggested by the Secretary of State that the University should have an elected Chancellor. The Society expressed natural disappointment that the University was not to have the Viceroy as the Chancellor and prayed for a reconsideration of their request, but were prepared for its not being complied with as was made evident by their modified draft bill of last year. There they provided that the King-Emperor be the Protector of the University, as his Majesty is of the Welsh University, that his Excellency the Viceroy be the first Patron, and such ruling chiefs of India as would be elected by the University be also Patrons. In the letter of the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga to Sir Harcourt Butler, dated the 25th October 1912, a similar request was embodied. The draft bill aforesaid provided that the Chancellor be elected. Nowhere was the request made in terms or by suggestion or implication that the Lieutenant-Governor be made ex-officio Chancellor. Nor is the reason far to seek. It is not that due respect for him is wanting in any quarter, but that the movement is an all-India, not a provincial one, nor even one confined to the limits of British India. Among the leading supporters of the University scheme are their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Alwar, Udaipur, Bikanir, Kotah, Benares, Jodhpur and Kashmir, as there are many prominent men belonging to Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, and Bihar, and to several Indian states. For this reason, if the highest representative of the Sovereign is not to grace the Chancellor's chair, the University Society prayed that his Excellency might be the Patron and the University left to elect the Chancellor. We trust this view of the point will commend itself first to Sir James Meston and Sir Harcourt Butler and next to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

The second point is that it is now urged that the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost should be subject to the approval of the Chancellor. We do not doubt that the Chancellor will not as a rule veto an election made by the University authority; but where is the necessity, really, of the power being reserved at all? Cannot the most enlightened and most responsible men in the country be trusted to make a proper and an unexceptionable selection? If they cannot be, many sad and saddening reflections are forced on the mind, which are not complimentary to the Government or the people.

The right is claimed for the Chancellor, "of general supervision and power to advise that such action be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, and power, if necessary, to see that such advice be given effect to." In his letter of date 9 August, 1912, to the Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Harcourt Butler stated that the Secretary of State had decided "that the professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General-in-Council." Naturally this was more satisfactory than the condition now sought to be imposed. That the Government should have "the right of general supervision" is one thing; that it should insist on having the "power to advise that . . . such staff be appointed or removed" and "to see that such advice be given effect to," is quite a different thing. Not even in the case of affiliated colleges of the Allahabad University has the Government reserved to itself such an unnecessarily and unreasonably large power. With this in the hands of the Government, the so-called independent, self-governing university that is to grow out of the Central Hindu College will be actually less free to act on its own responsibility than that College can now do. We feel certain that it is not such an

institution which evoked the unprecedented and unparalleled popular enthusiasm which we all have witnessed, it is not for such a university that prince and peasant came forward with his spontaneous and generous offering. If we could imagine the slightest justification for the Government wishing to retain much power in its hands in the interest of education or in the general public interest, we should be the last, the promoters of the University would be the last to grudge it. But we can see none. On the other hand, we feel persuaded that on occasion the possession of the power and its exercise by the Government would be embarrassing in no small degree and lead to delicate situations which ought to be avoided by every possible means.

"The right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes," is even less acceptable, while the right claimed for the Chancellor to appoint examiners is to our mind positively objectionable. The Government does not exercise, and we believe does not claim, the right of inspection of the University of Allahabad; certainly it has not the power to appoint examiners. Who will say that it is at all justified in seriously proposing for a university established by aid of the people's private contributions, conditions of control more onerous and exacting than it has reserved to itself even under the retrograde legislation of 1904? So far as we are concerned the proposal is an impossible one and we confidently expect that the Hindu University Society will decide that it is so. If it will not, we doubt if it will carry public opinion with it.

Nor can we at all imagine why Government approval should be required "of the incorporation of local colleges in the University." Having forbidden the affiliation of outside colleges, the least the Government might have been expected to concede was full freedom to the University authority to incorporate local colleges or not to incorporate them as the case might be. Why should the Government come in to approve or disapprove of the institution of new faculties? And above all, in the name of all that is good and sensible, why should it step in "to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time"? This is an intolerable condition, if any can be so characterised.

We are glad that the sentiment of the public has been respected and the University will be permitted to call itself the Benares Hindu University. We trust the same spirit of respect for opinion will be shown in the consideration of the conditions that have been laid down and that they will be modified so as to make the University acceptable to the community. We have frankly stated our conviction that some of the conditions cannot possibly be accepted. We apprehend that such strong exception will be taken to them that the question will be seriously considered whether the University scheme should be proceeded with at all unless they be abrogated or at least modified. We submit to the Government that it will be lamentable from every point of view if the University scheme will have to be dropped eventually as the result of the conditions imposed. Having allowed the establishment of the University, and so much popular enthusiasm in favour of it having been kindled and such large sacrifices having been made for it, it behoves the Government now to act with liberal statesmanship and let the University come into existence as a free and self-governing institution which will in every way be a blessing to all, instead of acting with suspicion and imposing conditions manifestly impossible of acceptance.

The "Patrika."

We hope, this will be enough to root out any little weeds of suspicion that may have been clinging to any mind that it is a non-official, national University that the Hindus are going to get. No doubt, the letter has also declared, that "in order to meet the sentiment of the subscribers it has been conceded that the University shall be called the "Benares Hindu University." And for this great concession organisers should certainly be grateful to Sir H. Butler.

This reminds us of a Puranic episode. Dronacharya, who initiated the renowned Pandavas and Kauravas into the mysteries of archery, was a poor Brahmin. His son Ashwathama, who used to play with the sons of bigger folk, could not play so well as the others who were stronger because they could get enough of milk to drink. "Father, give me some milk to drink," Ashwathama would say to his father, "so that I also shall be able to play as well as they." Now Drona, who was too poor to pay for the genuine stuff, made a solution of rice-paste which looked like milk and gave it to his boy to drink as milk. The boy was at first deceived by the white appearance and drank it gleefully. But when he afterwards, during the play, saw that, in spite of his drinking his so-called milk his strength and agility had not a whit improved, he suspected that his father had not given him real milk and came back to him and rent the heavens with his cries.

Now, if the organisers of the so-called "Benares Hindu University" accept the terms of the Government of India, they would be merely treating the subscribers as Drona did his son. The Hindu public wanted a real non-official Hindu University. But what they are going to get is no more what they wanted than the liquified rice paste drunk by Ashwathama was real milk. In order that the organisers

may not be put in the unpleasant predicament of Donacharya, let them, like their Mahomedan brethren, respectfully decline the concessions of the Government of India and try to forget their long cherished dreams. This is the obvious course for them. But the question is whether their chief, the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, situated as he is, will be able to adopt it.

"The Bengalee."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has at last made a clear statement of the conditions under which alone the Government of India can allow the Hindu University to be brought into being and help it with a liberal financial grant-in-aid. Sir Harcourt has made these conditions known to the public in a letter addressed to the Maharaja of Darbhanga. It is of course for the promoters of the movement to consider whether it is at all worth while to persevere with the scheme after the Government have whittled it down to a soulless affair. But if they think that something is better than nothing then they must be prepared to accept this something. We are, however, at a loss to understand why the Government should insist on such a lion's share in the management of the proposed University which can be really serviceable, only if allowed to afford an unhindered scope to our national ideal and national initiative. Such names as those of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Justice Sanjay Lal ought to be a sufficient guarantee against the Hindu University ever degenerating into an undesirable atmosphere. No, the Government must keep a constant finger on its pulse and reserve the full right of control. Fearing lest the Governor-General should prove only a dilettante observer of its affairs it is proposed to place the Hindu University under the lynx-eye of the local Lieutenant-Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces to be the Chancellor of the University and not the Viceroy as desired by the promoters. It is further proposed to invest him with "general powers of supervision and control including authority where necessary to appoint and remove the staff, also to appoint examiners, approve appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost, nominate five members to Senate, maintain standard of education and inspect accounts." After all this what will remain for its non-official projectors and promoters to do is more than we can divine. It is said that the principle underlying the arrangement is that "in the interests of the students and their parents the Government must be in a position to help the University effectively." Or in other words Government can not help an institution unless it is strictly official in its composition and submits to its dictation at every step. It is this principle with which we have our main quarrel. Can we then expect no support or encouragement from the Government in our endeavour to stand on our legs and work out our salvation on the line of our particular racial evolution? We think the thoughtful men of our community are the best judge as to how our youth should be educated. To deny them that right is to at once put them out of court in all matters affecting their vital interests. It is a dangerous principle, extremely galling to a self-respecting people, which Sir Harcourt has enunciated by way of justifying the excessive control Government propose to exercise over the coming University. It is true that Sir Harcourt has put before the promoters the prospect of liberal financial aid. But what should it profit us if we gain the whole world and lose our own soul?

"The Hindu."

The constitution of the proposed Hindu University which, as appears in our telegraphic columns, Sir Harcourt Butler has announced, as the scheme agreed upon by the Secretary of State and the Government of India, will, we have no doubt, be received by the promoters of the Hindu University with feelings of profound disappointment and distress. A number of enthusiastic and patriotic Hindu gentlemen have been making strenuous efforts to found a system of national education, and have at the cost of much labour and trouble collected funds, and when they hope to have arrived within sight of the promised land, they find that the Government, as the price of its recognition, is imposing conditions which go far towards undermining the cherished aims and the ideal of the promoters. A bare perusal of Sir Harcourt Butler's letter is enough to convince anybody how impossible of acceptance the conditions are. They are much more rigid than those which the Muslim University refused to accept. The Hindu University under the proposed Constitution would be far more under official direction and control than the existing Universities of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. It is laid down that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who, in common with every Lieutenant-Governor in India, is required to be a Member of the Indian Civil Service, is to be *ex-officio* Chancellor. He is to be given unlimited and uncontrolled powers in regard to the Hindu University. He is to be given not only the right of general supervision, but power to advise that such steps be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, and power to see that such advice be given effect to. He is to have the right of

inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes, and so on. So comprehensive and minute is the scope of the power of the Chancellor, who is also *ex-officio* Chancellor of the Allahabad University that it is difficult to conceive of any matter belonging to the Hindu University which he cannot interfere with, and give directions about. Sir Harcourt Butler is good enough to add, by way of extenuating these all-embracing powers of interference and dictation, that some of them may never be exercised and some exercised only very occasionally. It is explained that "the principle underlying them all is that, in the interests of the rising generation and the parents, the Government must be in co-operation with the University and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance." Further, as inculcating a lesson in political philosophy, it is added that "the interest of the Government and the students and their parents in this matter are necessarily identical." Along with the numerous fetters under which the Hindu University is to work, the only circumstance which is to show that the proposed University is a Hindu University, is in the fact that Hindu Theological teaching will be given to the Hindu students. It will not be compulsory upon students other than Hindus. There is to be no religious test and the University will be open to all denominations as well as to Hindus. It seems to us, on the whole, that the Charter which the promoters of the University pray for from the Government, would, if they are willing to accept it with the annexed conditions, be a Charter, not of intellectual liberty, but of intellectual slavery. It is extraordinary how Englishmen who are bred in the traditions of English Universities which are autonomous Corporations with which the State has nothing to do, come to think so differently in India. In Germany, the Universities, of which there are a good many, are all State institutions. As regards them, Professor Paulsen, who is a recognised authority on the subject, remarks as follows:—"By entering more and more directly upon the portals of the scientific research under the leadership of a long line of celebrated men, the Universities gradually ceased to be mere state institutions for the training of officials, and grew further and further away from bureaucratic control, while France reduced her Universities to professional schools, Germany made her Universities, the embodiment of an independent scientific life, with the hope that an unfettered service of truth would not only be compatible with the interests of the State, but indissolubly linked with them. The relation of the State has now become one based essentially upon confidence in its independence. The principle of the freedom of learning and teaching, formulated in paragraph twenty of the Prussian Constitution, may really be described as one of the fundamental principles of our public law. The surer a Government was of its ground, the more fearlessly it accepted this principle and we may regard the independence of the Universities as a criterion of a Government's confidence in its stability." The Indian Government would do well to revise its proposed Constitution for the Hindu University in the light of the above observations.

"The Panjabee."

There is a very general feeling that the powers proposed to be vested in the Chancellor of the Hindu University will make that University anything but an independent institution such as it ought to be. As the matter is likely to come up before the promoters of the University scheme at an early date, it is perhaps as well for us to express our opinion in greater detail. The powers are as follows.—

- (a) The right of general supervision and power to advise that such action be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, with power if necessary to see that such advice be given effect to;
- (b) The right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes;
- (c) The right, as a special measure, to appoint if necessary (as the result of such inspection or otherwise) examiners for the University examinations who would report to the Chancellor;
- (d) The annual receipt of accounts;
- (e) The approval of the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost;
- (f) The approval of initial regulations, etc., and of subsequent changes;
- (g) The approval of the incorporation of local colleges in the University;
- (h) The nomination of five members to the Senate, and
- (i) Approval of the institution of new faculties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time.

As regards the first, it is absolutely necessary that the words "with power if necessary to see that such advice be given effect to" should be eliminated. It would be absurd for the Chancellor in a matter in which the bulk of the Senate differed from him not only to thrust his advice upon the Fellows, but to insist that it should be given effect to, especially when the advice related to such matters as the appointment and removal of staff. No Chancellor, even if he is a member of the versatile Civil Service, can hope to be a specialist in all subjects, and yet there is nothing to prevent a Civilian Chan-

Chancellor from being dogmatic and opinionative. What would happen if in the matter of, say, the appointment or removal of a professor of Hindu Philosophy the Lieutenant-Governor differed from the Senate and insisted upon his advice being given effect to? Such a case will not occur every day, it is true, but it is by no means inconceivable, and as the country knows to its cost even the Government of India are not above interfering in this unreasonable manner. As regards the second, while there can be no objection in a general way to inspection of the University by the Chancellor, we are not without fear, especially as he will also be Chancellor of another and a more officialised University, that the right of inspection, where the purpose is to see whether the standard of education is kept sufficiently high, may not be altogether a good thing for the new University. The third ought to be eliminated altogether. The Chancellor ought to have no right in the present case, no matter what the circumstances may be, to appoint examiners over the heads of the Senate and the governing body. The fourth is all right. The fifth, the six and the seventh are also all right, if the approval is to be merely a matter of form. But if the power of approval carries with it the power of disapproval, either such power should not exist at all, or the University must have effective safeguards against the abuse of this power. The eighth is not needed in the case of a University with the objects of the Hindu University, but if it is insisted upon, the governing body must also have a say in the matter. The ninth is absolutely unnecessary and ought never to be accepted. Lastly, we take strong exception to the view that the financial aid promised by Government should be contingent upon the University accepting these provisions. As the *Bengalee* remarks, what we can and do expect is that the Government should support us in our endeavour to stand on our own legs and work out our salvation on the lines of our particular racial evolution. For the Government to say that it will not pay the piper unless it is allowed to call for the tune, as the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon said some months ago, is to entirely misconceive its real position as the custodian of the people's money.

The Express.

Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga indicates the line on which the constitution of the Hindu University should be framed. The new University, to put it concisely, will be "officialised." That fact should be clearly realised. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces will be the Chancellor of the University and he will exercise powers of supervision as direct and drastic as possible. He will have the power to advise what persons should be appointed to or removed from the staff of the University and he will have the power to make such advice effective. He will also have the right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes. These are large powers and the Government's letter indicates with sufficient clearness that they are meant to be exercised. Sir Harcourt Butler defines the principle underlying it all by saying that the Government must be "in co-operation with the University." What is really meant by the co-operation of the Government is that the Government must have a dominating influence in the affairs of the Hindu University and that the University must co-operate with the Government in carrying out the latter's behests. The University is not to have the power of affiliation of outside colleges and the decision in this respect is final. An important point referred to in Government's letter is that the University is to have no religious tests, the University will be open to students of all denominations as well as to the Hindus; but Hindu theological teaching and observances will not be compulsory for any but Hindus. Lastly, the University will be of the teaching and residential type. These, briefly, represent the conditions the acceptance of which is precedent to the elaboration of the detailed scheme of the constitution of the University and Sir Harcourt Butler is careful to point out that the Secretary of State reserves his final decision even as to the details.

The position taken up by the Government is in accord with its declared policy in the matter of the control of higher education. What the Government is doing in respect of the existing Universities, it proposes to do with regard to education imparted at the new university. The principle insisted upon by Government is that the interest of the Government and the students and their parents in the matter of education are necessarily identical, and that the close association of Government with the University would alone secure the best interest of the latter. We are bound to say that this is a thoroughly sound principle and that it would be well for the University Committee to accept it without reservation. It would be well for the Committee to rid its mind of the cant of "officialisation". If the University authorities exercise the powers invested in them with due care and discretion, officialisation need

have no terrors for them. We are not willing to believe that the Government would exercise its power of control otherwise than with discretion and with sole desire to promote the best interest of the University. We are rather inclined to think that this cant of officialisation is current only in circles in which the exercise of freedom is regarded as compatible with irresponsibility. The sooner this cant is got rid of the better. The Government is necessarily the largest patron of learning in the land and it rightly claims to have a predominant voice in determining the lines along which and the agency by which education shall be imparted. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in this claim and the country will rejoice if the Hindu University Committee accepts the constitution suggested.

"The Beharee."

Doubtless our readers must have perused with anxious interest the letter of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler that has been addressed to the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga. Its personal impresses us with one dominant fact that the new University will be just like the existing Universities so far as the Government control over it is concerned, but that it will be unlike the State Universities in that it will not be an examining body. Either the Indian people have not yet developed the capacity of organisation sufficient for the purposes of conducting a University independently of the Government supervision or the Government itself at present does not intend giving to the people the privilege of educating themselves. Either of the two must have been the cause of the Government taking this step, and whichever it be, we have now to choose between the two alternatives, either to have a University "officially controlled," but bearing the name of the Hindu community, or to have none at all. People generally will incline to the former view. But there is a section of the people which is more concerned with the affairs of the University than the people at large. This section constitutes the large number of donors who have made the present development of the University scheme possible, and also the thoughtful leaders whose support of the original scheme had influenced the donors to put their hands on their purses. The scheme as originally put before the Hindu public was that the Hindu University was designed to be an examining University and that it would necessarily possess the power of affiliation. This fact had induced the humblest individuals to make willing donations to the University propaganda. That was the main motive impulse which had wrought such wonders on the minds of the Hindu public. When this dream, however, is now dispelled by the Honorable Sir Harcourt's letter many of the donors naturally would be disappointed and many of them who have not paid their full amount of donations will certainly think of withdrawing themselves from the obligations of satisfying their promise. In justice to the donors of this class it is quite fair for the University Committee to put this question before them, viz., whether they under the present development would like to retain their names amongst the donors and if they do not intend so then the University should absolve them from the payment of the balance and also should refund the payments made if the donors do not desire to let their paid donations remain where they are. This is all fair and just. We are however afraid that if this step is followed the total will under promises go a considerable reduction. The foremost members of the University Committee should come forward before the public and should before deciding the refund question make an extensive tour in India explaining what the present position is. It is certainly likely that some donors would not recede, but some undoubtedly would and those who wish to get their names withdrawn should be allowed to do so and their payments should be refunded, such a tour however will have another advantage. It will induce a great many gentlemen of means—to whom the question of the Hindu University not being an examining body is immaterial—to come forward and make substantial donations.

As to the other question, whether there was any necessity for any University of the type just put before us, we reserve our comments, for while we hold and hold it strongly the view that while the bestowal of a Hindu University to the city of Benares is a matter of real response to the earnest wishes of the Hindu people all over India the official administration of the same, though done with wisdom and experience, is a matter which makes the entire Hindu community largely disappointed, and therefore they are led to think that Mrs. Besant's idea of gradually expanding the status of the Central Hindu College to the grade of a residential and teaching University was far more sound and feasible,—which the Government has adopted in the main—and that the ambition of a few Hindu leaders which had created some effect was untenable and has therefore received a miserable shock.

We welcome the present University scheme nevertheless.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5 of Act V of 1908.)
S. C. C. Suit No. 463 of 1913.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

1. L. Gauri Shanker, son of Din Diyal,
Bahadurgunj; 2. Ram Bharosey, son of Kunjal
Ram Pali ... Plaintiffs,

versus

Jaggu ... Defendant.

To Jaggu, son of Banogi of Doobra, P. Haveli, Oudh,
at present residing in Rangoon, Basi Tawami Stone
Factory of Das Bahoo Raman.

Whereas, the abovenamed Plaintiff, instituted a suit
against you for Rs. 22-8-0 you are hereby summoned to
appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly in-
structed and able to answer all material questions relating
to the suit or who shall be accompanied by some person able
to answer all such questions on the 17th day of August
1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim;
and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for
the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to
produce on the day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence
and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in
support of your defence. Take notice that, in default
of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit
will be heard and determined, in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this
22nd day of July, 1914.

By ORDER MUNSARIM (Sd.) Illegible, Judge.

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NOTICE TO SHOW CAUSE (GENERAL FORM.)

In the Court of the Munsif, of Fyzabad, M.S. Case
No. 28, of 1914.

Pandit Baijoo Ram, son of Pandit Bhawanidin, of
Muhalla Begunganj Garhia, city Fyzabad;

versus

(1) Bandhoo Singh, son of Ram Lala Singh; (2)
Chatarpal Singh, son of Rambali Singh, of Hata Ballu,
city Fyzabad, at present of Nagpur.

To—(1) Bandhoo Singh, son of Ram Lala Singh;
(2) Chatarpal Singh, son of Rambali Singh, of Hata
Ballu, city Fyzabad, at present of city Nagpore, Atwari
Bazar, shop of Shiv Narayan, Mohalla Hanspuri, Takia
Nagpur State.

Whereas the abovenamed plaintiff Baijoo Ram has
made application to this Court that a decree be passed in
this suit under order 34, R. 6, C.P.C.

You are hereby warned to appear in this Court in
person or by a pleader duly instructed on the 8th day
of August 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to show
cause against the application, failing wherein, the said
application will be heard and determined *ex parte*.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this
20th day of July 1914.

(Sd.) Illegible,
Judge.

By order—
(Sd.) Lakshmi Narain
MUNSARIM.

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Thoughts on the Present Discontent.

By Mr. Mohamed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.)
(Published in 1907.)

Price, As. 8.

Some Press Opinions.

... Mr Mohamed Ali has read widely, and has thought well over the present conditions of India. He has the ardent temperament of the East, controlled by knowledge, and he wields a powerful and attractive pen. Above all he is absolutely honest. We recommend the study of his brochure, because it is a frank statement of the views of many educated Indians, and without the sympathetic appreciation of these views it is impossible to approach that great problem in the governance of India—the position of educated Indians in the State. ... Mr. Mohamed Ali has found so strong a supporter as the Secretary of State. We believe that his diagnosis of the complaint is substantially accurate. —*The Times of India*.

... The reader will find much that is fresh and excellently put on the perennial topic of Indian discontent. The style of the book is piquant all through, and carries the reader through without becoming prosy. We find here a combination of culture and common-sense, and knowledge of both East and West. The originality which we have mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic of his book appears not in his thesis but in his presentation of it. ... —*The Madras Times*.

... Mr. Mohamed Ali is right in his prescription for the present fever. We commend the booklet to the thoughtful. —*The Empire*.

... He is particularly frank in certain of his views, what he says being well worth the careful attention of Englishmen and others who are really desirous of getting at the point of view of men whose minds are not always open books at Garden parties and mere ceremonial gatherings. —*The Morning Post*.

... Racy and thoughtful articles. Their literary merit is by no means their least attraction, and the piquancy of the style will stimulate thought. —*The Indian Spectator*.

... We accept his assurance that he made a conscientious effort to set down what many of his countrymen feel, without malice and also without cowardice. ... —*The Bombay Gazette*.

... Every thoughtful Indian and Englishman who would like to see India well and wisely ruled might learn something and profit much by a perusal of the "Thoughts on the Present Discontent," as written by a Mohammedan gentleman who shows no bias either on the one side or the other. He takes a common-sense view of the questions and bestows praise or blame either on the rulers or the ruled as he thinks it is necessary. His remarks are generally pungent and witty. The pamphlet contains a good deal of honest straightforward criticism which makes it a most valuable addition to that mass of literature which the present situation in India has evoked in the public press. —*Hindu Patriot*.

... Mr. Mohamed Ali disclaims allegiance to any of the political parties or prejudice on either side, but he justifies his outspokenness which is put into print quite regardless of anybody's uneasy conscience. An opinion is no good unless it is strong, but it is not necessarily strong—in fact it is essentially weak—if it is violent or delirious. In Mr. Mohamed Ali's little brochure we have strength, but we have neither delirium nor violence. —*The Furn*.

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males and females on account of his long-standing experience in
the line and has got them registered in Government amongst
which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been
very attractive inasmuch as it makes fresh and youthful blood
run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood
removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving
a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been con-
vinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the
advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the
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Vol. 8.
No. 6.

Single Copy
Annas 4.

Delhi: Wednesday, 12th August, 1914.

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Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

CONTENTS

	Page.		Page
WEEK	91	Naval Strength of the Powers	56
LONDON LETTER	93	The "Times" and Mrs. Besant	96
OUR CONSTANT OPINION LETTER	94	LEADING ARTICLES—	
THE A TOTE—		The "Peace of Europe" and its sequel	97
"The Complete War Bulletin"	97	The Campaign	99
Our Day of Issue	97	WAR IN EGYPT	101 (d)
On the Eve of the War	97	THE FRENCH ARMY	101
The "Portidous Album"	97	THE RETIREMENTS	113-119

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying such communications.

The Week.

Proposed visit to Hedjaz.

Bombay, July 31.

KHAN BAHADUR SYED JAFAR HOSAIN, retired Executive Engineer, United Provinces, with thirty-two years' experience of irrigation works will visit Hedjaz next January to inspect and report on the Zebada canal and suggest improvements in the Mecca water supply.

Congress Presidentship.

Bombay, August 3.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has unanimously recommended Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu for the presidentship of forthcoming Madras Session of the National Congress.

Indian Students in England.

Ranchi, July 30.

A SUMMARY which has been published for general information in order to bring to public notice the measures which have been taken under the orders of the Secretary of State for the assistance and protection of Indian students proceeding to England states that in 1909 the Secretary of State established in London a Central Bureau of information and appointed an Educational Adviser for Indian students. The Bureau furnished them with information regarding lodging and boarding houses, educational facilities, etc. A standing Advisory Committee was formed with the assistance of Indian residents in England and associated with the Central Bureau. Owing

to the increase in the number of Indian students who consulted the Educational Adviser the Secretary of State has decided to reorganise and distribute the work of the Bureau. Steps were then taken to appoint a Secretary for Indian students at the India Office and local advisers at some of the principal University centres in Great Britain, and the Central Advisory Committee enlarged.

Cabul.

The Afghan Envoy writes to us from Simla on the 5th instant saying that he has received information from the Cabul Foreign Office to the effect that Jahandad Khan, the ring-leader of the rebels who had risen and given trouble in the province of Mangal, and whose arrest was recently effected through the medium of his former followers of the Mangal tribe has been blown from mouth of a gun by orders of His Majesty the Amir. Two years ago, Jahandad Khan took up arms against His Majesty the Amir and caused serious bloodshed, but was at last defeated. He then took refuge in India and sometime ago having left Delhi Dur, again entered the boundaries of Cabul with the object of inciting revolt among his old partisans. But his attempts were nipped in the bud by his own followers among the Mangal tribe who captured him and handed him over to the authorities.

The Persian Oil Bill

London, August 5.

The third reading of the Persian Oil Bill has been passed by the House of Commons.



Our London Letter.

London, July 17.

THE LATE LADY HARDINGE.

THE sudden death of Lady Hardinge will be as keenly felt in India as it has been in this country. India will mourn her loss as a "personal" bereavement, and the thousands of Indian women and children will undoubtedly grieve over her sad demise as painfully and sorrowfully as they would have done in the case of their nearest and dearest. Providence has certainly proved unkind in cutting off, in the prime of her life, the existence of one who had made herself universally loved and admired, not only in the continent of India but also in various other parts of the globe, where her distinguished husband has so faithfully served his King and Empire.

Lady Hardinge, during the past four years had set an example to the European womanhood in India, which would not be easily forgotten. As the Vicereine of India, she had, during those short yet trying years, brought to light those excellent virtues of womanhood, which could never fail to endear her to the hearts of Indian women. Through fair weather or foul, Lady Hardinge, as the Viceroy's trustworthy partner, had contributed, in no little degree, to the success which has hitherto marked Lord Hardinge's term of office—a success which has naturally resulted in the spontaneous wave of enthusiasm with which India's desire and India's request for an extension of his Viceroyalty has been received.

His Excellency fully deserves the genuine sympathy which has been universally extended to him both in India and in this country in his hour of trial. The heart of every true Indian goes forth to him at this moment. A particularly painful bereavement such as that under which Lord Hardinge is just suffering, especially amidst the cares and anxieties of office, and the heroic manner in which His Excellency is bearing the great and trying ordeal will still enhance the country's admiration for the nobleman, whose period of office as the head of the Government of India is destined to go down to posterity as one of the most brilliant chapters of administration in that country.

Lady Hardinge's close association with female education in India had succeeded to uplift the general standard of knowledge amongst Indian women to an unparalleled degree and the Women's Medical College in Delhi—the foundation of which was laid by her only a few months ago—will no doubt remain a noble monument to her ever-living memory.

"CHRISTIANS AS BAD AS TURKS."

A remarkable speech was made by Lord Bryce on Wednesday at the annual meeting of the Balkan Committee at the Central Hall, Westminster.

After remarking that the Treaty of Bucharest was unsatisfactory and carried within it the seeds of future trouble, he went on to declare that this was no time to conceal the truth. The Christian States had been expelling their alien populations, and we should speak as plainly what we felt about the Christian States as we did about the Turks. (Hear, hear.)

It was true that the Christian States had been misgoverned for so long by the Turk that they could not be expected to rise at once to the highest standard of civilised Government, but that excuse was not sufficient to cover a great deal of what had been done. They should have been able to apply the same principles of freedom and religious equality to their alien populations that they had asked for themselves. They deeply regretted the expulsion of Moslems from the Christian States (Hear, hear). Moslem mosques had been shut up and Moslem Schools suppressed.

"But," said Lord Bryce, "the Moslem is as justly entitled as any other to the enjoyment of his beliefs. We must condemn intolerance in the Christian States as we would condemn them in any others." (Hear, hear.)

Such an outspoken protest by Lord Bryce at a meeting of the notorious Balkan Committee is very significant indeed and clearly shows that at last, even in such a prejudiced and bigoted quarter, it is being gradually realised how utterly devoid of truth all the one-sided stories of Moslem "atrocities" in the Balkans have been. Lord Bryce deserves every credit for his courage in having spoken the truth at last before such an anti-Turkish body as the Balkan Committee, and his pluck and honesty were rightly rewarded by the repeated outbursts of applause that punctuated his utterances.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN ON INDIA'S NEEDS.

Sir William Wedderburn writes a letter to the *Daily News* of yesterday on the rejection of the India Council Bill by the House of Lords.

"Will you allow me space," he writes, "to state briefly my reasons for regretting the rejection of the Council of India Bill by the House of Lords? Lord Crewe's announcement a year ago that such a Bill would be brought forward naturally created great interest in India, and at their meetings last Christmas, at Karachi and Agra, the two great political organisations—the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League—put forward a definite scheme for bringing the Secretary of State into touch with responsible Indian opinion. The proposal was that the Council should consist of not less than nine members, and that of these one-third should be Indians, one-third experienced Anglo-Indian officials, and one-third men of distinction in British public life.

"In order that the Indian Members might be qualified to speak on behalf of Indian interests, it was proposed that they should be chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Councils in India, a method of selection employed with success for many years as regards representative members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. In support of this proposal seven delegates have come to England, having been duly elected to represent the several great provinces of India.

"What is the position of the Secretary of State for India? Personally without Indian experience, and at a distance of 6,000 miles, he is responsible for the well being of a population exceeding 250 millions. His task is one of supreme difficulty, and he needs all the light he can get. Above all, for the safety of our rule, it is essential that he should understand the opinions, the feelings, and the prejudices of the Indian people.

"Lord Curzon and Lord Ampthill admit the existence of this need when they welcome the admission of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State. Why should they object to Lord Crewe's proposal of a panel which would include more time-servers, and give

to the Secretary of State the choice of men who enjoy the confidence of the Indian people; men of varied attainments, such as those who have been found worthy to serve on the Executive and Legislative Councils in India, and to fill the benches of the High Courts? Belonging to this class, we have at the present moment in this country two independent Indians of ripe experience, well known to both the noble lords—the Hon. G. K. Gokhale and the Hon. Bhopendranath Basu. Will any one who knows them deny that such men would be an ornament to any Council or Cabinet in the world?

"The only way of dealing effectively with unrest in India is Lord Morley's method, to 'rally the moderates;' for to constitutional reformers this unrest, when it leads to secret conspiracy and outrage, is anathema, as being destructive of their dearest hopes for the future of India. These men are the best friends we have in India; and the summary rejection of the Bill flings back in their face a well-considered offer of practical co-operation, in the cause of peace and good order."

THE SHAH'S CORONATION: CELEBRATION IN LONDON.

The coronation of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia will be celebrated in London next week by two important functions. The Islamic Society is celebrating the auspicious event by a Luncheon at the Hotel Cecil on Tuesday, the 21st instant, the day on which the young Shah is to be crowned. The Counsellor to the Imperial Ottoman Embassy, His Excellency Raghib Raif Bey, as I have already mentioned in my letter of last week, will preside at the Banquet and a very large and representative gathering is expected to be present. The Persian Minister, His Excellency Mushir-ul-Mulk, is holding a reception at the Legation in Bramham Gardens the same evening. A very large number of invitations have been issued to the members of the diplomatic corps, prominent Persian and other Moslem residents of London and others who are interested in that ancient and historic land.

The arrangements for the Islamic Society's Luncheon have been carried on in close consultation with the Persian Legation.

"MOSLEM DAY" AT THE EXHIBITION.

To-day is "Moslem Day" at the Anglo-American Exhibition in Shepherd's Bush. An elaborate programme of proceedings has been drawn up by the Islamic Society, who have had the Palace of Music placed at their disposal by the Exhibition authorities.

The proceedings are to begin, under the chairmanship of Khwaja Kamaluddin, the Imam of Woking Mosque, at 12-30 p.m. by the Juma-Namaz, which is to be followed by a sermon on the "Unity of God" by the Khwaja Sahib. After a two hours' interval, Qari Saifuraz Husain of Delhi will address the audience on the "Philosophy of Islam" for half an hour and then in succession, for half an hour each, lectures and addresses will be delivered by various Moslem gentlemen on different Islamic subjects. A whole hour (5 to 6 p.m.) has been specially set apart for "answers by the Imam of Woking Mosque to any questions on Islam."

Amongst those whose names appear on the list of speakers are Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Saadi Bey and Dr. Syed Abdul Majid. The proceedings will not conclude before 10 P. M. or even later.



Our Constantinople Letter.

Constantinople, July 14.

THE NATIONAL MANIFESTO BY ENVER PASHA—A FERVENT APPEAL TO THE TURKS.

THE following stirring appeal has been addressed by Enver Pasha to the Ottoman nation:—

In the bloody and disastrous war, which came off last year in our beloved country, we left fair Roumelia into the hands of our enemies, and hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were massacred with their cruel bayonets. Our beloved country—the sacred motherland, the home of our saints, their tombs and holy places—has been made impure and lies to-day at the feet of the enemies.

A year has rolled by since those dark days when we met face to face our defeat and disaster, and five and thirty years had winged their flight since our fathers encountered their defeat; and even prior to that date our grandfathers had often met with national disasters. Time was when the world was lying prostrate at our feet in the glorious days of our Sovereign Sultan Soliman the Great and our frontier-monarch had then been far away from the gates of Constantinople; but to-day the cannon's roars from the enemy's side are even heard in the city as the result of the terrible disasters to which we have been submitting since one hundred years. The horses of our victorious fathers quenched their thirst with the waters of the Danube, while to-day our enemies give their horses a drink on the waters of the Maritsa and the Vardar. It is enough to encounter so many disasters for a nation, and now the time has come when the Government and the people

should make an united effort to save themselves. That we have ever been a victim to national calamity and disaster proves beyond doubt that the nation has been infected with a spirit of dislike for military life and has practically ceased to prepare every citizen from 7 to 70 years to meet their enemies in war. The commandants, officers and soldiers, for want of proper military training at an early age, fail to do their duty in the hour of national call; for none but a strong nation brings forth an army—efficient, well-disciplined and strong.

The children of Sultan Osman, who founded a powerful empire of 100 million souls from a tribe of 400 people living in tents, were war-like, honest and strong. They obeyed and feared none but God and passed night and day on horse-back to play *djurd* and to shoot their arrows over hill and dale; they knew how to manage their horses at the tender age of seven and did never think for a moment to spend their time in cafés or on soft beds like the unworthy children of to-day.

If the children of to-day follow in the footsteps of their grandfathers and train themselves by education, and develop a strong and iron-like body by physical exercise and practical training in forests and on mountains; if they intelligently learn to fire their guns so as to kill the enemy at the first shot, if they consecrate their body and soul to God and sincerely love their Sovereign and be ready to sacrifice their life and well-being in the service of God, Sovereign and Fatherland; if they face with brave hearts and with the fearless eyes of a lion all difficulties that stand in their way, no enemy on the face of the earth can resist the power of the Ottomans, so strong in body, mind and spirit. Then and then only will the darkened hours not be again upon us but upon our enemies; and then and then only will the fire of vengeance which burns in our hearts surely burn our foes.

Our great and well-beloved Sovereign has ordered us to organise associations for military education (*Gudj Derneghi*) to develop manhood in the race and to make ourselves worthy descendants of our worthy forefathers. According to the Imperial *irade*, associations for the purpose have been organised in every school and college including *wakaf* and *ulema* institutions. Every young man should take to healthy exercises, sports and other open-air modes of physical training to make his arms and legs stronger; he would practice shooting; guns and cartridges would be supplied by the Government. If young men who do not belong to any educational institution should organise such societies on their own initiative, they would also be favoured with free guns and cartridges and free instruction by army officers. The Government would also render pecuniary help, and silver and nickel medals and certificates would be presented by the Minister of War to deserving Corps in order of merit and services in the interest of the association.

The young men having certificates from the association would obtain special privileges when they enlist in the army:—

(1) If they enlist as Volunteers at the age of 18, they could select any regiment for service. (2) They would not be sent to Yemen and Hadjaz against their wishes. (3) If they are efficient in preparatory military instruction, they would be promoted to the grade of corporal four months before their comrades. (4) They could obtain a position in the administration after a year's service in a regiment. (5) If they discharge their duties to the satisfaction of the officers they would be granted a *congé* of two months and a half after the manœuvres.

I believe the Ottomans who are heroic by birth will immediately organise *Gudj Derneghi* at Constantinople and in every province, town and village.

The workpeople, artisans and boatmen of Constantinople assembled together the other day and approached the commandant of the first army corps for necessary information. They would receive instruction on the formation of a society of their own and start the work at once after the usual prayer on Friday. We ask for co-operation and help from the people in the smaller villages; they would obtain necessary informations from the Recruiting Officer or the Gendarmerie or directly from the Minister of War. It is a crime to spend your time idly in the cafés—an act of treachery to your country to spend Fridays without any object except in slandering others. Reserve your leisure-hours for preparing yourselves to defend your country. All those from the age of 7 to 70 should develop as early as possible strong muscles and get used to sharpshooting so that it would be easy to meet the enemies face to face in future, and with glorious results.

We wish thousands of men, coming in contact with the association from Bagdad, Damascus, Erzeroum, Aidin, Konia and from every part of the beloved country, should come to Constantinople to take part in the shooting meeting to be held next year in the august presence of our beloved Sovereign. May the God Almighty protect and inspire them with noble desire!

TETE À TETE.



At the request of a number of our readers we have decided to issue the *Comrade War Bulletin*, provided a sufficient number of subscribers are registered within the next few days. From the full particulars that are given on another page it would be seen that we are in a position to serve a large area around Delhi with a fresh and regular supply of war news, and we are sure no other paper can in this respect compete with us. The Bulletin will be issued as soon as an adequate number of applications have been received.

THE readers of the *Comrade* will note that with this number the day of issue of the paper has been changed from Saturday to Wednesday, and henceforth the *Comrade* will regularly appear on Wednesday.

Our Day of Issue. We had long been convinced of the change as desirable in view of the fact that the foreign mail is usually received here on Saturdays and it was consequently impossible for us to insert in the *Comrade* the latest correspondence we received from abroad or news and articles from foreign papers, which on account of their particular interest should have reached our readers without being staled by the lapse of a week. This difficulty was particularly felt during the Balkan war. We have at last decided to remove it in view of the War in Europe, which will naturally be followed with the keenest interest in this country. The new arrangement will enable us to include in the *Comrade* all information of interest and value contained in the foreign mail immediately after its arrival.

The English papers received with the last mail contain ample references to the growing tension of feeling between Serbia and the Dual Monarchy, but most of the comments show little appreciation of the gravity of the situation then existing.

On the Eve of the War. The *Times*, writing on the 22nd July, is no doubt full of its usual warnings and trusts that Austria-Hungary would make it possible for Serbia to arrive at a reasonable settlement of the dispute, but it has no strong grounds to fear that the bickerings of the papers in Vienna and Belgrade would endanger the peace of Europe. The *Manchester Guardian* in a leaderette of 23rd July, i.e., the day on which the Austrian Note was presented to Serbia, wrote as follows:—"Vienna is notoriously the most jumpy capital in Europe, and the talk about war between Austria and Serbia is not to be taken very seriously." In the light of later events this assurance reads a bit pathetic if not amusing.

PERFIDIOUS Italy. WHATEVER may be the measure of German culpability in the present war, it is difficult to withhold our admiration for the cool courage and resolve which the Kaiser and his people are showing in the hour of their heaviest trial. They are fighting against overwhelming odds, and the issues of the struggle involve their national existence, but they do not seem to have lost an iota of their confidence in their strength to meet "a world of enemies."

The Triple Alliance has broken like a reed at the very moment for which it had been designed and maintained with such sedulous care. The defection of Italy has shown how utterly worthless all diplomatic engagements and instruments are that are not based on complete reciprocity of interests. The Triple Alliance is dead through the desertion of Italy, and one cannot but despise this perfidious Power who has broken her troth so light-heartedly. Italy has derived immense benefit through the support of Germany during the past decade. Her raid on Tripoli would not have prospered as it did if the powerful support of the Triple Alliance had not been at her back. The Powers of the Triple Entente seem

to be delighted with Italy's shameful action, and efforts are being made to draw her within their orbit. Italians at Paris and London are reported to be fraternising with the French and the English in their war demonstrations. But will the friendship of a nation with such a record be of any value to England and France?

The war in Europe with Russia and France on one side and Germany and Austria on the other will be chiefly a supreme military struggle for supremacy. With British intervention the naval resources of Great Britain and Germany are being put to the test. A naval action is reported to have taken place in the North Sea and the German fleet is said to have fled. No details of the engagement have yet been received, and it does not seem to have been a decisive affair. We give below the approximate naval strengths of the Powers involved in the war. In calculating the strength of a modern fleet mere numbers do not necessarily count, for great improvements have in recent years been effected in naval armaments and battleships of the pre-Dreadnought era have lost much of their efficiency as fighting units. The French fleet, for instance, is larger than the German fleet in the number of ships of all descriptions, but the German fleet is more modern, more compact and greater in effective strength. The construction of battleships of the Dreadnought type, with its average tonnage of 17,000 and equipment of ten 12-in. guns has greatly reduced the value of older ships on account of their lesser speed and the narrower range of their guns. If England had remained neutral the German fleet would have been the master of the North Sea, and the northern coasts of France would have been exposed to serious attack. But England has not remained neutral, and the supreme interest would, therefore, attach to the issue of a decisive trial of strength between the British and German fleets. The following table gives a full statement of the numbers, sizes, and powers of the ships of war of Great Britain and Germany, under the denominations given in the Admiralty Return presented to the House of Commons in February 1914. None of these ships are more than twenty years old:—

Country.	Class of ships.	Nos.	Tonn.	Average.	Guns.						
					6in.	7.5	8.9	9.2	9.4	10	11
Great Britain	Battleships	56	961,240	16,600	...	...	...	52	...	8	...
	Battle Cruisers	9	127,700	20,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Cruisers	47	525,000	11,200	334	70	...	68	...	...	...
	Light Cruisers	64	270,790	1,200	257	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total		176	1,843,900	...	691	70	...	120	...	...	...
Germany	Battleships	35	532,000	15,200	...	...	...	...	46	...	...
	Battle Cruisers	4	89,300	22,200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Cruisers	9	94,000	10,400	82	...	44	...	6	...	...
	Light Cruisers	43	155,000	5,600	50	...	16	...	...	...	...
Total		91	870,000	...	132	...	...	...	...	...	...

Of torpedo and special vessels Great Britain has twenty-six and Germany has none. Of destroyers, Great Britain has 201 with a total horse-power of 2,100,000; and Germany has 188, with a total horse-power of 1,400,000. Of submarines, Great Britain has sixty-nine, and Germany, twenty-four. As regards the naval strengths of the other Powers, the following table gives the approximate figures:—

Country	Battle-ships	Pre-Dreadnought	Dreadnought	Battle Cruisers	Armoured Cruisers	Cruisers	Destroyers	Submarines.
France	20	...	...	...	22	10	74	69
Russia	9	...	...	...	6	11	96	31
Austria	6	...	1	...	3	6	14	6
Italy	8	...	1	...	10	6	28	16

HAVING been compelled to deal with one of Mrs. Besant's critics last week, we think it would be just as well if we deal with the *Times* leader also. According to this uninformed and ill-informed paper, Mrs. Besant's letter has been "materially weakened by an imperfect understanding of Indian conditions." We are prepared to admit that there may be some aspects of Indian life to which Mrs. Besant may still be a stranger, and she has certainly never put forward a claim to be an up-to-date edition of the *Gazetteer of India*. But it is certain that twenty generations of the editors of the *Times* have not collectively possessed as much knowledge of India as Mrs. Besant does; and it is difficult not to laugh outright when one reads so absurd a passage as the following in the *Times* article:—"No one who has intimate knowledge of the Indian Vernacular Press can doubt that in India the privileges enjoyed by conductors of newspapers have been in some instances very greatly abused in the last decade. To assess the extent of the damage which has been wrought it is necessary to sit, not in a college at Benares, but with the village schoolmaster beneath the banyan-tree which furnishes a common resting-place at eventide. There is no restriction inflicted nowadays upon the Indian Press which would not sit lightly and imperceptibly upon any editor in England. The English editor knows the bounds beyond which he

"should not transgress; the Indian editor has no tradition of restraint." Pray, where did the *Times*' leader-writers acquire "intimate knowledge of the Indian Vernacular Press"? We do not know even of a single Anglo-Indian journalist who could read an Indian paper written in some vernacular with as much ease as the Matriculate of the Allahabad or the Punjab University could read the most ponderous leader of the *Times*. No doubt some Anglo-Indian papers occasionally publish translations of extracts from vernacular newspapers; but we do not know of a single case in which competent and honest men are employed to do this work in Anglo-Indian newspaper offices, and after his recent experiences the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer would bear us out that such translators are, as a rule, vile traitors to their texts. For the *Times* to sneer at Mrs. Besant because she sits in a College at Benares—which the leader-writer of the *Times* does not—and not "with the village schoolmaster beneath the banyan-tree which furnishes a common resting-place at eventide"—for Indians, but not for Europeans and Indians together—is for Philip the Drunk to preach a temperance sermon to Philip the Sober. As for the English editor and the bounds beyond which he knows he should not transgress, would the *Times* like us to reproduce all the vile epithets which its, brothers of the Tory Press have applied not only to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, but also to that Liberal Imperialist Mr. Asquith, and occasionally even to that pale grey Liberal who presides over the Foreign Office? Had the Press Act been in force in England there would have been no such papers to day as that vulgar publication, the *National Review*, or that happy hunting ground of a violent-tempered man in his dotage, namely, the *Pall Mall*, not to mention the caterers of ha'penny hysteria such as the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*. The rest of the *Times* article is equally feeble, and if it can find nothing more damaging to say of Mrs. Besant than this, that "because clubs are founded 'upon a basis with which Mrs. Besant, like many women, is 'still imperfectly familiar,' her 'apparent contention that Indians 'can claim admission to any English Club' cannot be accepted, then we must say Mrs. Besant has come off from a trial of strength with the superior and masculine *Times* in a manner of which the suffragettes may well be proud. One more observation of the *Times* we should like to bring into more light. With reference to that bold challenge to the Colonies, and in fact to the whole of the British Empire, of Gurdit Singh, a hero like Gandhi, and yet so unlike Gandhi, the *Times* says: "No desire for 'the vindication of the rights of Indians as subjects of the 'Empire, but rather that desperate acquisitiveness which is 'always at the bottom of the motive of the Sikh, is the true explanation of the steamer 'Komagata Maru' at Vancouver." The italics are ours, but the insult is entirely that of the *Times*. All that we need say about this damning judgment is that, among others, the stalwart Sikh has been fighting the battles of the Empire, thanks to the C.B.-mania of our Army officers, almost from year to year and risking his life on eleven rupees per mensem, while the leader writer of the *Times* has not probably joined Lord Haldane's "Terriers" yet for the sake of King and country. If, as is quite likely, he is a retired Anglo-Indian official, the odds are entirely in his favour as against the desperately acquisitive Sikh so far as exploiting a portion of the Empire beyond his own domicile is concerned. The poor Sikh who does battle for him and his on a salary less than his *dhobi's* has not even a sporting chance against him. May we not ask whether such observations as this can come from any but the doomed whom the gods have deprived of their reason first? First it was the seditious Hindu, then it was the fanatical Moslem, and now it seems to be the turn of the desperately acquisitive Sikh. Will it be the Gurkhas next or the Rajputs? Europe in the throes of Armageddon and the *Times* damning one of the staunchest supporters of the British Rule in India on the score of greed,—how very timely and *Times*-like! But we may be sure that the seditious Hindu, the fanatical Mussalman and the greedy Sikh will not forget at this hour their duty to the Government. They know the value of the connection between India and England, and would risk anything to keep that connection unimpaired. We have dealt with the general character and broad issues of the war elsewhere, for we could not pass over an event of such world-wide import and such dimensions without stating what we feel to be the truth about it. We have said what we had to say on this score; and henceforth our chief concern will be to record the progress of the war, and its various phases and other developments to which it may lead. As for India, her attitude is quite clear. Her people are as loyal to their Sovereign as they were ever before. They have little enthusiasm for the war in Europe; but they recognise their responsibilities. Now that Great Britain is at war, the voice of controversy in this country should be hushed. The responsible leaders of Indian opinion are, we are sure, fully aware of what they owe to the country and the Government, and the latter may rest assured that the people as a whole stand fast to their mooring, and no untoward incidents abroad can, for a moment, endanger the internal peace and security of India.

The Comrade.

The "Peace of Europe" and its Sequel.

With the entry of Great Britain into the arena against Germany, the armed struggle in Europe has begun on a scale unprecedented since the Napoleonic wars. What the issues of a conflict of such magnitude may be, it is difficult to forecast. No one need be told, however, that the collision between huge conscript armies, equipped with up-to-date scientific engines of destruction and moved by a fury that has been fed for generations on economic rivalries and racial pride, will be terrific, and its consequences will be appalling. The cost of victory in this struggle would be scarcely less crushing than the losses of defeat. It is not a war between paid mercenary hosts, ready to fling themselves against each other to satisfy the vanity or greed of irresponsible military adventurers. It is a war between compact, united nations—with a few exceptions, highly trained, industrial communities, complexly organised, deeply conscious of their individualities and their rights, supremely jealous of their national honour, throbbing with passionate patriotism and trained to act unitedly and bear the utmost sacrifices whenever their respective national interests demand united action and ungrudging sacrifice. The strain of this war will be terrible, and the nations involved will be crippled for years by the enormous waste of life and resources. Their industries and commerce are already completely paralysed, money-markets have been closed, business is at a standstill, and the international trade has been disorganised. The very existence of these industrial communities depends on the steady flow of international finance, but with the first whispers of war the operations of the international money-markets have inevitably ceased, and one can hardly exaggerate the misery and suffering which a world-wide economic crisis, coupled with the devastations of a war of this magnitude, would entail on victors and vanquished alike. No one can seriously accuse the responsible statesmen of Europe of a woeful mental density which might have prevented them from realising to the full the consequences of such a catastrophe. They know perfectly well what a war of this character would ultimately mean to their peoples. There can be no blinking of the facts and no possible illusions as to the final results. Nations like the English, the German or the French cannot be enslaved even through defeat. Every war-lord in Europe knows that a war of conquest against a highly conscious, united, and powerful community of many millions would in the end prove an expensive futility.

What is it, then, that has fed the war-fever and driven the most civilised nations of Europe into a mortal combat with utter scorn of the consequences and with loud and frantic cries of death or victory on their lips? The causes are complex and have their roots deep in the social, economic and racial conditions of Europe. They have formed the gravamen of the discussions about the varying phases of European politics for upwards of forty years. For our present purpose it would suffice to know that the war is the direct result of the reaction of a militant nationalism with its exclusive economic and political interests against the wider economic forces of the world. A race for exclusive markets and wider places in the sun has meant keen, uncompromising struggle for privilege and dominance under the smooth disguises of diplomacy. The crude, primitive desire for material gain has been dressed up into a thing of wonderous fascination. It has been sanctified by patriotism, purified through national culture and has grown into one of the deep-seated instincts of race. Diplomacy has cherished it as an ideal and has pursued it with all the skill and resources at its command. Artificial standards of honour and interest have grown up around it to obscure the minds and consciences of the peoples, who have been driven, as if under a malignant spell, into a state of mutual antagonism and unyielding exclusiveness. Phantom fears and weird alarms have preyed on their nerves and forced them to submit to tremendous sacrifices for self-defence against possible aggression. Behind the walls of isolation born of hatred or dread they have been worshipping the false idols which diplomacy has constantly held up for their pride and veneration. Such an artificial state of things could not obviously go on. A single incident has shattered to pieces the whole framework of that diplomatic myth, known as the peace of Europe. Under the stimulus of the most moving catchwords of race and nationality the primitive economic instincts had always been at work. Statesmen had blindly or helplessly built on temporary devices assuming them to be bed-rock realities. Diplomacy had been busy with strengthening the basis of an international relationship which had all along rested on most flimsy foundations. The crash has come at last, and no one can be sure how things will shape themselves anew out of the debris.

But if the overstrong racial vanities and the peculiar economic and social organisation of the nations of Europe had prepared ground for a great European conflict and rendered war on an enormous scale inevitable, we cannot dismiss the responsible rulers of Europe as mere passive, helpless agents in the grip of irresistible forces. They have to share to the full the responsibility for the awful catastrophe that they have brought over the heads of their peoples. Their acts have supplied the immediate cause and the occasion. They cannot be treated as blind instruments ruthlessly pressed into the service of the inevitable process called History. If the accepted values and standards have the least relevance in human affairs, we must regard them as free agents capable of materially affecting circumstances by force of unfettered volition. Our aim is not so much to frame ethical issues, or deliver praise or censure on the high plane of morality, as to study the situation in the light of the facts and see the ways in which such epoch-making events take their birth.

The greatest tragedies frequently look mean to the actual on-lookers, and the greatest tragic drama in European history opens with few elements that might redeem its naked brutality. No doubt, the combatants enter the lists with pious invocations and call the world to witness with what clean hands and clear consciences they take the sword. Germany declares that she is defending herself against unprovoked aggression; France stands forth once more as the champion of freedom and liberty; Russia is feeling outraged at the insolent attack of an unscrupulous enemy and is fortifying her resolution by the blessings of her priests; England thinks that she must vindicate her honour and requite the obligations of disinterested friendship. All these declarations sound a high and righteous note, and though it may be difficult to discover the villain of the piece amidst these solemn protestations of innocence, it may be some comfort to know that Europe has not forgotten to pay lip service to her vaunted ideals of conduct in the heat and fury of war. All this is magnificent, but the world has unfortunately grown into the habit of discounting much that comes from Europe in her moods of self-revelation. It would be enough to say that the combatants deserve thanks for their flattering desire to put themselves right with the outside world. As for the real character of the figures on the chess-board, their relative positions and their moves and counter-moves, it is a different story, with details that are not very inspiring in their realism and make together a very prosaic narrative.

The events that have led up to the war are not easily intelligible unless one keeps in touch with the wires that have worked behind the scenes. In the fierce passions of the moment much wild fustian is being talked, and the truth can be seen only by carefully disentangling the facts from cant and hysteria. The outstanding primary fact that one has to keep in mind is the murder of the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince and his wife by a Bosnian Serb. It was not an isolated crime due to the frenzy of an anarchist or the hatred of a personal enemy. It was the fruit of an organised revolutionary conspiracy with clear undisguised aims to emancipate the Serbs of the Dual Monarchy and promote the union of the entire Serbdom into one independent Empire. Austria-Hungary could not forgive this treacherous blow aimed at her integrity and honour, and when a vigorously conducted inquiry brought to light a formidable conspiracy with ramifications extending to Belgrade and the complicity of a number of Serbian officers in the Sarajevo crime remained no longer in doubt, Austria-Hungary was bound to take such action as the facts of the situation dictated. The now famous note was accordingly handed to Serbia in due course, and though its terms have been described as drastic, no one would seriously contend that less urgent demands would have accorded with the dignity of a great Empire, or effectually stamped out the danger to its integrity that lay at its very doors. If Austria-Hungary was to preserve peace within her own borders, it was imperative on her to insist on the rooting out of the nest of regicides at Belgrade. Serbia would not have dared to reject the Austrian demands; but Russia, her great patron, patted her on the back and bade her to stand firm. In the meantime Germany declared that in the dispute, which solely concerned Austria-Hungary and Serbia, no third party should intervene. Whatever policy and designs may have lurked behind German armaments, it is only fair to admit that in this crisis the attitude of Germany has been thoroughly frank and consistent. Her relations with the Dual Monarchy precluded any idea of her standing aside and seeing her Ally threatened and nearly attacked by the great Protector of the Slavs while the former was engaged in punishing Serbia for her misdeeds. Russia, however, met the German declaration by ordering a partial mobilisation of her army. This was the beginning of the European crisis. The Russian move conveyed a plain hint to Austria-Hungary and her friends that she would not be allowed to deal with Serbia as she deserved. The order of mobilisation was meant as a challenge and was straightway accepted as such. Germany did not set about to spin diplomatic devices and deluge the world with mendacious pacifisms. She bluntly asked Russia to explain why

she was mobilising her forces. And when she could not get a satisfactory answer, she declared war on Russia. There may be nothing to admire in these proceedings on the score of moral principles. The flourishing of the mailed fist at the first provocation can never commend itself to those who were seriously anxious for the peace of Europe. But we were always assured that mailed fists were the best guarantee for the peace of the world, and in view of the habitual practice of her rivals, it would be hypocrisy to blame Germany if she acted up to the prevailing ethics of militarism and, consistently with the European theory about national existence, did not care to conceal her heavy mailed fist in a velvet glove. She declared war on Russia because she was convinced that Russia was preparing for an onslaught on Austria-Hungary. She cannot be fairly accused of wanton aggression, when the worst she has done is that she has not minced matters or evaded the plain issue of war or national humiliation forced upon her. The subsequent developments were inevitable. France was bound to help Russia and carry out her obligations in accordance with the terms of the Dual Alliance. The Franco-Russian understanding is based on their common fear of Germany; and though the two Allies have little in common in their national traditions and cultures, their mutual dread and hatred of Germany had drawn them together into a formal compact for concerted action. Now Germany knew that she would have to keep sufficient forces on the Franco-German frontier to meet French invasion, even if France did not join in the struggle at once. She knew as well that, with her hands full with Russia, a French invasion would be most disconcerting to her plans and might possibly involve her in disaster. She, therefore, asked France to make her attitude clear and frankly state her intentions. The French army was being mobilised and an active exchange of views was taking place between Sir Edward Grey and the French Foreign Office. M. Poincaré has been denouncing Germany in terms of righteous indignation and holding up France as the champion of liberty and civilisation, who has been forced against her will to meet the treacherous assault of a brutal foe. The picture is not very convincing. The fact seems to be that France was not prepared to go to war against Germany. She wanted to gain time to mobilise her army and manoeuvre for full diplomatic and military support from England. German diplomacy may have been reckless as the *Pioneer* has been shouting at the top of its voice, but German calculations about possible hostile combination against the Fatherland could not have been hasty and wild. The Kaiser's Ministers would have never dragged France into the struggle, if they could be sure of being left alone to deal with Russia without outside intervention. But France could not leave Russia in the lurch, and it suited German plans to strike the first blow at her while she was not yet fully prepared to take the field rather than to leave her to complete her preparations and throw her entire force against Germany at some crucial moment later on. As for Great Britain, Germany seems to have done all she could to detach her, but she has failed. Sir Edward Grey's statement sums up the broad features of the situation which have influenced British policy at this supreme juncture in the history of Europe, and they require a close examination with a view to determine the degree of British responsibility in the war.

Sir Edward Grey has earned well-deserved tributes for his strenuous efforts to preserve the peace. He failed because the menace of the Russian military measures set new forces at work which were beyond the control of diplomacy. With the outbreak of war between Russia and Germany he was thrown back on the primary considerations on which his foreign policy had been based. The central idea for which he has laboured as foreign Minister has been to maintain the balance of power between the two rival groups in Europe. To thwart and checkmate German influence and ambition was the root purpose of that diplomatic coalition known as the Triple Entente. Sir Edward Grey had worked for it with a singleness of purpose that amounted almost to infatuation and had cheerfully borne great sacrifices to preserve it as an effective counterpoise to a group of interests and ambitions embodied in the Triple Alliance. With Russia involved in war and France pledged to support Russia, Sir Edward Grey inevitably found himself weighing Great Britain's obligations to these two members of the Entente group. His long diplomatic practice prevented his seeing any other but the conventional aspect of the case. He could not extricate himself from his diplomatic entanglements to judge the situation on its merits. The statement that he has given to the House of Commons emphasises two supreme considerations which have, according to him, determined his attitude. He defined Great Britain's position from the points of view of British interests and British honour. He said it would be disgraceful for Britain to leave France to bear the brunt of the German attack. He denied there was any definite understanding binding England to render military help to France in any contingency, but he made a clever appeal to a vague sentiment of friendship which has after all entailed a far heavier burden on the British Empire than a definite military alliance with France could have done. Liberalism has always shrunk from definite Continental entanglements, but Sir Edward Grey's vague friendships have turned out to be far more costly and

far-reaching obligations. The Tory chauvinists and a large section of the public that had been taught to hate Germany by the Tory Press have carried all before them, and the House of Commons has endorsed Sir Edward Grey's policy with much enthusiasm. Germany had given an engagement not to attack the French coast and shipping, but Sir Edward Grey regarded it as "too raw" and wanted her to give a definite pledge to respect Belgian neutrality. Germany could not give any pledge of the kind, though she promised to restore Belgian integrity and independence after the war. On this narrowed issue of "honour" the British Cabinet has taken the fateful decision and declared war on Germany. As regards British interests, Sir Edward Grey has failed to make it definitely clear how they would have suffered in case of British neutrality. He says that "we are going to suffer terribly in this war, whether we are in it or not." This mainly refers to the inevitable results of the paralysis of trade and business, and even Sir Edward Grey seems to be conscious of the absence of any direct menace to British interests that is likely to arise from this war. Is this significant sentence then the trait of cynicism and meant as an indirect incitement to war? We are not sure if the temptation to crush and destroy the German navy, while Germany is engaged in a life and death struggle with two powerful enemies on her two land frontiers, has not led the British war-cabinet and determined the policy of the British Ministers. This may be regarded as a legitimate defence of British interests by some stretch of imagination, but in that case it would have been much more decent to be frank about it and clear ourselves of guilt.

Frankly, we have not been impressed by Sir Edward Grey's apologia about the war against Germany. We can see no direct menace to British interests that could have resulted from the struggle on the Continent, and we think British honour could have been easily vindicated at the end of the struggle if the course of events had made any such vindication necessary. Again, we do not like England fighting on the side of Russia. We hold no brief for Germany, but it seems to us that it is not any combatant who is defending the cause of civilisation in this struggle, it is the Germans fighting the great Slav menace to the liberties and institutions of civilised Europe. The defeat of the Teutons would eventually impose Russian hegemony on Europe, and we need not detail the horrors of such a contingency. The Muscovite has everywhere crushed human liberties, enslaved free and historic peoples, trampled ancient institutions underfoot and has always figured in the history of the world as a dark symbol of brute force and pulsing tyranny. It is one of the cruellest ironies of fate that, in the hour of the most hateful struggle in Europe, Great Britain, the home of freedom and of right, should have to fight as the friend of the most obscurantist and overbearing despotism in the world.

However, as we have already said, our business is not to judge but to explain. The war has evoked widespread expressions of Indian loyalty to the British Throne, and the Viceroy's assurance to the Home Government has gratified the people of India. There have been many offers for active service from public bodies and associations and individuals. We may not doubt the sincerity of these offers, but we cannot help ruminating over the essential impotence of the loyalty that binds us to the Throne of England. Indians, who may no doubt be ready to come in tens of thousands whenever there is a need to defend their country, are fit only to serve as foot for powder and shot. We wonder how many of us are fit to handle a modern rifle and how many can even intelligently grasp the essentials of modern warfare. We trust the real facts of the situation in India will remind our rulers of their duty to save the manhood of the country from ruin and allow the people to train themselves for the defence of the country and the Empire. Thanks to her navy, England's risk in this war is negligible, but in case of real danger it would indeed be a great humiliation to India and England if the defence of India were to be left to the care of an outsider, say, Japan.

As for any very active, if not also *effective*, emotion being evoked, there may be no great enthusiasm in this country for a war which means no certain gain to the people of India yet a good deal of certain loss. We repeat, there may be no enthusiasm in India for a war which has been declared on account of some mysterious international obligations, not of India, but of an Empire which can mean little that is conducive to enthusiasm in those that have been turned back from the shores of Canada after a bold challenge and a brave struggle, or even in those who in South Africa have to be satisfied with a crumb extorted by their sufferings in a passive resistance, if not doled out, as a matter of charity, by the Boers against whom they had assisted the Government of the self-same Empire. Indians would be something more than human, if not something less than human, if they could raise on the instant an overwhelming hatred of the German, the Austrian and the Hungarian, who had hitherto been treated with far greater consideration than the Indian himself, and against whom even in time of war no Indian soldier may be sent. But only a lunatic could dream of another Gov-

ernment for India than the one she has hitherto enjoyed in spite of all its shortcomings, and if volunteers are being recruited on account of "the enormous responsibilities" of the Imperial Government in India one can only laugh at so much a lot about a thing, or grieve over the fate of those who have lived in India for three centuries, and ruled over parts of it for over a hundred and fifty years, and yet are as ignorant of that which passes in the heart of India as if Sir Thomas Rowe came on his mission only a year ago and Clive had won at Plassey but yesterday. One can only say with the poet:

یارب وہ نہ سمجھتی ہیں نہ سمجھ سکیں مری مات
دی اور دل اونکو جو نہ دی تمکو رہاں اور

(O God! They have not understood nor will they understand my meaning. Give them another heart, if Thou wilt not give me another tongue.)

We are glad to learn from *Lancer* of last Sunday that the Hon. Mr. Huley, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, had not issued the letter calling on Europeans to prepare themselves for emergencies, a move which its correspondent had wired to it from Delhi, and even "merely as a Volunteer Officer," Mr. Huley need not be able to address "certain persons, pointing out that in the present circumstances, it is advisable that Volunteer Corps should be at full possible strength." There are still some sane people among Indians themselves, and though they do not advertise the offer of their personal services to the Government, whatever influence they possess with the people could be used to decrease rather than increase the Government's embarrassment. They could offer no better guarantee than this that they regard India's connection with Great Britain as, at the present stage of India's growth, indispensable, and we are sure that the less lofty motive of self-interest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip loyalty of *Jai Hind*.

Whether Great Britain has respected Moslem Indian feeling in her dealings with Turkey, Persia, Morocco or not, whether the utterance of His Majesty's Ministers regarding the Turks in their life and death struggle during the war have been just and consistent or unjust and inconsistent, whether their action following two breaches of treaty obligations by Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina and by Italy in the Tripolitane, have settled or not with the recent public proclamation of our sense of the breach of treaties; whether their conscience has revolted or not at the slaughter of babes and sucklings, unprotected womanhood and bedridden age in Tifoli and the Balkans, which is the white Colonial treatment of coloured fellow-citizens of the same Empire has been fair or otherwise, whether the Home Government has exerted its full pressure on the Colonials to right the wrong or has not assumed an in redoubtance; whether Indian claims for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British bureaucracy in the spirit of readiness or of jealousy and rancour, whether in the aftermath of the partition of Bengal the Mussalmans were treated with due consideration for their loyalty or it was underrated and their contentment taken too much for granted; whether the sanctity of their places of worship and the integrity of their graveyards have been uniformly protected or sometimes lightly sacrificed to the Moloch of Prestige—we say that, irrespective of any or all these considerations, or rather because we have carefully weighed them all against the one supreme consideration, our need of England and her aid at the present stage of our national and communal growth, and found her good exceeding by a very great deal her evil, we shall remain loyal to her as only free men can remain loyal, with a sincere devotion and an unbought submission, and that whether she crushes the naval power of Germany and becomes a dictator to Europe, or the last ship of her mighty Armada sinks in the North Sea and her last soldier falls down and dies round Jünger or London.

We do not even wish to talk of "loyalty" in this connection, for off-

دہر میں نقش وفا و جہ تلی نورا * می بہ وہ لعل کہ شرمہ مہنی ہوا
(The sun is so then, as glowing of "loyalty" is of a kind of consolation as a word which shows nothing to be used and meaning.) We therefore talk not of loyalty but call this patriotism, for even if England may not need us, we have need of her. Being in political purity rather than in political perversity, we have entered the lists with her biggest bursters in India in times of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all as are the Government that so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone provincial satraps and the still greater despots of their districts, their meanest, if not their humblest policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere.

The Campaign.

I.—VISIONS MATERIALIZED.

THAT which Europe has dreaded so long, and yet that which Europe has consistently worked for so long—sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously—has come to pass at last. Whenever the annual estimates of various Powers for their armies and navies came up for discussion, whenever some new design of battle-ship or new pattern of gun or rifle, or some new formula for an explosive to be used therein was announced, or whenever some Power raided or attempted to raid a weaker nation in Asia or Africa, and some other Power felt indignant at such aggression against its own destined prey, and cried halt to the aggressor, or demanded "compensation," people talked of Armageddon, and before the eyes of each rose a vision of the devastation that would be wrought by the latest instruments which Science had been enslaved to manufacture not for the preservation, but for the destruction of mankind. Visions of carnage and rapine, mutilation and misery, famine and disease, and every other scourge that past experience makes the world associate with war, stood forth before the gaze of all beholders, like Banquo's ghost that came to the feast of Macbeth. But Europe had supped so full of horrors during the last few years that familiarity with them deprived these visions of much of their horror, and the unbidden guests came and went unnoticed at her feast. But for all her familiarity with such airy visions, the substantial reality is now at her festive board, and one knows not how many kings it will push off from their stools. At any rate, every one who has seen such visions has now ample opportunity to compare them with the reality. If present portents can be relied upon, we fear the reality would be much worse than the most horrible vision, and the European struggle that commenced with Austria's declaration of war against Serbia would dwarf in its magnitude, character and consequences the Napoleonic wars which have hitherto been regarded by succeeding generations of men with an awe associated with cataclysms of the gravest import and greatest magnitude.

II.—THE WAR CORRESPONDENT ENTRANCE AND EXIT.

Human mind is so constituted that those one knows not one also does not sympathise with sufficiently to be curious about their doings. Although the Esquimaux and the Hottentots are human beings just as much as the Germans and the French, it is difficult for those who know the Germans and the French, but do not know the Esquimaux and the Hottentots equally well to feel as much interested in their affairs as in those of the Germans and the French, and this irrespective of the obvious fact that the affairs of an uncivilized people will not possess as much interest as those of nations in the vanguard of civilization. Curiosity is the appetite which grows with what it feeds on, and the more we know of a people the more curious we are to know more of them. When the world was younger than it is to-day, people knew very little of those living at some distance from them, and were therefore incurious about their affairs. As knowledge of the world has grown, our curiosity about the affairs of those who inhabit the world along with ourselves has also grown and, paradoxical as it may seem, when a much greater part of the world has been discovered than a few centuries ago, the world is much smaller than it used to be, for the extension of means of communication have, so to speak, reduced the scale of the world's map, and we have been brought much closer to each other than before. Even if human interests had not become so much inter-related to day, we would have felt a far greater interest in our comparatively isolated sub-continent of India in the world-struggle that is now taking place to day on the soil of Europe than our forefathers took in warfare on the borders of India or even within the confines of India herself. But the march of Science, as applied to the means of communication, has been so rapid that we forget that it was not so long ago that this self-same Science was almost at a standstill. The advent of the first War Correspondent, as of the first War Nurse, must be within living memory. Both in a way revolutionised warfare, if in different manners, and although our own feelings have become jaded and the thing has become stale by usage into the commonest common-place, what a sensation it must have been to newspaper readers in London 60 years ago to read long descriptive despatches in the morning papers about a war that was still in progress at the South Eastern end of the diagonal running across Europe, and to witness, as if it were, all the horror of war and enjoy all its thrills, while quietly breakfasting in their peaceful homes. Fast steamship services and express international trains had already reduced distances very considerably; but the cheap telegraphic messages annihilated distance altogether, and it became possible during the Russo-Japanese War to learn in the clubs and libraries of St. Petersburg and Tokio in the evening what had happened in the fields and around the forts of Manchuria in the morning. That Titanic struggle was practically witnessed by the people of five continents with as much ease as if it was being carried on under their very windows. But the perfection of war correspondence became its own undoing. News of the movements of troops wired to London

by a war correspondent with the Japanese Army could be wired back the same day to St. Petersburg by the friends of Russia in the British metropolis, and wired on the next day to the Russian Generals in the field. War at its best is but a grim business, and is not carried on for the benefit of the war correspondents, the newspapers that engage them or the readers that buy the newspapers. Therefore, towards the latter part of that campaign, Japan, which though an Eastern nation, was, unlike the Turks, not as weak as she was polite, kept the war correspondents at a respectable distance from the war and carefully censored all that they sent to their papers. But in the recent Balkan War, the war correspondent had his eyes bandaged, his ears stuffed with cotton wool and his hands and feet tied, by the Balkan Allies and was then interned in a dungeon a few hundred miles away from the seat of war, and if the Turk was much more polite than this—and, let us add, much less wise—the correspondents that had accompanied Turkish armies showed so much gratitude in return when they wrote their despatches that we trust even the Turks have been cured of their inveterate politeness and have learned wisdom. Miss Durham, writing in this year's "World's Press" on "The Modern War Correspondents" in connection with their experiences during the Balkan War, says:—

One actually slept in the stable with his horse, though there was plenty of accommodation, in order to be able to give a warlike flavour to his common-place experiences—"Our Own Correspondent Stoops". Another who arrived some days after a big battle, and was not allowed even to visit its site, made a drawing of the same in a bed-room of the hotel. Another published a photograph of the meeting of certain Generals, who met, in fact, at midnight, but they were induced to meet again next day and pose! They were all, I suppose, doing their best to "supply a felt want". Long columns of stuff describing how our Correspondent's motor car stuck in the mud, on "Belgrade on the Eve of War", "Our Own Correspondent Narrowly Escapes Death", and so forth, are mere pandering to the idle curiosity of the more ignorant of the public.

Let us be sure then that in this war, which is a life and death struggle of Titans, the war correspondent will be allowed to see even less than what he saw in the Balkans. The most rigorous censorship that can be imagined would be applied to all war news; but we have no doubt that if a war correspondent wished to play the rôle of Lieutenant Wagner of *Reckpost* fame, he would be given ample opportunity and every assistance for the purpose of weaving yards and yards of such texture. But their value to serious readers would be even less than that of the *gups* heard in Lucknow *Chandookhanas* during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 made famous by Ratan Nath, or, if we may be pardoned for the comparison, the lectures on the campaign which "Haji Baghlil," the *confidant* of our own Hon. Mr. Gnp, threatens to deliver at least once a week for being reported in the *Hindustan*. For another reason, too, we may take it that this will be the worst reported campaign of all. Half Europe is in deadly grips with the other half, and unless America, baffled in her efforts at mediation, comes to our rescue, with her astonishingly enterprising journalists who stick at nothing in their quest for sensational news, there is every chance of the greatest war of the world being left unchronicled during its continuance for want of correspondents belonging to some neutral nation. We, in India, are placed in a particularly bad situation, for apart from the enormous distance from the seat of war and the congestion of practically the only cable that is now left to us, we have to face the difficulty of being regarded by Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues as in a special degree a source of "enormous responsibilities" to the Imperial Government. Evidently the calculated lies of a section of Anglo Indians have been believed rather than the assurance of the Viceroy; and those who regard Ireland as the brightest spot in the situation, and, in spite of the talk of Civil War on the lips of the most sober-minded and responsible subjects of His Majesty in Ireland, have revoked the Arms Proclamation, consider India to be deserving of at least a temporary embargo on all news of the war. Even at the risk of digressing, let us say how little they know India who only knowher thus.

III.—AUSTRIA AND SERBIA.

Whatever news we have received amounts to very little more than what anyone reasonably well acquainted with military and naval matters could predict. The moment war between Germany and Russia became certain, war between Austria and Serbia lost practically all its importance. Russian and Serbian territories do not adjoin, so that we cannot consider Russia and Serbia, like Austria and Germany, as practically one Power, unless Roumania also declares war against Austria and begins to act like a canal constructed to join two seas between which a narrow isthmus intervenes. Even in that case, if, as is likely, Bulgaria declared war against Serbia, it would not be difficult for Austria and Bulgaria together to block the 50 miles of Serbo-Roumanian frontier which separates Bulgaria from Hungary. So long, therefore, as both Roumania and Bulgaria are neutral, Serbia and Montenegro combined cannot affect the great struggle that is now in progress beyond harassing Austria on her Hungarian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian frontiers. Before the recent complications had set in, Austria had attempted to cross the Danube at Semlin, which is a little to the

north of Belgrade. Although it was semi-officially stated at Vienna that the Serbians had destroyed the bridge at Semlin on the morning of the 29th July, it was for sometime doubtful whether they had succeeded in doing so. But from later telegrams it appears that the bridge had been destroyed, and, repeated Austrian attempts to cross the Danube have been repulsed, and Belgrade, although in flames after Austrian bombardment, and with its recently abandoned palace badly damaged, still flies the Serbian flag. Encouraged by subsequent complications and the pre-occupation of Austria on her northern frontier in Galicia, which is part of ill-fated Poland and adjoins its Russian portion, Serbia took the offensive and attempted to cross the *Drina*, which is the western boundary separating Serbia from Bosnia. But here the Austrian frontier guards appear to have been sufficient to oppose the crossing. Subsequently the Austrians seem to have attacked Serbia all along her northern and western frontier at *Pozharevatz*, which is 50 miles to the south-east of Belgrade; at *Semenova*, which is at a distance of 12 miles to its south; at *Loznitz*, some 90 miles to the south-west, and at *Mokragora* which lies 70 miles to the south of Loznitz. But for all this, it does not seem likely that Austria would at present do anything more than hold the Serbs in check. Considering that Serbia is land-locked, it may be to the advantage of the Austrians to exhaust her by delay and cut off the supplies both of Serbia and Montenegro by means of the blockade at *Cattaro* and *Antivari* whence alone supplies can reach them from the sea. Success in this is, however, somewhat doubtful. The Bulgarians would certainly not assist their enemies, but the neutrality of Roumania is certainly friendly and that of Greece more than friendly to Serbia. It, therefore, remains to be seen whether the naval blockade would be effective. At any rate, the Serbian frontier is not likely to arrest our attention or that of Austria just at present.

IV.—RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

In the case of Austria and Russia, it was Russia that took the initiative, and Austria did not declare the war till late on the 6th or early on the 7th instant. A Berlin telegram of 31st July informed us that Russians had destroyed a railway bridge in Austria between *Szczakowa* and *Gruntza*, places some 40 miles to the north-west of *Cracow* and at the junction of the frontiers of Germany, Russia and Austria. Beyond this no news has yet been received of Austro-Russian movements except that Austria has apparently almost abandoned the attack on Serbia and is moving troops in the direction of her northern Polish province of Galicia to confront Russia, and that Russian troops have entered Austrian territory in the valley of the *Styr*, attacking her at her extreme north-west frontier near *Lemberg*.

V.—RUSSIA AND GERMANY.

Turning to the Russo-German struggle, the first news that we received was from Berlin, dated July 30th, that German troops were moving in response to a Russian advance towards *Wirballen*, a place which we have not been able to discover on any easily available map. Two days after, that is on the 1st of August, Germany declared war on Russia, and on the same day the first shots of war were fired on the Russian frontier, a Russian patrol coming into collision with a German patrol near *Proshken*, 800 yards on the German side of the frontier. No such place can be located on the map, and it may be that the place referred to is *Pitschen* or *Pleschen*, both of which are on the western frontier of Germany, the former being 20 miles to the south and the latter some 8 miles to the north-west of *Kalis*. Next day, according to a Berlin message, a strong Russian column, including guns and Cossacks, invaded Germany near *Dialla*, which appears to be a small town on the Austrian side of the junction of the three frontiers of Russia, Germany and Austria, and at a distance of about 45 miles from *Cracow* to the south-west. Another message, this time from *Koenigsberg*, on the extreme north-east frontier of Germany on the river *Preget* which falls into the Baltic in *Danzig* Bay, announced that the Russians had crossed the frontier at several points and inflicted considerable damage. Two days later, the Germans occupied three points on the Russian side of the frontier in Poland: *Kalusz*, which is opposite to the German towns *Krotoschin* and *Ostrowo*; *Czestochow*, some 40 miles to the south of *Kalis* and *Venizia* or *Bendzin*, some 25 miles to the south of *Czestochow*. Evidently only mere skirmishes had taken place, and while Russia was mobilizing with customary slowness, Germany had concentrated her efforts on the invasion of France. We, however, hear now that Russian mobilization will be completed earlier than it is expected, which may be anything between a fortnight and a month. In the meantime, the Russians have suffered serious losses, the German cavalry having attacked *Kibarty* near *Wirballen*.

But, as Mr. Winston Churchill said in the course of his speech on the German Navy Act in the Commons in 1912, there are some points with regard to navies and naval war which differentiate them from armies and land war. One is the awful suddenness with which naval war can reach its decisive phase, a fact of which the reported naval victory of Great Britain at *Dogger Bank*, which strangely enough has not yet been officially confirmed, may prove an apt illustration. On the other hand, between the declaration of war and

any decisive collision between two contending armies, there intervenes an inevitable period of delay due to the vast process of mobilization. This consideration does not apply to fleets which are fully capable of going into action straight from manoeuvres as soon as the ammunition could be brought up and put by the side of the guns. The Russian and German fleets have already had an encounter in the Baltic Sea. The Russian Pacific fleet was almost completely annihilated in the operations before Port Arthur, and the Baltic fleet practically disappeared in the disastrous battle of *Tsushima* in the Russo-Japanese War. But the bulk of the Black Sea fleet and a few other battleships were still left, and since 1904, steps have been taken to build new ships, though the Duma has been far from willing at all times to vote money for rebuilding the navy. According to the latest reports, the Baltic fleet of Russia consisted of 4 Dreadnoughts each of 23,300 tons displacement with twelve 12 in. and sixteen 4.7 guns for armament, and a speed of 22 knots, which were designed in 1908 and have evidently been completed subsequent to the date on which the statement of the strength of various navies which we have reproduced elsewhere was presented to the House of Commons. Four others of greater displacement and with guns of larger calibre, also of greater speed, designed in 1912 will not be ready before next year. There are four other battleships, two designed in 1899 and the other two in 1904, all pre-Dreadnoughts. There are, in addition, twelve armoured cruisers and protected cruisers of designs dating from 1892 to 1905. Six other cruisers designed in 1913 of comparatively low displacement are not yet ready. Besides these are three torpedo gunboats, 21 large destroyers and 58 smaller ones, 26 torpedo boats and 29 submarines. Thirty six larger destroyers and 12 submarines are still building. In addition to this fleet, Russia possessed in the Black Sea a smaller fleet consisting of 6 or 7 pre-Dreadnought battleships and 2 protected cruisers, with a complement of destroyers, torpedo boats and submarines. But unless Turkey permits or she is forced, the Black Sea fleet can be of no use in this war, and Russia will have to face the German fleet with the ships that she has in the Baltic. Germany has the advantage of greater fluidity, for her Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, from *Kiel* to the *Elbe*, facilitates the transference of forces from the naval base at *Wilhelmshaven* on the North Sea to the other base at *Kiel* on the Baltic. The German naval strength in the Baltic seems to be fully equal to that of Russia even without the assistance of the North Sea fleet which would be required in the struggle with the British fleet. The chief base of the Russian Baltic fleet is *Cronstadt* which is heavily fortified, but the Gulf of Finland is usually blocked by ice from November to April, whereby the operations of the fleet are impeded; and if a decisive action is not fought within the next few weeks, Russia will in one way be considerably handicapped, though in another way she could consider herself safe from the attack of the German fleet. Recently she has made ready for her fleet a new ice-free port at *Libau* in Courland. But it was reported from Berlin on the 3rd August, that the German protected cruiser *Augsburg*, which has a displacement of 1,280 tons and has an armament of twelve 4.1 in. guns, and was completed in 1909, was bombarding *Libau* which was on fire. Shortly after this another telegram from Stockholm was despatched stating that the German and Russian fleets had been engaged near *Aland*, which is the chief of a group of 300 small islands at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia, that the Russians were driven into the Gulf of Finland; and that the Germans had occupied the islands. Fishermen had reported that a large Russian warship was ashore there. A Russian account of the *Libau* affair said that German cruisers had shelled and ignited a naval hospital and private houses, but that otherwise little damage had been done. Nevertheless, a St. Petersburg message stated that 19 German warships were off *Libau* and *Memel*, the northernmost point on the Russo-German frontier situated on the Baltic. Apart from this engagement in the Baltic, the *Daily Mail* reported on 6th instant from Tientsin that the Russian warship *Askold* and the German warship *Emden* were both sunk in an engagement between the two vessels off *Wu hai wei*, the well-known Chinese port in the Yellow Sea. The *Askold* was a protected cruiser of 5,905 tons displacement, with twelve 6 in. guns in shields, twelve 3 in. twelve pounders and eight three pounders, and was launched in 1900. The *Emden* was a protected cruiser of 3,592 tons displacement, with three 4.7 in. guns and was launched in 1908.

VI.—FRANCO-GERMAN NAVAL COLLISIONS.

The centre of attraction, however is neither the Serbo-Austrian, nor the Austro-Russian, nor the Russo-German frontier, nor even the Baltic Sea. All eyes have been rivetted on the Franco-German frontier and on the North Sea, and although news are extremely meagre, there is enough to interest the spectators in this great struggle. But before proceeding to summarise the news of the German advance on France through Belgium or the French counter-attack on Alsace and Lorraine, or dealing with the news of the naval engagement in the North Sea, we may mention that there is not at present any probability of a Franco-German struggle on the high seas. The French navy has been concentrated chiefly in the

Mediterranean, near enough to the African possessions of France while guarding her Mediterranean coast at the same time. The main German fleets are in the North and in the Baltic Seas, but occasional German cruisers may still be roaming over the Mediterranean, or the Indian Ocean in the vicinity of German East Africa or the Southern Atlantic in the vicinity of the Cameroons in West Africa. It is believed that there are eight German warships at Dar-es-Salaam, a German East African port near Zanzibar, which have necessitated special precautions in Bombay and Colombo. Such a one is the protected cruiser *Breslau* with a displacement of 4,478 tons and an armament of twelve 4 in. guns, with a speed of 26.9 knots per hour, which was launched in 1911. It was reported on the 5th August that she had bombarded Bona, a fortified Algerian town on the Mediterranean coast almost midway between Algiers and Tunis, and that afterwards she had steamed at full speed in a westerly direction. The same day a P. M. message said that a French detachment had captured not only *Breslau* but also *Göben*, a first class "Dreadnought" completed only two years ago which has a displacement of 22,615 tons, with ten 11 in. twelve 5.9 in. and twelve 3.4 in. guns and twelve 3.4 in. twentyfour pounders, with a speed in trials of 7.2 knots per hour. Not only that but *Panther*, although a small and comparatively old gun boat of 981 tons, with two 4.1 guns and six 6.5 pounders, but famous on account of her Agadir leap, was reported to have been sunk. The next day, it was officially stated in Berlin that the German ironclads in the Mediterranean had destroyed some fortified towns on the Algerian coast. If that be true, the *Breslau* has done a bold thing, particularly if she steamed off after her exploit at full speed in a westerly direction, which means towards Gibraltar. But probably the bombardment of Bona was nothing more than a gentle knock at the door to make sure that no French ship was there to pursue her. As for the westerly direction, it now appears that the German ships were not so foolhardy, for a telegram of the 7th instant from Rome announced that both *Göben* and *Breslau* had left Messina (Sicily) with bands playing the National Anthem. The latest news is to the effect that both these are intact in the Mediterranean and that little *Panther* is not only safe, but was never in danger at all.

VII.—THE FRANCO-GERMAN FRONTIER

Having now cleared the ground for a somewhat detailed account of the German invasion of France let us examine the very one at that, whereas France after her cruel experience of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 has for a long time past fortified her western frontier with great care and at great expense, Germany has for reasons of its own disbanded to draw up a defensive line, preferring to depend, as in the last war, upon its bold and vigorous initiative and its success in the first great shock of battle. The Germans have deliberately sunk their policy on the expectation of a very early and named outbreak of the outbreak of war. If they fail in that, they have no defence left to fall back upon, and the failure to achieve named success under such a policy may, without much risk, be taken as a sign of defeat. Before the Treaty of Frankfurt was imposed on a beaten and battered France, the Franco-German frontier ran from the Swiss mountains along the Rhine for some 120 miles as the crow flies and then turned at right angles away from the Rhine to the frontier of the little independent country called the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. The frontier between the Grand Duchy and France continued the line to the neighbourhood of the town called Longwy where the Franco-Belgian frontier began. The new frontier since 1871 runs from this town of Longwy to the foothills of the Vosges mountains and then runs down then crest to the great French town and fortress of Belfort, which unlike Adrianople after its fall into Bulgarian hands—or in a way even before it—although taken was not annexed even by the harsh treaty which the proud Prussians had imposed upon France, but was left in French possession. Just beyond Belfort, the new frontier strikes the Swiss mountain, but at some distance from the Rhine. The territory thus annexed consists of Alsace in the south and Lorraine in the north, and is the 11 and 13 kingdom of Lotharing that fell, along with Italy, to the share of, and took its name from the Emperor Lothar, the eldest grandson of Charlemagne, when by the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the Teutonic principle of equal division amongst his three sons, over the Roman one of the tremendous of an indivisible Empire, this Empire was partitioned among his grandsons after the death of his son, Louis the Pious. It has been practically since then a bone of contention between Western and Eastern France, or to use their modern synonyms, France and Germany. It may be just as well to mention here that although German according to the laws imposed by the conquerors, the people of Alsace and Lorraine have at heart remained French all these forty-four years, and the recent somewhat comic incidents at Zabern arising out of the Alsatians making fun of German soldiers, and resulting in the sabring of a lame cobbler by an irate German Lieutenant, and the subsequent transfer of the regiment, clearly prepared us for the scenes now enacted after the re-entry of the French into the country. The new

Franco-German frontier is some 200 miles long, and the obstacles designed by the French to prevent their being rushed by the Germans consist in the great ring fortress of Belfort at the southern end, then next order the Vosges mountains, which are such a difficult country that they need little artificial strengthening; then the great ring-fortress of Epinal, 50 miles to the north of Belfort; next the great ring-fortress of Toul, some 40 miles to the north-west of Epinal; and finally at the northern end of the system, the great ring-fortress of Verdun, 50 miles to the north-west of Toul. The main German idea upon which their plan of campaign against France seems to have been formed was, as military experts predicted long ago, to be the victors in the first round before England and Russia could enter the field. With this end in view, the Germans have been credited with the intention of trying at all costs to get well established on French soil, and concentrate as large an army as possible behind, that is to say, west of the line of the Vosges, so as to hit a decisive battle somewhere in the neighbourhood of Reims or Chalons, both in the Department of Marne, the former to the north-west and the latter to the south-west of Verdun and some 100 miles from Paris. And the French plans being based on the concentration of French forces at Neufchâteau behind and midway between the great fortresses of Toul and Epinal, one of the objects of German strategists has been to seek a line of attack that would evade that base of concentration, and by rendering it inapplicable to the situation created by their strategy, embarrass the French to devise another base of concentration at the eleventh hour. Everyone seems to have given up for a long time past all idea of the Germans battering their heads against the stone wall that stands erect between Belfort and Verdun.

If we divide these 145 miles into two more or less equal portions, one from Belfort to Lunerille, which lies right on the frontier to the north of Epinal and to the south-east of Toul, and the other from Lunerille to Verdun, we shall see in the case of the southern half of the frontier that the contracted front of the Vosges is almost as serious a disadvantage to the army acting on the offensive as the formidable chain of its defences. Taking the northern half, there seem to be only four lines of advance open to the Germans. They are from Metz to Verdun—two roads, one *via* Conflans, and the other *via* Metz-lez-Luxembourg—through Pont-à-Mousson to Commercy, through Châtenay-Salins to Nancy and Toul and from Strasbourg to Lunerille. But these 70 miles between Lunerille and Verdun constitute too restricted a frontage to make it possible for the Germans to employ more than half a million men, and in the event of any reverse or breakdown in the execution of the plan of attack, the Germans would find themselves exposed to heavy loss before they could get outside the range of a 70 miles long chain of fortifications, fort and battery.

VIII.—THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM

However there remains a third portion of the Franco-German frontier between Lunerille and Metz, a stretch of open country with a frontage of 50 miles, which is not studded with the same obstacles as have made the other two portions almost impregnable. This, according to many military authorities, is the German objective. It is not easy to say why this frontage was left so much less fortified than the 115 miles between Belfort and Verdun, for it seems to us unlikely that France, or, in fact, anybody, credited Germany, which is after all one of the "Great Powers", with a desire to respect such a thing as the neutrality of Belgium, the notorious "cockpit of Europe". When have European Powers in recent days respected treaties which they have solemnly signed that they should sleep peacefully in the hope that one of them would not break his pledged word. At any rate, Sir Edward Grey appears to have had no illusions on this head, for it was not sufficient for him to secure a guarantee that the German North Sea Fleet would not swoop down on the northern and western coasts of France, left unprotected on the strength of the *Entente* with England in return for French concentration in the Mediterranean, where the English fleet was left in a comparatively weak state. He further asked for a guarantee that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected, a demand which clearly implied that he, at any rate, knew Germany could never give such a guarantee. Had she given such a guarantee, it would have meant a complete paralysis of the German offensive and her forced dependence on defensive action which, as we have pointed out at the very outset, she has never contemplated. She herself had no quarrel either with Russia or with France. Austria was taking such action against a regicide nation as all European Powers would have heartily approved if taken against Turkey or some Asiatic nation. Russia, in the sacred name of Slav unification, which has as much meaning as the achievement of German dictatorship over Europe, made the quarrel her own, and put her slow and cumbersome machinery of mobilization into motion. To this Germany could respond only in one way, the way in which she has in fact responded. It was France that announced to the world her intention of assisting Russia; and if honour among the "Great Powers" is as strong a motive as it proverbially is among thieves, it was expected that Italy would counter-balance the mobilization of France. We

maintain, and we believe, to maintain it with such distinguished Belgians as Lord Morley, Mr. John Burns and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, that this was no quarrel into which Great Britain was required to enter. At any rate, honour must have a very wide and strange conception if it was equally dishonourable for England to remain neutral, for Germany to violate the neutrality of Belgium and for Italy to be anything but neutral in name and friendly in fact to the declared enemies of her sworn allies. With this, however, we are only incidentally concerned. All that we desire to make clear is that if Russia was anxious to take up the cause of Serbia, and France to assist Russia, Germany could not, consistently with her own safety, allow France to mobilize, even though her armies were concentrating at the tremendous distance of 5 miles from the German frontier. Nor could she respect the neutrality of Belgium, howsoever immoral its violation should be. Had she given the guarantees she was asked, she would have been at the mercy of France, and much as we would like ethics to be imported as often as possible into what is after all a sterner affair than the *welt politik* of the *Times*, we must confess we cannot regard German action as a more heinous offence against international morality than the British capture of the Danish fleet in 1807 during the great struggle against France, the present ally of England, to prevent the possibility of its co-operating with France. It was only a case of "Thy head or my head," and Germany has committed such a heinous offence as all European unhesitatingly Powers condemn in their neighbours, yet equally unhesitatingly commit themselves.

IX.—THE IMPORTANCE OF LIÈGE.

It is true that the undefended gap south of the frontiers of Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is too narrow to admit of any considerable German advance from *Thionville*, or as the German call it, *Dielenhofen*. But if the territories of Belgium and the Grand Duchy to the north are utilised for the passage of Germany's troops quartered in enormous numbers on her south-western frontier at *Gladbach*, *Cologne*, *Bonn* and *Coblenz*, and in addition to those that pass between *Trèves*, *Thionville* and *Metz*, other German forces advance between the two points *Aix-la-Chapelle* and *Trèves*, through Belgium, and the Grand Duchy on to the French territory lying between *Givet* on the north and *Longwy* in the south, there would be a frontage of more than 70 miles between *Verdun* and *Givet* over which the German avalanche could rush down with tremendous force.

This is evidently what the Germans have been doing. It is true that some show of turning the ring-fortress of Belfort in the south was made and Swiss neutrality was violated at *Montbéliard* to the north of *Porrentruy*. But, probably, it was nothing more than a feint and nothing was seriously attempted. On the 2nd August Germany was reported to have invaded France at *Cirey* which is on the road from *Strasbourg* to *Lunéville*, and the *Times* Correspondent believed that the German intention was to deliver "a cruel" attack on *Nancy*. But the cohesion of French covering forces was supposed to have decided her upon another line of advance. This, however, is not easy to credit and the advance on *Cirey* appears to have been no better than the show of turning Belfort. But, so far as German offensive action is concerned, the portion of the German frontier in which our attention will have to be centred for sometime to come is the stretch of 150 miles between *Crefeld* on the north and *Thionville* on the south, through which the military camps of the Rhine province and even of Westphalia would hurl themselves at Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in order to reach the French frontier between *Givet* and *Longwy*. In the south-western provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, Germany will have to be on the defensive. But the centre of attraction for the moment is the ring-fortress of *Liège*, of which a plan and description are given elsewhere.

So thoroughly had European opinion taken for granted the certainty that Germany would invade Belgium in case of war with France that the frontier of Belgium through which German armies would have to come has for many years been fortified in precisely the same way as the French frontier. It has been well understood that the German attack would have to be made along the line of the Lower Meuse river. But it is not possible to enter into Belgium without crossing that river, and the two fortresses of *Liège* and *Namur* had been strengthened in order to delay, if not altogether prevent, the entry of Germany into France through Belgian territory. Here a difference of opinion existed between military experts. Some have held that the Germans cannot cross the Meuse lower down than *Liège* and march through Belgium neglecting that fortress, because if they did so their line of communications—that is, the food of the army and its ammunition, and everything by which it exists as a fighting force, and an interruption in the supply of which would mean defeat—would then run between two great fortified garrisons, *Liège* and *Antwerp*, with the third, a little further on that line of advance, at *Namur*. It is true that *Antwerp* and *Liège* lie far apart, but the former is "indirectly" supplied by sea, and, so long as Germany does not control the sea, can be made the secure base of an ever-increasing force to act against the German communications. It has also been con-

tended that they could not cross the Meuse between *Namur* and *Liège*, as for instance at *Eup*, because the gap is too narrow for safety, since their line of communication would be between two unconquered garrisons which would put the very life of the army into constant peril. They could not attack *Namur* before *Liège*, or *Namur* instead of *Liège*, because it is possible that the French would be at *Namur* before them. It is *Liège* that stands near the German frontier and *Liège* that blocks the way.

Other authorities, however, believed that even if the forts constructed under General Brialmont's direction at *Liège* and *Namur* were armed with the latest ordnance possessing the maximum yet attained range of about 21 miles, in lieu of the old with which they were armed in 1896 when the forts were constructed, which had a maximum range of 12 miles, *Liège* could only close the direct road from *Malmédy* through *Stavelot*, but its fire could not reach the road to *Viel Salm* from *Montenau* and *Legneuville* or that from *St. Vith* to *Gouvy*. There are several useful lines of railway joining the main Brussels-Metz line at *Marloie*, *Libramont*, *Arlon* and *Luxemburg*. Even if we exclude *Namur*, the Germans could gain six direct roads to the French frontier. They have the *Ourthe* valley road to *Marche-Rochfort* and to *Moncke-Ciney*, both good for *Dinant*, *Bourain* and *Givet*; the *Viel Salm*, *La Roche* and *St. Hubert* for *Bouillon* and *Sedan*, the *Stavelot*, *Bastogne* and *Libramont* road for *Bouillon* and *Carignan*, the *St. Vith Gouvy* for the same destination; the *Dicknach-Arlon Vinton* for *Montmédy*, and the *Trèves-Luxemburg* road for *Longwy*. By the longest of the roads German territory is only 70 miles from French; by the shortest, *Trèves* to *Longwy*, it is only 30 miles. For the last ten years Germany had been engaged in providing frontier railways flanking the projected front and in linking them up with the two bases on the middle Rhine, at *Coblenz* and *Cologne*. In addition to the railways, double-lined and metalled for heavy traffic, sidings have been provided at all the stations and at suitable points between them. Between *Montmédy* and *St. Vith*, a short distance of 10 or 12 miles, landing spaces sufficient for over 120,000 have been provided, and it has been confidently asserted that that force could be thrown across the Belgian frontier between *Francchamps* and *Gouvy* in a single night without the Belgians knowing what was coming, the troops to be employed being entrained at *Gladbach*, *Cologne*, *Bonn* and *Coblenz*. It has been contended that there is not the smallest reason for hoping that this despatch of the advance force of the invaders would miscarry. If the whole *corps d'armée* were not over the border in the 24 hours, at least a sufficient part would be over to make sure of the possession of *Libramont* in half that time. It has been declared that the four cavalry regiments and four horse artillery batteries living in the *Ellenborn* camp during 6 months of the year would be at *Libramont* within 6 hours of leaving their base. Some three years ago, General Hellebrandt, the Belgian Minister of War, referred to the official arrangements made for blowing up bridges on the railways and otherwise rendering them useless; but the military experts to whom we are now referring were of opinion that for the initial rush Germany would not use them. With *Stavelot* and *Trot Ponts* in the hands of the German Cavalry, they asked, could Belgian military authorities feel confident that the bridge over the *Ambère* would be destroyed? But even if it were destroyed, they said, it would not delay the German advance, which, so far as the Belgian soil is concerned, is to be made by the roads and not by rail. Belgian railways would only come into use for the purposes of supply and reinforcements. Even if the Belgian arrangements for placing the lines out of use worked to perfection, the German advance would not be retarded, and the German Railway Corps could repair the damage done to the line in a comparatively short space of time. To talk of delaying the German advance by blowing up a few bridges between *Stavelot* and *Gouvy*, may, in the opinion of these experts, be compared to trying to stop a cannon-ball with an open umbrella.

Since the *Liège* forts have been armed with new ordnance, the Germans had taken in hand the construction of strategic railways on the Belgian frontier. A miserable little line, 9 miles in all, which had till then served all the requirements of *Eupen*, the German frontier town, has since been converted into a double-railed line capable of supporting heavy traffic. It seems now pretty clear that the German design has been to seize the *Burque de Michel*, the highest plateau in Belgium, being 2,190 feet high, from which German siege batteries could enter into a duel on the most favourable terms with two of the *Liège* fortresses, *Chaufontaine* and *Embourg*. In this way at least, thought these experts, the Belgian artillery in those forts would have other work to do than cannonading the *Stavelot-Malmédy* route at a range of 18 or 30 miles.

This opinion has been hotly contested among others by that brilliant writer and politician, Mr. Dilke Pellor, to whom we owe the plan of the ring-fortress of *Liège* and the description which we reproduce elsewhere. He acknowledged the authority of the experts whose opinion we have quoted above, but said that in spite of their opinions, it did not seem probable or even possible that the

Germans would do anything so foolish. For this he offers the following reasons:—

Much the greater part of that eighty miles is the exceedingly difficult country of the Ardennes. One must know it intimately (as I do) to be confident (as I am) that any large force (and nothing less than 200,000 men can be considered) attempting an entry through all that ill-provisioned, precipitous, and thickly wooded country would be at the mercy of an active enemy upon its northern flank. Progress would be embarrassed and slow. The obstacles encountered increase in difficulty rapidly as the French frontier is approached. For one mile that the five columns would advance along the only possible five roads, troops poured on to the Lower Meuse by the industrial railways of South Belgium from France would be a volume five or ten; and, indeed, even those who still believe that the Ardennes march is possible admit that a large force to guard it upon the northern flank by Namur and Liège would be necessary. All are agreed that the Ardennes march could not be undertaken until Liège had fallen also. In other words, even those who believe in the Ardennes march also take for granted heavy action upon the Lower Meuse, upon the Long Stour line, and it is certain that upon that line, and the German success or failure there, Germany's success or failure in turning the French frontier by Belgium and the north would depend.

In justice to those who believed that the Germans would not be deterred or delayed in the advance on Libramont, which may be regarded as their first strategical objective, it must be said that they did not for a moment consider Belgium to be a negligible quantity, nor did they disregard the importance of the fortified position of Liège or the difficulties of an advance across the Ardennes. But they maintained that even for all these considerations the Germans would not defer the dash on Libramont, but that it would be coupled with a polite but a firm request to the Belgians delivered by another army corps from that hastening to Sedan to allow the Germans to take care of the Liège forts for them. They could not then forecast the Belgian reply to that request, but they at least assumed that the guns at Chaudfontaine and Embourg would have other work to do for a long time than to enfilade the road from Malmédy to Stavelot. The Germans, in their opinion, were capable of supplementing the advance through the Belgian Ardennes with a movement encompassing the six forts of Liège on the right bank of the Meuse. Some of those forts they believe to be very strong, but others, in their opinion, were not so strong, and what is not certain is whether the position would become untenable if *Bonnelles* or *Epreux* were captured or demolished. It has also to be remembered that if the German siege batteries could hold their ground round the Baraque de Michel and *Gileppe*, their fire would reach the city of Liège itself. If, however, the Belgians displayed the moral fortitude to hold out at Liège despite the imposing demonstration that the Germans made against them, it was believed that they ought to be able to maintain their ground until aid reached them from both France and England. Even if they could not accomplish so much, the arrest of the Germans at Liège for a few weeks would serve the time needed to organise a formidable interior place of stand reposing on the fortified position of Namur. It, on the other hand, Liège succumbed to the Germans soon enough, it was believed, Namur, which is a far weaker position than Liège, could not be converted in time into an adequate base for national defence. Besides, the loss of Liège would compromise the whole Belgian position outside Antwerp which is a place entirely for a defensive and not offensive action, and the British expeditionary force when could only profitably work from the side of Antwerp could not prove of as great assistance as it would do were Liège still in Belgian hands although invested by German troops.

The completeness of the success of Germany's attack on the north-east frontier of France would depend, therefore, in any case, on the fate of Liège. If it passed into her hands in the first few days of war, the German strategist would have no anxiety about their right flank and would press on the broad front from Givet to Thionville. These authorities believed that the German troops marching across the Belgian Ardennes would consist of one entire army corps, (which means about 43,000 men), in the first place, to be increased to two as soon as the fate of Liège was decided. This would be the right wing of the army of invasion. But the left wing, moving through Treves, Thionville and Luxembourg would be even more formidable. Its objective would be *Stenay* and *Vouziers*. The taking up of a strong position on the *Aisne* by the two armies moving through Belgium and the Grand Duchy would represent the successful achievement of the first stage in the German plan of campaign against France. It is not easy, thought these experts, to see how a German success up to that point could be prevented. To obtain her primary objectives, Germany, in their opinion, would be prepared to waste a large number of men. The cost of men, they maintained, would not prevent her straining every effort to attain her ends.

X.—THE GERMANS IN BELGIUM.

Now if one carefully reads the telegrams hitherto received he would note that the Germans have neither evaded nor neglected Liège. But although we do not hear much about it, the very first news of German advance towards French territory referred to their march on Longwy, which is, as we have pointed out before, only 80 miles from Treves and the shortest route from the German to the French frontier through the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

On the 2nd of August, a Luxembourg telegram announced that a trainload of German soldiers had arrived at the Railway Station and that the troops had seized the bridges in order to ensure the regular passage of military trains across the Grand Duchy, in spite of the protests of the authorities, the German asserting that the railway lines belonged to them and that they had a right to do what they liked, and refusing to withdraw. Possibly the Germans are also advancing along a line further north than the Treves-Longwy route, and although we may not be hearing of them German troops may be pushing on through the Belgian Ardennes, in spite of the difficult terrain, along some of the other five direct roads from the German to the French frontier which are said to be excellent and which we have mentioned above in detail. Nevertheless Mr. Hilaire Belloc's view seems to have been, to a great extent, if not entirely, that of the German Generals also, for unless their movements through the Ardennes have been kept secret, German activity seems to be centred almost exclusively round Liège.

The latest telegram shows that they are advancing on France chiefly through "*Esch-sur-Alzette*" which the *Pioneer*, too, could not locate, but which must be the "telegraphese" for the "*Esch on Alzette*", Alzette being a river which runs near Longwy. Possibly the Germans have not thought it safe to go higher up, at least before Liège is reduced.

The 11th German Corps advanced on the night of the 3rd August and passed between *Munsuet* and *Kupen*. On the morning of the 4th, the Germans entered Belgium in three columns at *Gemenich*, *Henri Chappelle* and *Dolhain* (Luxembourg). They first reached *Vise* and halted on the right bank of the Meuse. The Belgians defending the left bank prevented the construction of a pontoon bridge. Sharp cavalry engagements occurred, the Belgians having the advantage of being supported by the Liège forts, which refused the German demand of surrender. The columns at Henri Chappelle advancing on Liège were reported to have been held up by Belgians. A little later another telegram announced that the Germans had begun the bombardment not only of Liège but also of Namur, which meant that the Germans had pushed on far enough into Belgian territory to have Namur within the range of their guns. As General Hellebrandt had announced three years ago, the Belgians had succeeded in breaking down bridges and destroying railways, but the Germans had gone northward and crossed the Meuse lower down at *Eggen*. Not being satisfied with a single army Corps, they had pushed forward no less than three. The 10th Corps which consists practically of Hanoverians, was at Eysden opposite to Aix-la-Chapelle and at some 10 or 15 miles from it, the 7th which is composed of troops from Westphalia was at *Verviers*, some 17 or 18 miles to the south-west of Aix-la-Chapelle and some 15 miles to the east of Liège, and the 6th at a place unknown, possibly marching on from the south of Verviers towards French territory. The Germans fired on *Vise*, which is about 10 miles to the north-east of Liège, and on *Argentan*, both towns being in the plains, and decimated the population of *Vise*. A hundred thousand Germans were reported to be marching on Liège and had reached *Heru* (which is opposite to and only 10 miles from it), *Repinster* (which we have not been able to locate on the maps), and *Remouchamps*, 15 miles to the south of Liège. Certain forts on the Meuse were also reported to be ablaze.

A subsequent telegram explained that the Germans had suffered heavy losses through Belgian bombardment as they were constructing a pontoon bridge over the Meuse, but that they had succeeded in crossing by a ford. The Belgian official report announced that on the 5th in front 25,000 Belgian troops at Liège took the field occupying a most extensive front and with most extraordinary endurance repelled the repeated vigorous attacks of 40,000 men composing the German 7th Army Corps, and that they delivered a counter-attack which was completely successful. We do not know whether to credit the Belgians with most extraordinary endurance or the Germans with no less extraordinary ill luck, for we learn that the Germans had traversed the mine zone and the mines had exploded killing whole battalions. Early on the 6th, it was reported that the Belgians had repulsed the Germans in fighting near Liège and that the 11th Belgian Corps at that fort pursued the 7th German Corps with such energy that the General Commanding had to call a halt and keep them within the range of the fort. The Westphalians must have suffered from the explosion terrible, but on the afternoon of the 6th they seem to have made, according to a Brussels report, a most desperate attack on Liège. The cannonade had gone on throughout the

previous night. On the following day, the Uhlans, who are German lancers, were credited by the Belgians with having made a most gallant effort and penetrated into the towns, but it was stated that the Belgians had exterminated them. An attack of the 10th Army Corps was expected on the night of the 6th, which was probably delivered. But the Belgian Minister of War announced on the 7th that the Germans had asked for an armistice of 24 hours and admitted casualties to the enormous figure of 25,000 men. The same day, another telegram stated that the Germans at Liège repeating the methods of 1870, were hurling masses of troops in frontal assaults, the men displaying reckless bravery and the killed exceeding the wounded in number. This would explain the request for an armistice of 24 hours, for the Germans may have wished for time to bury their dead. The German official version of the operation, dated the same day, while evidently acknowledging that the fortress was more modern than the Germans had expected, and that the German attempt on it had failed, stated that the hostile foreign press would characterize the enterprise as a defeat, but that it could not have the slightest influence on larger operations. It referred to the attempted *coup de main* of a small German detachment which with great boldness entered Liège with the object of seizing the Belgian Commander who is stated to have saved himself by flight. We may state here that although the German losses are in proportion to the improved condition of the Belgian army and the armaments of the ring fortress of Liège, and therefore greater than expected, there can be no doubt that Germans are deliberately hurling themselves on the forts as they had planned years ago, and are evidently experimenting with some of their new theories for the capture of fortified places, believing that for an army such as theirs acting wholly on the offensive, and depending for ultimate success on their initial rush, it would be false economy in men and material to take greater precautions and thereby unnecessarily delay their march on the north-eastern frontier of France. As the authority whom we have quoted had stated 8 years ago, "the cost of men will not prevent her attaining every effort to attain her ends." Time is the essence of the German plan of action, and if Germany can carry Liège even at the cost of an entire Army Corps before the British expeditionary force arrives at Antwerp, which is not likely to do so at least for a week, Germany's present losses would ultimately prove to be her gain. She is, therefore, justified, barring the natural and obvious exaggeration of language, in claiming that her want of success in the attempted *coup de main* at Liège on the 5th instant cannot have the slightest influence on larger operations. As for her claim that the attempt was a "unique act of her arms in the history of war and a sign of the gallantry of our troops", the excess of the dead over the wounded would offer ample testimony in its favour even if there was not the tribute of her enemies about the "reckless bravery" of her men.

The latest available news does not lend much support to the Brussels telegram of 7th August that Liège is quiet and the Germans have at present retired, for we learn that Germans have already entered the town of Liège and taken a number of people among the civil population as hostages, and that there is a scene of carnage on these adventurous Germans because when shot at a grape-shot burst there they would not be respectful of persons, but would decimate friends and foes alike. The forts are still reported by the Belgians to be intact, but the announcement of the Belgians' resolve to blow them up rather than surrender them to the Germans shows that the alternatives may soon have to be faced. Naturally, on every one's lips is the question, "When will the English come?" But this only shows that if the English do not come in a day or two the end of the Belgian forts of Liège and possibly of the gallant Belgian army may come earlier. We must remember that the siege of Liège is a little over a week old, and if the reckless bravery of the Germans leads to its surrender or the blowing up of its forts within the next week, Germany would secure a success that would far outweigh in the ultimate result the present brilliant entry of the French into the territory that was severed from the French trunk 44 years ago.

It is stated that the King of the Belgians is at Louvain (which is 30 miles to north-east of Liège and 10 miles to the west of Brussels) with 125,000 troops, or practically the entire field force of the Belgians. But to deal with it would require less effort on the part of Germany than to disarm the opposition of 30,000 men in the ring-fortress of Liège which is supposed to be the strongest in the world. We have hitherto heard nothing of the British expeditionary force which may amount to 150,000, if the British Isles themselves are practically denuded of every regular soldier, and the civil population, depending on the supremacy of the British Navy on the sea, trusts herself entirely to the protection of Lord Haldane's Territorial Army of some 250,000 Volunteers who have undergone training for no more than a fortnight in camp and a certain number of drills every year for two or three years

only, besides the Ulster and the Nationalist Volunteers in Ireland who are certainly not likely to be better trained. But it is doubtful if more than 70,000 could be despatched at least to meet the initial shock of battle in defence of Belgian neutrality. If this force arrives at the scene in sufficient numbers before Liège is taken, it would no doubt be of great use in delaying, if not preventing, the German advance on France. But British mobilization is slow, and the British expeditionary force may arrive too late to prevent a decisive conflict somewhere in the vicinity of Sedan where the Prussians completely defeated the French 44 years ago. With this, however, we shall deal in greater detail next week.

As for the French army, we learn that French troops are gradually coming in to assist the Belgians and are co-operating with them. But the authority which we have quoted from so copiously before believes that if the French pour over into Belgium to meet Germany half way, they will be playing her game and equalizing the chances of loss. An obstinate defence without risking too much in any pitched action north of the *Reims-Laon-La Fère* line is clearly the best French strategy. Time would thus be gained for England to play her part, and the further German troops have got south of the *Senois* the better the British chance of striking at their rear. It will be not a bad thing for France's chances of final victory if the first great battle of the war can be deferred until the Germans are in the *Aisne* valley, where, however, we already hear they are entrenching. It was believed that it would take the Germans much longer to get there than the three weeks the British required to come into action, and it is not difficult to conceive a situation in which the Germans might find themselves very uncomfortable. On the other hand, there is a risk that the French Generals will not relish the idea of giving ground, and that they will strain every effort to meet the Germans before they have got off Belgian territory. This will be to fight the Germans' battle, and to risk giving the colour to the whole war by an initial blunder due to military pride. They should make allowance for the conditions under which their allies can alone come to their help. Both England and Russia must be slow from different circumstances. Therefore France must be patient and give ground. Cambré is the General they should take as their model, and *l'attendre pour mieux* should be their motto. The only way to baffle the German plan of campaign is to leave the development of its inherent difficulties to time and distance. The Germans will be far less formidable at *Reims* or *Vouziers* if no battles have been lost by the French before they arrive there, than they would be at, let us say, Libramont or even Sedan. It will no doubt be disagreeable to French sentiment to see the first battles of the war occur on French soil but victories there would be better than defeats further north. As for the French counter-attack on Alsace-Lorraine, we shall deal with it later when the French advance has further developed. But it is difficult to believe that, although Germany has deliberately sacrificed defence to her universally admitted rapidity of mobilization for offence, beyond gaining in *chance* the French troops would be any the better for their rushing into the enemy's country than they would have been if they had patiently awaited his entry into France and made him give battle to them in their own country with all the security that they would possess at centres like *Neufchâteau*, *Châlons*, *Reims* or *Laon*. From the southern part of Alsace, round *Mulhouse*, through the measure of superior force, the French seem to have already "brilliantly re-acted." The Austrians will soon be there and one cannot say how soon General Joffe's joy at embracing his long lost brothers of Alsace may be turned into sorrow.

As regards the still more interesting naval struggle between England and Germany in the North Sea, we must defer a detailed statement till the next issue, for beyond a general belief in England that a big battle has taken place in the North Sea and all kinds of rumours of a German disaster which Mr. Winston Churchill has brushed aside with his statement, we have only the private message received by His Excellency the Viceroy to the effect that after the action off Dogger Bank the German fleet was seen fleeing. No definite news beyond this has yet been received, and it would obviously serve no purpose to hazard an opinion about decisive operations in that quarter when the only thing allowed to be known by the authorities is that a German submarine has been sunk.

We hope this detailed though unavoidably lengthy statement about the campaign would throw some of the light that most of our readers, whose acquaintance with warfare, whether on land or on sea, is perhaps even less than our own, have sorely needed. We shall continue this statement from week to week as the Titanic struggle between five of the six greatest Powers of Europe and several other smaller kingdoms proceeds. This struggle is not likely to be a prolonged one, so that our labours though not protracted in point of time, will nevertheless be immense while it lasts. We only trust they will serve the purpose with which they have been undertaken.

Description of the Ring-fortress of Liege.

The works round Liege consist of twelve isolated forts, forming the most perfect and the most formidable ring of defences in Europe or in the world.

The ideal ring-fortress would be a town capable of ample provisioning, and lying within an exact circle of heights at an average of some 8,000 yards distance, each height some 4,000 yards from the next, each crowned with a self-contained closed work, and each such work well in support of at least two others.

No such absolutely exact conditions exist, of course, in reality, but skill and the relief of the soil combined have endowed Liege with a ring of forts very nearly combining these conditions.

The circle, though not exact, more nearly exact than in the case of any other ring-fortress; its largest diameter is not 20 per cent in excess of its shortest. The greatest distance between any two works is but 7,000 yards, the average less than 4,000. Each work is easily supported by two others, and often by three and in one case by four.

The valley of the Veedie, coming in from the south-east and running in a deep ravine through wooded country, is the main avenue of approach from Germany by road and rail. It is blocked by forts (1) and (2), which stand about 350 feet above the stream, closely supporting each other and standing each on ground that terraces the upper and the lower valley. Forts (9) and (10) and (3) and (4) similarly lie above the Meuse at its entry into Liege and at its exit, (4) (Flemalle) occupies an isolated rock whence even (2) (at 12,000 yards) could be supported, and sweeping the high ground in front of (3) and (5). (9) (Pontisse) stands on a sort of flat peninsula, of height somewhat lower than its neighbours, but dominating all the Lower Meuse valley, as does also (10) on the other side of the river.

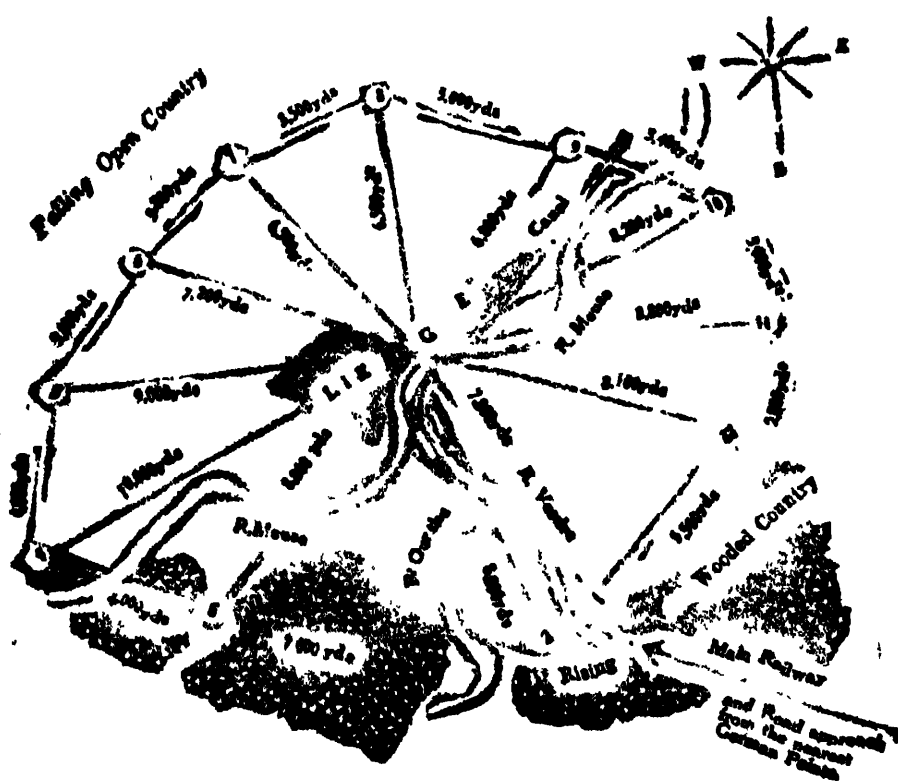
Then the broad gap, that between (3) and (2), is occupied by thick woods, further out by the ravine of the Ourthe.

It is true that the south-eastern half of the ring, beyond the Meuse, stands at the foot of gradually rising ground, but that ground rises too gradually to permit of any domination of forts (12) and (11), and is, moreover, wooded and difficult of access. On the north the whole half-circle of heights from (5) to (8) and nearly to (9) is a series of crests overlooking open country, which gradually falls away from before the works. There is not in the whole perimeter, not even on the steep facing slopes of (1) and (2), (4) or (9), a yard of dead ground that is not directly exposed to the fire of the next supporting work. (1) could not be taken unless (2) were taken simultaneously; and there is no "key fort" which, if rushed, would dominate the neighbouring defences, unless we regard (1) and (2) as a single system, and think it conceivable that the German force could take both simultaneously by a "coup de main."

In a word, Liege with any adequate provision of gunners and supply, would stand a siege more thorough and prolonged than any of the other great ring-fortresses of Europe and on relations based upon "rushing" its defences are calculations of defeat.



Plan of the Ring-Fortress of Liege.



War in Europe.

London, July 31.

Reuter wires from Hague that the Netherlands have proclaimed their neutrality.

Vienna press telegrams report that the Austrians have crossed Danube at two points, Belgrade and Semendria, after heavy fighting at the latter and are now advancing towards Oujanica and Nish.

No confirmation of these telegrams has been given officially.

Acute interests are attached to the attitude of Russia and Germany. Though it is officially denied that the latter sent an ultimatum to Russia, it was merely a matter of request for an explanation of the former's mobilisation, the news of the issue of Ukase calling out Reservist increased the strain in Berlin to breaking point. The Ukase was described officially in Berlin last evening as a challenge flung to Germany at a moment when the latter was doing her utmost to continue a peaceful solution and must inevitably lead to counter measures.

The Stock Exchange has closed until further notice.

Colombo Government orders have been issued to the effect that no vessel is allowed to enter the harbour at night except under a search-light. The Local Engineer Volunteers have been entrusted with the work of surveillance.

Colombo: The Admiralty are enquiring for Welsh coal here all of which has been taken over in case Great Britain is involved in the war. There has been a further mobilization of Ceylon troops. The wireless stations are being guarded and batteries manned.

Colombo: The "Swiftsure" is under orders and is sailing.

London, August 1.

Germany has asked Russia her intentions regarding mobilisation and also France her intentions. She has requested in each case a prompt reply.

Reuter wires from Berlin that it is officially announced that the ultimatum to Russia expires at noon to-day.

It is becoming increasingly probable that Italy will maintain neutrality.

Reuter wires from Washington that it is officially stated here that the German Ambassador is leaving St. Petersburg.

Rome: It is semi-officially announced that Germany has delivered an ultimatum to Russia and France.

King George has intervened at St. Petersburg, consequently there is a ray of hope.

Paris: M. Viviani, conversing with the German Ambassador, pointed out that the French precautions were the result of Germany's mobilisation, the proof of France's desire for peace was the fact that Parliament had not been convoked.

The Ambassador remarked that there was a possibility of frontier incidents.

M. Viviani retorted that French troops were five miles from the frontier, while the Germans were on the frontier, hence the incidents were only provokable by the Germans.

The German Emperor has ordered the mobilisation of all German forces.

Newspapers are of opinion that Austria, Hungary and Germany are fighting a defensive war against Russia, and that therefore France is not bound to participate. Members of the German Embassy have left St. Petersburg.

Reuter learns that despite Ultimatums expiring, conversations between Vienna and St. Petersburg are continuing. M. Sazonoff says he is prepared to go to the last limit to prevent war.

General mobilisation has been ordered in Switzerland. Germany has declared war on Russia.

The Kaiser in a speech from the Palace balcony said:—

"A dark day has broken over Germany. The sword is being forced into our hand. We hope if peace is impossible to wield the sword so as to sheath it with honour.

War will require enormous sacrifices. We must show our adversaries what it means to attack Germany.

Kneel to God and ask Him to help our brave army.

The speech was received with ovations.

The Italian Foreign Minister has informed the German Ambassador of Italy's neutrality. He says her obligation under the Triple Alliance only apply to a defensive war. Italy considers herself released from her engagements, the war waged by Austria and supported by Germany being essentially an offensive war.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg that the sailing of the British Fleet from Portland created an immense impression here. This, coupled with Japan's assurance, has confirmed Russia's determination to stand to her guns.

With the closing of the New York Exchange yesterday, the world's stock markets are at standstill. Other markets are disorganised and foodstuffs etcetera are becoming continually dearer. Sugar is two pounds sterling higher per ton in England.

The following messages were despatched anterior to the declaration of war.

The price of cane-sugar is advancing. Speculation in beet sugar is demoralised.

Reuter wires from Paris that France has prohibited the export of foodstuffs.

As is inseparable from a time of national excitement so many wild rumours are in circulation that it is beyond the capacity of the responsible authorities to contradict them all. It may be stated, however, that the military precautions taken in India are confined to those that have been announced in general terms, and that stories in circulation of further action, as, for example, that the Sixth Poona Division is being mobilized for Egypt, are without foundation.

The Madras Agents of the North German Lloyd have received instructions not to book passengers by that line from Colombo either outward to homeward.

Cape Town: The German Consul, Vice-Consul and entire staff of the Consulate are hurriedly leaving Cape Town to-day on the steamer *Saxon*.

The Consular headquarters are closed.

Karachi: Communication to Europe via Teheran has been totally interrupted west of Warsaw.

Berlin: The first shots of war have been fired on the Russian frontier.

A patrol yesterday afternoon fired at a German patrol near Prostken, 300 yards on the German side of the frontier.

The Germans returned fire.

There were no casualties.

Paris: M. Viviani and the German Ambassador conferred at half past five yesterday afternoon. Conversations are continuing on all sides despite mobilisation, particularly between Russia and Austria, and Germany and France.

Washington: President Wilson and the leaders of the Congress have agreed upon the bill permitting foreign ships to take American registry during the European crisis.

The announcement has been hailed with relief. It is estimated that 150,000,000 bushels of wheat engaged for export during the past month have been held back for lack of transportation.

There was great excitement in the West End of London on the declaration of war. The police had to disperse parties of Germans and Frenchmen who were demonstrating in the streets. Two Germans, one carrying a naked sword, were mobbed and had to be rescued by the police.

Mr. Illingworth, in a Whip to the Ministerialists, enjoins upon them to attend the sitting of Parliament on Monday for the transaction of new and important business. The newspapers believe that the object is to vote credit for preparations for war.

Washington: Germany, Great Britain, and France have asked the United States to take charge of their Embassies in case of emergency.

President Poincaré, in an appeal to the nation last evening, said that France was compelled like other nations to mobilise to safeguard her territory. The President says that mobilisation is not war; on the contrary, in the present circumstances, it appears the best assurance of peace with honour. The French Government, protected by the necessary precautions, would continue its diplomatic efforts and was still hopeful of success. It counts on the calm patriotism of the noble nation to help its Government.

London, Aug. 2.

The Cabinet meeting lasted one and a half hours. The Ministers left looking anxious.

The crisis in Europe has produced a collapse in the money markets of the world the effect of which has manifested itself in India in a rapid fall in exchange. The Government of India has not been blind to this, but has recognised the necessity of immediate action, which is only delayed by the time inevitably occupied in completing the preliminary arrangements for rehabilitating exchange. The *communiqué* which is to issue in a few days will explain the action which the Government proposes to take to relieve the crisis.

It will be remembered that in 1908, when exchange also fell, successful steps were taken to bring exchange up to gravity, and now, presumably, once again the machinery of the Gold Reserve will be utilised to bring exchange back to its proper basis.

Koenigsberg: The Russians have crossed the frontier at several points and inflicted considerable damage.

Berlin: A strong Russian column including guns and Cossacks have invaded Germany near Biala.

Biala is a small town in Galicia, fifty miles south-west of Cragow. It has a population of 13,175 chiefly composed of Germans.

Germany has invaded France at Oisey.

The point referred to is apparently Oisey les Forges, between Straßburg and Lunenburg.

Reuter's Agency has received an official announcement that a German force is marching on Longwy.

Longwy is a small town in the extreme north of the French department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, eighteen miles west-south-west of Luxemburg. Its fortress capitulated to the Prussians three times, the first occasion being in 1792, the second in 1815 and third in 1871. It has a population of 10,000.

Berlin: A French aviator has dropped bombs into Nuremberg. Germany has protested on the ground that war has not been declared.

If the above telegram is correct, the French aviator has done a daring thing, for Nuremberg is some two hundred miles, as the aviator flies from the French frontier. The town is one of the most interesting and picturesque in the whole of Germany with a population of nearly 400,000. We can only hope that plucky aviator has left some of the delightful old pieces of mediæval architecture standing.

The French Ambassador, in a statement to Reuter, says that the whole responsibility rests with Germany, which invaded France without declaration of war while Austria and Russia were approaching an agreement. The Ambassador emphasised that German had violated the neutrality of Luxemburg which was guaranteed by the Treaty of London. He pointed out that France actually withdrew her troops from the frontier to avoid an accidental collision. He says that the world should know these facts.

Paris. Mobilisation is in progress throughout France. Tremendous enthusiasm reigns, and the Italians are joining the French in demonstrations.

Brussels. A hundred thousand Germans are crossing through Luxemburg and massing along the French frontier. Two German officers have been killed in the fighting in French territory near Longwy, yet the German Ambassador has not left Paris.

Luxemburg. A trainload of German soldiers has arrived at the station and troops have seized the bridges in order to ensure the regular passage of military trains across the Grand Duchy. The authorities have protested against violation of neutrality and a conference is proceeding at the Palace. The Germans assert that the railway lines belong to them and that they have a right to do what they like. They refuse to withdraw.

Enthusiastic scenes were witnessed in the West End to night. Crowds wildly cheered Ministers as they left the Cabinet and soldiers and sailors received ovations.

The War Office has ordered the closing of training camps and the return of Territorials to headquarters.

A trawler has left to recall the fishing fleet from the North Sea. Sir Edward Grey Reviews Position.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking in the House of Commons, said:— "Last week I stated that we were working for peace, not only for Great Britain but to preserve the peace of Europe. Events to-day move so rapidly that it is exceedingly difficult to state the actual position of affairs. It is clear that the peace of Europe cannot be preserved. Russia and Germany have declared war on each other. Before giving the position of the Government I would like to clear the ground, so that the House may realise exactly under what obligations the Government or the House is in. Coming to our decision, let me say, very shortly, that we persistently worked with all the earnestness in our power to preserve peace. (Cheers). The House may be satisfied on that point. Through the Balkan crisis we worked for peace. The co-operation of the Great Powers was successful. Then, it is true, that some of the Powers had great difficulty in adjusting their points of view, and it took much time, labour, and discussion before they could settle their differences, but peace was secured because peace was their main object, and they were willing to give their time and trouble rather than accentuate differences. In the present crisis, unhappily, it has not been possible to secure peace in Europe, because there has been little time and there was a disposition in some quarters to force things rapidly to an issue to the great risk of peace. The result we now know. The policy of peace, in so far as the great Powers generally are concerned, has failed.

I do not desire to dwell on that, or to say where blame seems to lie, because I should like the House to approach the crisis from the point of view of British interests, British honour (loud cheers), and British obligations (renewed cheers) free from all passion (cheers), as to why peace has not been preserved. We shall publish papers as soon as we can regarding what took place last week when we were working for peace, and when the papers are published I have no doubt they will make it clear how strenuous, genuine, and wholehearted our own efforts for peace were (cheers,) and they will enable you to form your own judgment as to the forces operating against peace.

QUESTION OF BRITISH OBLIGATION.

I come now to the question of British obligations. I have assured the House, and the Prime Minister has assured the House, that if any crisis arose we could come before the Commons and be able to say that it was free to decide what the British attitude should be (hear, hear); that we would have no secret engagement (Cheers). There have been in Europe two diplomatic groups, the Triple

Alliance and the Triple Entente. The latter was not an alliance, it was a diplomatic group. The House will remember that in 1908 there was a crisis originating in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Russian Minister happened to come to London and I told him definitely as that was a Balkan affair I did not consider that public opinion would justify us in promising anything more than diplomatic support. I was never asked for more and have never given and never promised more, and up till yesterday we had given no promise of more than diplomatic support.

I must make this question of obligation clear. The House must go back to the Morocco crisis of 1906. The time of the Algerias Conference was a very difficult time for the Government as a general election was in progress. I was asked whether, if that crisis developed into war between France and Germany, we would give armed support and I said that I could promise nothing to any Foreign Power unless the promise was subsequently to receive the wholehearted support of public opinion here when the occasion arose (Ministerial cheers). I said that if war was forced upon France on the question of Morocco, which had just been the subject of an agreement between Great Britain and France public opinion in Great Britain would have rallied to the support of France (Cheers). I made no promise and used no threats, but expressed that opinion and the position was accepted by the French Government, but they said at the time, "If you think it possible that opinion in Great Britain might, when a sudden crisis arose, justify you in giving France armed support, which you cannot promise in advance unless between military and naval experts some conversations have taken place, you will not be able to give that support even if you wish to give when the time comes." There was force in that. I agreed to it and authorised those conversations to take place, but on the strict understanding that nothing which passed between the experts should bind either Government. The Agadir crisis came, and throughout that I took precisely the same line as in 1906.

Subsequently, in 1912 it was decided that we ought to have a definite understanding in writing, that those conversations were not binding on either Government, and on 22nd November, 1912, I wrote a letter to the French Ambassador and received from him a reply. That letter will be known to the public now as a record that whatever took place between the military and naval experts there were no binding engagements. The situation in the present crisis is not precisely the same as in the Morocco question. The latter was primarily a dispute which concerned France—a dispute fastened upon France. There was no doubt we were pledged to nothing but diplomatic support, but were pledged by a definite published agreement. The present crisis originated differently. It has not originated with regard to Morocco, it has not originated as regards anything about which we have a special agreement with France, it has not originated in anything primarily concerning France. It originated in a dispute between Austria and Serbia. No Government and no country had less desire to be involved in war or dispute between Austria and Serbia than the Government and country of France (loud cheers). They were involved because of their obligation to honour (cheers), under a definite alliance with Russia. That obligation cannot apply in the same way to us. We are not parties to the Franco-Russian Alliance. We do not even know the terms of the Alliance.

Now I come to what we think the situation requires. We have had many years of long standing friendship with France (Cheers). I remember well when the Agreement was made the warm and cordial feeling resulting from the fact that these two nations had cleared away their perpetual differences and become friends. How far that friendship entails obligations, and it has been a friendship between the two nations (cheers) rather by the nations—let every man look into his own heart and his own feeling and construe the extent of the obligation to himself. (Cheers). Speaking for myself, I say that the French fleet is now in the Mediterranean. The Northern and Western coasts of France are absolutely undefended. With the French fleet concentrated in the Mediterranean the situation is very different from what it used to be before the friendship which grew between the countries gave them a sense of security. My own feeling is that if a foreign fleet, engaged in a war with France had not sought, and in which she was not the aggressor, came down the English Channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coasts of France, we could not stand aside (loud and prolonged cheers) with the thing going on practically within sight of our eyes, our arms folded, looking on dispassionately, doing nothing and I believe that to be the feeling in this country. (Loud cheers). There are times when one's own individual feeling makes one feel if the circumstances actually did arise that it would be a feeling which would spread with irresistible force to others in face of the thing happening. But I want to look at the thing also without sentiment from the point of British interests.

It is on that I am going to base and justify what I am presently going to say to the House. If we say nothing at this moment, what

is France to do with her fleet in the Mediterranean? She leaves it there with no statement from us of what we shall do. She sees her Northern and Western coasts absolutely undefended, at the mercy of the German fleet coming down the channel to do as it pleases in a war which is a war of life and death to her. We say nothing, it may be, and the French fleet is withdrawn from the Mediterranean. We are in the presence of a European conflagration. Can anybody set limits to the consequences which may arise from it? Just assume to-day that we stand aside in an attitude of neutrality saying: "No, we cannot engage to help either party in this conflict." Let us suppose the French fleet is withdrawn from the Mediterranean, let us assume that out of it come consequences unforeseen which make it necessary at a sudden moment that in the defence of vital British interests we should go to war, and let us assume, what is quite possible that Italy, which is now neutral, and legitimately consulting her own interests may depart from her attitude of neutrality at a time when we are forced to fight ourselves. What would be the position in the Mediterranean then? It might be that these consequences would be forced upon us at some critical moment when the trade routes in the Mediterranean might be vital to this country (Cheers). Nobody can say that in the course of the next few weeks there is any particular trade route the opening of which might not be vital to this country. What would be our position then?

We have not kept in the Mediterranean a fleet which is equal to deal alone with a combination of other fleets there. That would be the very moment when we could not detach more ships for the Mediterranean and we might be exposed in this country, through our negative attitude at the present moment, to a most appalling risk (cheers). I say that from the point of view of British interests it would be as well that we felt strongly that France is entitled to know at once (loud cheers) whether or not in the event of attack upon her unprotected northern and western coasts she could depend upon British support. Under these compelling circumstances yesterday afternoon I gave to the French Ambassador the following statement:—

"I am authorised to give an assurance that if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile action against the French coasts and shipping, the British fleet will give all protection in its power." (Loud cheer).

This assurance is subject to the support of Parliament. It must not be taken as binding upon the Government until the contingency of action by the German fleet takes place. Things move so rapidly that we cannot give this in an informal way, but I understand that the German Government is prepared, if we pledge our neutrality, to agree that the German fleet shall not attack the northern coast of France. I only heard that shortly before I came to the House, but it is far too narrow an engagement for us (loud cheers) and there is a more serious consideration, becoming more serious every hour—the question of the neutrality of Belgium. (Cheers).

BELGIUM NEUTRALITY.

The governing factors is the Treaty of 1839, and in 1870 Bismarck gave an assurance regarding the neutrality of Belgium which was a valuable recognition on Germany's part of the sacredness of Treaty rights. The Treaty is an old Treaty and our honour and interest is as strong to-day as in 1870. We cannot take a less serious view of our obligations than Mr. Gladstone's Government did in 1870. When mobilisation was beginning last week I knew that the question would be the most important element in our policy. I telegraphed to Paris and Berlin, saying that it was essential to know whether the French and German Governments were prepared to undertake an engagement in respect to the neutrality of Belgium.

The French Government replied that it was resolved to respect neutrality, and that it would only be in the event of some other Power violating the neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity to act otherwise. Germany replied that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs could not possibly answer before consulting the Emperor and the Chancellor. Sir William Goschen said that he hoped that answer would not be long delayed. The Secretary gave Sir William Goschen to understand that he rather doubted whether he could answer at all, as any reply could not fail in the event of war to have an undesirable effect, disclosing part of their plan of campaign (laughter). I telegraphed to Brussels. The Foreign Minister replied that Belgium would do her utmost to maintain her neutrality. He added that the Belgian Government believed that they were in a position to defend the neutrality of their country in case of a violation of its neutrality.

KING'S APPEAL TO KING.

Now comes the news that an ultimatum has been given to Belgium by Germany the object of which is to offer to Belgium

friendly relations on condition that she facilitates the passage of German troops through Belgium. We were sounded last week as to whether, if Belgian integrity was guaranteed on the conclusion of the war, that would content us. We replied that we could not bargain away whatever interests and obligations we had in Belgian neutrality (cheers). King George received the following telegram from the King of Belgians:

"Remembering numerous proofs of Your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, and friendly attitude of Great Britain of 1870, and proof of friendship which she has just given us, I make supreme appeal to diplomatic intervention of Your Majesty's Government to safeguard integrity of Belgium" (cheers).

We intervened diplomatically last week. What can diplomatic intervention do now? We have a great and vital interests in the independence and integrity of Belgium. The smaller States of that region of Europe only ask to be left alone (cheers). If in the war which is before Europe the neutrality of one of these countries is violated, if the troops of one of the combatants violates its neutrality and no action is taken to resent it, at the end of the war, whatever its integrity may be, its independence will be gone (cheers). Now if it be the case that there has been anything in the nature of an ultimatum to Belgium asking her to compromise or violate her neutrality, her independence is gone. If that holds true of Belgium it also holds true of Holland. I ask the House to consider the British interests at stake if we ran away. (Cheers). We have as yet taken no engagement as regards an expeditionary force out of the country. But we have mobilised the fleet and mobilisation is proceeding. We are prepared to face the consequences at any moment—we know not how soon—to defend our engagements. For us, with a powerful fleet, if we engage in war we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer if we stand aside. We are going to suffer terribly in this war, whether we are in it or not. Foreign trade is going to cease, not because the trade routes will be closed but because there will be no trade at the other end.

Sir Edward said with emphasis:

"If the facts regarding Belgium turn out to be as they have reached us it is quite clear that there is an obligation on this country to do its utmost to prevent the consequences to which these facts may lead, if they are undisputed." (Cheers).

Sir Edward Grey, referring to the position of Belgium, said: "And if her independence goes, the independence of Holland goes also. I will ask the House from the point of view of British interests to consider what may be at stake (cheers). It will be said that we might stand aside, letland our strength, and at the end intervene with effect and put things right. If in a crisis like this, we run away (loud and prolonged cheers) from those obligations of honour and interest as regards Belgium, I doubt whether whatever material force we might have at the end, it would be of very much value in face of the respect we should have lost (Renewed cheers)."

Sir Edward Grey, continuing, said: "We have taken no engagement yet to send an expeditionary armed force out of the country. The mobilisation of the fleet had taken place (Cheers). The mobilisation of the army is taking place. (Renewed cheers). But we yet have taken no engagement, because I do feel that in case of Europe in a conflagration such it is without precedent, with our enormous responsibilities in India and other parts of the Empire and all unknown factors, we must take very carefully into consideration the use which we make of sending an expeditionary force out of the country, until we know how we stand. (One light spot in the whole of this terrible situation is Ireland. (Loud cheers). The general feeling throughout Ireland, and I would like this to be clearly understood abroad (loud and prolonged cheers), does not make that a consideration which we have to take into account (Renewed cheers). Britain could not proclaim unconditional neutrality. We made a commitment to France which prevents us doing that. We have now to take into consideration Belgium which prevents us also from unconditional neutrality. We are bound not to shrink from proceeding to use all force in our power. (Cheers). I do not for a moment conceal that we must be prepared, and we are prepared (loud cheers) for consequences of having to use all our strength. We have at any moment, we know not how soon, to defend ourselves and to take our part. We can announce no final decision until we have the whole case before us.

Sir Edward Grey affirmed that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill had no doubt whatever. The readiness and efficiency of the forces were never at a higher mark than now (Cheers). Never was there a time when confidence was more justified in the power of the Government to protect our commerce and our shores and our colonies. From the suffering and misery entailed from war, no country can escape. No neutrality will save us. The amount of damage that could be done by the enemy's ships to our trade is infinitesimal compared with the amount of harm which would be done by the economic conditions. We are now free to face the situation the consequences of which are yet to be unfolded.

There are absurd complications grown out of this quarrel between Austria and Serbia. The situation has developed so rapidly that technically it is impossible as regards war to describe what has actually happened. I wanted to bring out the underlying things which must affect our own policy. I have put the vital facts before the House, and if as seems only too probable we are forced, and rapidly forced, to take our stand upon these issues, then I believe the country realizes what is at stake, what the real issues are, the magnitude of the impending danger which I have endeavoured to describe, and I believe we shall be supported throughout not only in the House of Commons but by the determination, resolution, courage, and endurance of the whole country. (Loud cheers).

The House adjourned till seven o'clock. Nationalists cheered Sir Edward Grey. A most dramatic scene occurred when Mr. Redmond announced that Irishmen would defend Ireland. Unionists grasped and shook his hand. Sir Edward Grey's speech was interpreted in the Lobby as meaning that Great Britain will inevitably fight.

On resumption after the adjournment Sir Edward Grey recounted Germany's proposals to Belgium. Germany, he said, threatened that in case of refusal she would treat Belgium as an enemy (murmurs in the House). Belgium answered that she was resolved to maintain her neutrality and to repel aggression by all possible means (Loud cheers). Sir Edward Grey said the Government was gravely considering the matter.

Mr. Bonar Law warmly supported the Government and referred, amid cheers, to the pledges of support from the Dominions.

Mr. Redmond expressed Ireland's sympathy and said that the Government could withdraw troops from Ireland immediately (Loud Cheers). The coasts of Ireland would be defended by the sons of Ireland—Nationalists and Ulstermen (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald affirmed that we should have remained neutral.

The following notification issued by His Britannic Majesty's Government is published in a *Gazette Extraordinary* here—

His Britannic Majesty's Government find themselves under the necessity of availing themselves of the power reserved under Article 8 of the International Telegraphs Convention and Article 17 of the International Radio Telegrams Convention to suspend transmission of telegrams and radio telegrams to and from, or in transit through, the United Kingdom, and from or in transit through all British possessions and all British Protectorates whatsoever and except such telegrams and radio telegrams as are on the service of His Majesty's Government or of the Government of any British possession or protectorate.

With a view, however, to minimise inconvenience to the public, His Britannic Majesty's Government will, until further notice, and as an act of grace, permit the transmission of such telegrams and radio-telegrams in plain language as foreign Governments or the public choose to send, provided that such telegrams and radio-telegrams are written in English or French and on the understanding that they are accepted at the sender's risk and subject to censorship by the British authorities—that is, that they may be stopped or delayed, or otherwise dealt with in all respects at the discretion of those authorities and without notice to the senders, and that no claims in respect of them, whether for the reimbursement of the sums paid for transmission or otherwise will be considered by His Majesty's Government in any circumstances whatever. It is moreover essential that such telegrams and radio-telegrams should bear the sender's name at the end of the text and otherwise they are liable to be stopped until the name is notified by paid telegram. Registered abbreviated addresses will not be accepted either as addresses or as the name of senders.

Note—The term "telegram" is applied to radio-telegram messages sent from shore to shore, as well as to those sent by cable or land line. The term radio telegram is used to denote messages exchanged between ships and the shore.

Simla, Aug 3.

In view of the present crisis an assurance obtained from the Viceroy has been cabled home to the effect that the people of England can count on every man and every gun of the Army in India, whether British or Indian, if need arises, and that England may remain confident in the loyalty of the people of India to cope with any enemy that may arise.

The Viceroy returns to Simla leaving Dehra Dun to-night.

London, Aug. 3.

It is officially announced that Italy will remain neutral.

Sweden has declared her neutrality.

Denmark and Norway have declared their neutrality.

Paris: An authoritative note published in Paris describes the German movements on the frontier as extremely grave. The French Cabinet was sitting at midnight.

Telephonic communication with the Continent ceases this afternoon. Telegraphs are tremendously delayed.

International trains to Germany have been suspended. Telephones between Germany and abroad are interrupted.

France has ordered a general mobilisation to begin at mid-night.

Paris: The unbearable suspense has been converted into tremendous enthusiasm by the issue of a scrap of yellow paper, bearing the heading "Ordre De Mobilisation."

Paris: Placards have been posted requiring all the Reservists to join the colour within twenty-four hours, starting from mid-night (to-night).

General mobilisation of the Austrian Army and Navy has been ordered and the Landsturm has been called out in response to the Russian mobilisation.

A message to the *Times* from St. Petersburg states that the general mobilisation was decided on late on Thursday last, placing four million men on a war footing.

The *Montreal Star* has asked the Empire papers for their opinions as to the action of the Dominions in the event of war. The paper quotes five replies received from Australasian newspapers and they are unanimous that the Dominions should aid the Motherland to the last man and the last shilling.

The *Times* is glad that encouraging messages have been received from overseas, especially from Canada and New Zealand, and says:—"The policy of Great Britain is clear. We dare not placidly watch our friends running danger of destruction, because we know that our turn would come next. Our strongest interest at present is 'not peace but self preservation.'"

Melbourne. Speaking at Horiham, Mr. Cook, Commonwealth Prime Minister, said that where the Empire was at war Australia was also at war, and Australia's resources were the Empire's (cheers).

In a speech at Oolac Mr. Fisher, ex-premier, declared that if the worst should happen Australia would help the Motherland to the last man and the last shilling. The utterance was received with cheers.

Ottawa: Mr. Hughes, Minister of Defence, declared that Canada was keener than ever to rally to the old flag.

Ottawa: It is expected that 20,000 militia will be mobilised.

Ottawa: An emergency Cabinet is sitting. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught are hurriedly returning here.

The *Times* publishes a special article headed "The Empire and the Crisis," in which it explains the issues and says if France and Russia are involved in war the Empire must support them with all its strength and without delay.

The *Morning Post* says the Government could preserve peace if it promptly announced that it would support France and Russia.

The *Standard* declares that France may hope for, but cannot count on our assistance, despite the *Entente*.

The *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail* maintain that we cannot forsake our friends.

The British Navy League, in a manifesto to the nation, says the fleet is at the highest point of human skill and efficiency, and it is ready for anything.

Mr. Asquith and Earl Kitchener had audiences of the King. It is understood that Lord Kitchener and Sir Reginald Wingate will leave for Egypt on Monday.

It is confirmed that Lord Kitchener is leaving for Egypt.

The Japanese Ambassador, interviewed by Reuter's representative, said Japan was ready to fulfil the terms of her alliance with Britain in the event of the latter being involved in a European struggle. He hoped and believed that peace in the Far East would be preserved.

The Naval strength of the Triple Alliance in the Far East was negligible.

Reuter learns that the French Embassy is informed that the German Ambassador in Paris has intimated that he proposes to leave Paris to-night. Nevertheless, efforts to arrive at an understanding continue and conversations are progressing.

If peace were not broken in the Far East, Japan would consider her task accomplished. If, on the other hand, hostilities broke out in the Far East, a different situation would arise with which Japan would deal in the spirit of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

A *Times* message from Tokio says that Baron Kato, Foreign Minister, states in an interview that Japan was ready to stand by her alliance.

We understand that Messrs. Boulton Bros., Bankers of Old Broad Street, London, have telegraphed out to the Alliance Bank of India, with which institution Messrs. Boulton Bros. are intimately related, as follows:—"Foreign outlook altogether bad, but banking position in City very sound," which is reassuring in face of the failures recently reported in the Home telegrams.

The Bank of England rate of discount was to-day raised to ten per cent.

Conditions in the City to-day were indescribable. Business of every kind was at an utter standstill.

Each Continental centre has fixed the Bank rate at six per cent.

There are queues outside the Bank of England changing notice for gold.

The scenes in the West End culminated in remarkable demonstrations outside Buckingham Palace, where crowds sang "God Save the King," "Rule Britannia," the "Marseillaise."

The King and Queen, in response to cheering, appeared on the balcony and were received with roars of cheering.

There are indications of an important announcement of agreement between all parties.

Mr. Redmond has returned to London.

The scenes in the West End were unparalleled since the Boer War. The streets were thronged with excited thousands. Special editions of the papers were published with bewildering rapidity and were eagerly purchased and read under gas lamps. Territorial marching down the Strand were cheered with enthusiasm. Soldiers and sailors in Trafalgar Square were surrounded by immense crowds, amongst which were many Frenchmen. Motors drove through the West End, the occupants waving French and British flags and singing patriotic songs. Most affecting scenes were witnessed at Charing Cross, where an immense crowd of French reservists had assembled in the evening prior to departure for Paris, accompanied by their wives and sweethearts. Thousands of German reservists left Liverpool Street homewards by a single train and were cheered by their compatriots.

Extraordinary crowds gathered in Whitehall this afternoon, cheering Ministers and other notable people.

It is understood that Government will ask Parliament for a Defensive Credit of £50,000,000.

The Cabinet will meet again to-morrow, after which Mr. Asquith will make a statement in Parliament.

The *Daily Mail* says it is understood that at the close of the Cabinet last evening Great Britain was still not involved in war.

A *Daily Mail* telegram from Las Palmas states that two German warships have appeared in the vicinity of the Canary Islands.

The Government has taken over charge of wireless stations in the United Kingdom.

The *Daily Mail* says the attack on Luxemburg is a direct challenge to Great Britain.

"We understand an intimation has been conveyed to the German Government that if a single German soldier is ordered to set foot on Belgian soil the British navy will take instant action against Germany."

The *Daily News* continues to be an uncompromising supporter of British neutrality whatever happens.

The *Daily Chronicle* urges Liberals to support the Cabinet, whatever its decision. Other papers regard British participation as inevitable. The *Daily Chronicle* says it is practically certain that the Ministers yesterday decided to intervene and it is rumoured that two members of the Cabinet threatened to resign in consequence of the above decision by the majority.

The collier "Saxon" from King's Lynn bound for Braunschweig has been seized and taken into Cuxhaven.

Cowes week has been abandoned.

A meeting of Directors of the Liverpool Cotton Association has resolved that the cotton exchange shall be closed indefinitely. Also that until further notice all trading in future and all tenders and settlements for further contracts shall be suspended. It was further decided that until an arrangement to safeguard the interests of all concerned can be made no trading in spot cotton shall be allowed.

There is an unconfirmed report to the effect that the Germans have captured a Wilson liner.

Mr. Bouar Law called at Downing Street and stayed for fifteen minutes.

Colonel Driscoll, Commander of Driscoll's Scouts, in the Boer War has offered Government a thousand picked men for immediate service. He urges Colonials to join.

Malta. The Mediterranean fleet has cleared for action. Destroyers have left at full speed, it is believed to join the French fleet. Others are leaving, while the *Inflexible*, *Weymouth*, and *Dublin* are remaining at Malta, but with their steam up.

Wellington Navy under Britain.

Government has called up the Navy reserve. The authorities have assumed control of ports and taken other precautionary measures.

Melbourne. The Australian warships are making feverish preparations and military and naval conferences are proceeding.

Cape Town: The Union Defence Department is taking all necessary measures.

The Imperial Government is chartering steamers as colliers under sealed orders.

Brussels. The papers report that Germany has sent an ultimatum to Belgium proposing *entente* to facilitate German operations in Belgium and requesting a reply by Monday morning.

An official statement has been issued that the French reply to German representations is unsatisfactory, moreover that France has mobilised and that therefore war must be expected at any moment. The statement accused Russia of invading Germany in the midst of peace, thus flagrantly contradicting Russia's peaceful assurances.

The Russian Ambassador has received his passport.

A telegram from the German Staff reports that a German doctor who attempted to poison Malm water-supply with cholera bacteria,

and a French party who endeavoured to dynamite the tunnel at Coochon, have all been courtmartialled and shot.

A later telegram states that it is semi-officially announced that Belgium has refused to entertain the proposal and will adhere to her neutrality.

Belgium has rejected the German ultimatum.

Antwerp: Business is suspended and martial law has been proclaimed.

Brussels: Diplomatic relations between France and Germany have been broken off.

The Brussels. Germans have invaded the Dutch province of Limburg.

Hostile aircraft have been sighted along the Rhine near Cologne.

A hostile dirigible has been sighted near Andernach and enemy's aeroplanes have been sighted between Buren and Cologne.

It is reported that the cruiser *Augspurg* is bombarding Libau and that the port is on fire.

Stockholm. The German and Russian fleets have engaged near Åland. The Russians were driven into the Gulf of Finland.

Stockholm. The Germans have occupied the Åland Islands. Fishermen report that a large Russian warship is ashore there.

Paris. The French Government have protested against the German act of war against France without provocation.

The French Parliament meets to-day and the Russian Duma on 8th instant.

St. Petersburg. Monster war processions are marching through the streets of St. Petersburg headed by Ikons. The police and troops are conspicuous by their absence. The Tsar and Tsarina appeared on the balcony of the palace and sang the National Anthem. The churches were packed yesterday, the congregations praying for Russian victory.

Grand Duke Nicholas has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces.

Moratorium has been proclaimed in France. Depositors are permitted to draw only limited amounts.

New York. Millions of emergency currency are arriving in New York. Altogether 500,000,000 dollars may be issued to banks. The friendliness of American business men towards England is evidenced by bankers discussing the feasibility of shipping immediately 100,000,000 in gold to London to relieve financial situation there. It is also suggested to hold a sum total to assist American exporters or buy English bonds.

The scene in the Commons this afternoon was unparalleled in British history. Most intense subdued excitement prevailed. Cheers were played along the floor of the House to accommodate members. Sir Edward Grey looked noticeably older.

Crowds gathered outside the House and Ministers were cheered both inside and outside.

The Conservatives gave Mr. Churchill an ovation. The House immediately passed all stages of Bills suspending Bills of exchange and empowering moratorium. Mr. Lloyd George announced that the bank holiday would be extended for three days.

Mr. Asquith was received with cheers on entry.

London, Aug 4.

Colombo. The Ceylon Government has established a censorship over telegraphic and wireless services.

Ceylon Engineer Volunteers have been called out the Royal Naval Reserve.

His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon yesterday addressed the Legislative Council as follows:—

"At this juncture, I think right to preface the proceedings here to-day with a brief word to Ceylon's position in the international crisis which has arisen since the meeting last week.

In the first place, the United Kingdom is not at war.

In the second place, Ceylon is a loyal and united colony.

Thirdly with a view to eventualities which we hope will not arise, every step in defensive precaution has been taken by the Government in concert with the naval and military authorities.

Fourthly, I have every reason to be confident that our banks are in a very strong financial position, so I ask His Majesty's subjects in Ceylon to go about their individual business as they have already done so admirably in the past week orderly and with great confidence heedless of idle rumours.

The Hon. Mr. L. W. A. C. S. S. submitted a petition having reference to the war scare and the consequent rise in the price of foodstuffs which it was hoped the Government would take steps to prevent.

It is understood that relations with Germany are strained but so far as is known no rupture has occurred and it is hoped peace may be maintained. The wild rumour published in Calcutta of firing in North Sea appears to be mere fiction.

The Viceroy returned to Simla to-day.

The harbour traffic regulations ensuring control of ships entering port has been enforced at the defended ports in India.

The Naval reserve has been called out by Royal Proclamation.

A cable censorship has been established.

The Japanese fleet off the China coast has concentrated near Tsingtan where it is keeping a close watch on the German Pacific fleet.

In the event of declaration of war between Germany and Great Britain, this action will minimise the possibility of fighting in the Far East and possible losses to our shipping by the activity of cruisers which might succeed in evading the vigilance of our China squadron.

The Privy Council this afternoon considered exclusively financial measures.

It is reported that the King has signed a proclamation for a moratorium.

A special *Act* provides that the Admiralty, owing to emergency, will control all wireless stations and installations, including those on foreign vessels in British territorial waters.

Paris. The air is filled with the constant humming of aeroplanes leaving for the front. Stringent punishment is being inflicted on any attempt to profit by raising prices of necessities. The searchlight on the Eiffel Tower was working continuously throughout last night, watching for aircraft.

French newspapers state that Great Britain will intervene and that Sir John French will command an expeditionary force.

Forty million francs destined for Germany have been detained in Paris. Women in Paris are volunteering by thousands as war nurses.

German patrols are active in the vicinity of Belfort and are raiding the locality.

Vienne. The *Militarische Rundschau* states that severe fighting has occurred on the River Drina and that the Serbians attempting to cross it were opposed by Austrian frontier guards.

Great Britain has sent an ultimatum to Germany allowing her until mid-night in which to give the same assurance with regard to the neutrality of Belgium as France has given.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that it is probable that Lord Kitchener will be appointed Secretary of State for War.

The *Telegraph* is confident that Russia will make one more repulse the insolent attack of Germany.

The paper pays practically a unanimous tribute to Sir Edward Grey. They declared that the nation is united and ready to follow his lead. The *Daily News*, hitherto a stinging advocate of neutrality, said: "Though we are not convinced by Sir Edward Grey's conduct, we are convinced by his patriotism and shall meet the common danger with a united front." The paper appeals to Radicals and Labour to not make difficulties for the Government.

Two thousand men have joined the force of South African Veterans which Mr. Norton is raising.

Colonel Dease is recruiting the Legion of Frontiersmen for a picked corps. Hunbols are joining daily.

It is reported that Lord Morley is resigning. The papers mention that Mr. H. H. Asquith and Mr. H. H. Asquith only remained in the Cabinet in view of the latest revelations of Germany's action.

The reports of proposals for a Coalition Government, including Unionists, are described by the Liberal press as absurd.

Brussels. The neutrality of Belgium has not been violated and hence the state of siege in Antwerp has been raised.

The Cabinet has decided not at present to appeal to the Powers for guarantees.

The Hag. Germany has promised to respect the neutrality of Holland.

It is reported from South Shields that heavy firing has been heard off Scarborough Head, and it is believed that a naval battle is in progress.

The Danish Embassy denies the report that there has been an Anglo-German naval battle.

Telegrams from Copenhagen state that the whole German fleet has passed through the Kiel Canal and entered the North Sea.

The German Ambassador demanded his passports and left Paris yesterday evening.

The following changes are announced in the French Cabinet:— M. Augagneur replaces M. Gauthier, the Minister of Marine, who has resigned.

M. De Monnergue becomes Foreign Minister, but M. Viviani who was Foreign Minister still retains the Premiership.

M. Saut, a Minister, becomes Minister of Public Instruction in place of M. Augagneur.

Earl Kitchener embarked at Dover yesterday for Egypt but was recalled by telegraph, landed, and returned London.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that Mr. John Burns has resigned.

The Germans have occupied Gzennostochova, Venizin, and Kalas.

The scenes in London yesterday recalled the Relief of Mafeking, except that the note was one of joyous defiance. A procession passed through the streets cheering and singing the *Marseillaise*.

acillaise and shouting snatches of French songs and waving British and French colours.

The King and Queen and the Prince of Wales appeared on the balcony of Buckingham Palace, and were given a tremendous ovation.

Great enthusiasm prevailed in the music halls.

In the House of Commons, yesterday, the Radicals, Mr. Wedgwood, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Morrell, Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Kier Hardie protested against war.

Mr. Balfour appealed to them to close "this impotent debate."

Mr. Lloyd George said he proposed "to take steps to enable trade to be continued whatever happened."

In the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne said that after Sir Edward Grey's speech and his own courage, Britain had no need to fear the Government's action.

Amsterdam: It is denied that Limburg has been invaded.

According to an unauthenticated report from a French source, the airman Garros charged a Zeppelin in and destroyed the airship.

Garros and the occupant of the Zeppelin were killed.

Despatches from Salonika state that Austrians attacked the Serbian frontier at Posravatz, Semanina, Belgrade, Lohmitza and Mokragaz. The despatches add that they were everywhere repulsed, and not an inch of Serbian territory was invaded.

The Austrian press refuse to believe that England will side with France and Russia. It admits that such an action by England would be a very heavy blow.

In an interview, Admiral Mahan expressed the view that England must fight to maintain her position as a World Power. For a similar reason, Italy must join the Entente within a week.

Washington: The House of Representatives has passed a Bill permitting foreign ships to use the American Register.

Amsterdam: The mobilisation of the Dutch Fleet has been completed and Volunteers are swarming to the service.

The German authorities state that the temporary detention of English merchantmen in the Kiel Canal is merely a police measure. It is solely a matter of changing their destination and there is no intention of interfering with the property on the vessels.

The French Minister in Brussels notified his Government that three German dirigibles have entered Belgium violating her neutrality.

Germany has sent a second ultimatum to Belgium. Germany is prepared to carry by force of arms measures she considers necessary.

To summarise the present position, only mere skirmishes have taken place on the Russo-German frontier. The Germans have apparently occupied three towns, and various small Russian incursions are reported. The slowness of the Russian mobilisation which will not be completed for some week explains the German onslaught on France via Luxembourg and Belgium.

The Russian account of the Liban affair says that German armaments shelled and ignited the naval hospital and private houses. Otherwise little damage was done.

Austria has apparently abandoned the attack on Serbia and is moving troops in the direction of Galicia to confront Russia. The Serbians seem to be preparing in conjunction with the Montenegrins to invade Bosnia and stir up an insurrection there. The mobilisation of Turkey is a factor which is pregnant with possibilities.

Malta: Martial law has been proclaimed.

It is officially announced that the army will be mobilised at midnight to-morrow. Australia has placed her fleet at the Admiralty's control. She has offered to furnish an expeditionary force of twenty thousand men at the cost of their maintenance. At a meeting at Cardiff of representatives of all the countries of Wales it was resolved to raise a Mounted Regiment for service abroad.

In Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the Government and Opposition are taking united action.

Canada has called up rural reservists. Australia has notified partial military mobilisation.

Ottawa: At a meeting of the Canadian Cabinet has decided to call out the Rural Reserves. Special precautions are being taken to guard the mails and there is every evidence of the resolve of the Government to fight to the end.

In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Asquith detailed the message sent by Sir Edward Grey in conformity with the statement which the latter made yesterday evening to Germany and read a communication received to-day from Germany to Belgium.

Mr. Asquith said:—"Last night great Britain protested to Germany against the violating of Belgian neutrality and requested an assurance that the demand which Germany had made upon Belgium would not be proceeded with and that her neutrality would be respected. We emphasise that we asked for an immediate reply." (Loud cheers).

Mr. Asquith read a telegram from the British Minister in Paris saying:—

"The German Minister to-day addressed a Note to the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that as the Belgian Government had declined the well-intentioned proposal submitted to it by the Imperial Government the latter deeply regretted to be compelled to carry out, if necessary by force of arms, measures which it considered indispensable in view of the French menace."

Simultaneously we received from the Belgian Legation the following telegram from the Belgian Foreign Minister:—

"General Staff announces that Belgian territory has been violated at Gemmenich, near Ax-la-Chapelle."

Subsequent information tends to show that the German force has penetrated still further into Belgian territories. We also received this morning from the German Ambassador a telegram sent to him from the German Foreign Minister in these words:—

"Please dispel any distrust that may exist on the part of the British Government regarding our intention by repeating the most positive and formal assurance that even in case of an armed conflict with Belgium, Germany will not on any pretence whatsoever annex Belgian territory. (Ironical laughter). The sincerity of this declaration is borne out by the fact that we have solemnly pledged our word to Holland strictly to respect her neutrality."

"It is obvious that we could not profitably annex Belgian territory without making territorial acquisition at the expense of Holland. Please impress upon Sir Edward Grey that the German army could not be exposed to a French attack across Belgium, which according to unimpeachable information was planned. Germany has in consequence disregarded Belgian neutrality to prevent what means to her a question of life and death—a French advance through Belgium."

Mr. Asquith then said:—

"I have to add this on behalf of His Majesty's Government. We cannot regard this as in any sense a satisfactory communication (cheers). And we have repeated the request made last week to the German Government that they give us the same assurance regarding Belgian neutrality as was given to us and Belgium by France, and we have asked that the reply to that request and a satisfactory answer to our telegram should be given before midnight." (Loud and prolonged cheers).

It is officially announced that war was declared on Germany by England at seven o'clock this evening.

Field Marshall Sir John French has been gazetted Inspector-General of Forces.

It is stated that Earl Kitchener is staying in London in connection with administrative work at the War Office.

London, Aug. 5.

The Peninsular and Oriental trains to Marseilles and Brindisi have ceased.

Proclamations appear in official "Gazette" announcing mobilisations and enjoining all subjects to obey the instructions of officers and officials. When the proclamations were read at the Royal Exchange and elsewhere, crowds sang the "National Anthem."

In five minutes the House of Commons voted estimates amounting to 105 millions sterling.

General Luman Sanders is commanding the Turkish army.

The Hague: Speaking in Parliament, the Premier said that all were agreed that they should defend their neutrality to the utmost.

Kronprincessin: The "Ceile" has regained America.

According to a Nish telegram, the Serbians, at a point twelve miles from Belgrade drove back three Austrian regiments with artillery, inflicting heavy losses.

The cruiser "Breslau" has bombarded Bone, Algeria. Afterwards she steamed at full speed in a westerly direction.

The Committee of the Cabinet dealing with food supplies announces that besides wheat supplies, for four months already in the country, large consignments are en route, therefore famine is inconceivable and there is no justification for any rise in the price of meat and bread.

Lord Mountbatten appeals to the southern Irish Unionists to respond to Mr. Redmond's noble call to join the Nationalist Volunteers.

Paris: The Chamber opened yesterday. A message from M. Poincaré was read saying that France was the object of a brutal, premeditated aggression. France for forty years had combated a desire for lawful reparation and had given an example of a great nation using its renovated strength solely in the interests of the well-being of humanity. France to the last moment of the crisis made supreme efforts to avoid war for which history would make Germany responsible. France was already the recipient of the sympathy and good wishes of the world. She stands to-day again before the universe for liberty and justice.

Telegrams recently exchanged between King George and the Tsar, have now been published. The King expressed the opinion that some misunderstanding had produced a dead-lock and suggested the re-opening of conversations. The Tsar replied that he would gladly have accepted the proposals had not Germany declared war.

Brussels: The Germans entered Belgium at twenty minutes to nine, yesterday morning, in three columns at Gemmenich, Heerichapelle and Dolheim. The first reached Vise and halted on the right bank of the Meuse. The Belgians defending the left bank, prevented the construction of a pontoon bridge. Sharp cavalry engagements occurred, the Belgians having the advantage of being supported by the Liège forts. A German pallementaire demanded the surrender of the Liège forts, which was refused. The columns at Heerichapelle advancing on Liège were held up by Belgians.

Renter's announcement that war had been declared between England and Germany was distributed broadcast at midnight and the wildest scenes occurred. Trafalgar Square was impassable. Hats and flags were waved, crowds cheered and sang, and processions were formed. At Buckingham Palace, where the King and Queen appeared on the balcony, there was a scene of tremendous enthusiasm and their Majesties had a splendid ovation which continued long after they had retired.

The *Times* says that the Parliamentary session will be prorogued on 8th instant.

It is expected that the Arms Proclamation will be revoked in Ireland.

The War Office announces that Government has assumed control of railways, assisted by a committee of managers.

Liège: The Germans are hindered by broken bridges and railways. They have gone northward and violated Dutch territory at Tilburg. They crossed the Meuse at Eysden. The Tenth Corps is at Eysden, the Seventh at Veniers and the sixth at a place unknown. Vise and Argenteau are in flames. It is reported that Germans who fired on both the towns, decimated the population of Vise. A hundred thousand Germans are marching on Liège. A German airman has been killed.

St. Petersburg: Russian troops have come into contact with Germans along the greater portion of the frontier. The Germans on the Bailla-Borzynnen front have fallen back burning villages over an enormous extent of country.

Brussels: The Germans are reported to have begun the bombardment of Liège and Namur.

Paris: It is reported from the frontier town of Elm Mout-Billard that the Germans have violated the neutrality of Switzerland there.

Algiers: It is reported that the French fleet has sunk the German cruiser "Panther."

The British Government has arranged for a special vessel to convey Prince Lichnowsky and his staff.

Bukharest: It is officially announced that Rumania will remain neutral.

St. Petersburg: Nineteen German warships are off Mamel and Lidau.

Brussels: The inhabitants of Vise have fled to Maesicht. Germans have reached Herve, Repraster and Remouchamps. Certain forts of the Meuse are ablaze.

Tokio: It was officially announced here that if Great Britain was involved in war, Japan would take measures to discharge her treaty obligations.

Brussels: It is reported that the Belgian troops have repulsed the Germans in the fighting near Liège. Many Belgians were wounded.

The "Daily Telegraph" says it is reported that Lord Minto, Mr. John Burns and Mr. Trevelyan have resigned and that the two latter are re-considering their decision.

Lord Haldane has been relieving Mr. Asquith in the departmental work at the War Office. It is denied that he will be Secretary for War.

Paris: A message to the "Daily Chronicle" says that a French detachment has captured the German cruiser "Geben" and "Breslau" and sunk the "Panther."

Seventeen Alsacians have been shot by Germans while attempting to cross into France.

A number of German merchantmen have been captured by France and Great Britain. The liner "Belgia" has been seized off Wales. Her cargo is worth £1,250,000.

There is a boom in the recruiting in the Army and Navy.

Maastricht: Fighting on the Belgian frontier continues. Explosion of guns is visible and aeroplanes and dirigibles are flying overhead.

Masses of German horses, as killed or galloped into the town this morning and were captured. Belgians bombarded the Germans as they were constructing the pontoon bridge over the Meuse inflicting heavy loss, but the Germans succeeded in crossing by a ford.

Admiral Von Ingenol is in command of the German High Seas Fleet.

Servians are persistently resisting the Austrians at Belgrade.

The Japanese fleet is ready to put to sea.

Port Said: The Orient Liner "Osterlay," homeward bound has been waiting for orders; outwardbound the "Otway" has been detained at Gibraltar.

Mr. Asquith has resigned the Secretaryship for War. Earl Kitchener has succeeded him.

London, Aug. 6.

Their Majesties appeared on the balcony at Buckingham Palace yesterday evening in response to ovations.

Mr. Redmond has been flooded with offers from Nationalists to serve the Empire. He requests Irish Unionists to join the Nationalist Volunteers.

Sir Edward Carson has been conferring with the War Office regarding the employment of Ulster Volunteers.

The response of Reservists at Woolwich is so great that it was impossible to deal with them yesterday.

Three German spies have been arrested at Woolwich, one of them being in barracks.

Seven hundred British Naval Reservists in New York are awaiting transportation.

The Food Committee of the Cabinet, yesterday conferred with the representatives of shopkeepers regarding measures to check an unjustified rise in the price of food.

The peace meeting at St. John Walden yesterday, was broken up. Labourite headquarters were wrecked.

A Belgian airman charged a German aeroplane at Liège yesterday in mid air, cutting it in two and continued on his way. The German was killed.

The Bank rate has been reduced to six per cent.

Anti-German excesses are reported from Brussels and Antwerp. An expulsion of Germans has been ordered.

The crowd tore down the esplanade of the German Consulate at Vancouver. The police prevented further destruction. Demonstrations in favour of France and England have been held in Buenos Aires.

The Japanese at Vladivostok marched in procession in honour of Russia, England and France.

Telegrams from the Premiers of New Zealand, Newfoundland, Columbia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan, and ninety-three Canadian senators and commissioners, and sixty-eight mayors, have been published in Montreal urging that immediate assistance be sent to the Motherland.

St. Petersburg: The High Priest in the Cathedral square blessed the British arm in the presence of Russia's holiest icon and of an enormous throng.

Berlin: It is officially stated that German landraids in the Mediterranean have destroyed some fortified towns on the Algerian coast.

Batavia: The German cruiser "Geben" has searched the Dutch steamer "Hountman" from Brisbane.

The Government scheme War insurance for ship's cargoes has been well received. It is regarded as most important and will avert a panic and induce the resumption of shipping to all supplies, etc. Government will pay eighty per cent. of the war risk on ships, the remaining twenty per cent. being borne by shipping associations. In the matter of cargoes, Government charges a fixed rate and conducts the insurance itself.

Numbers of Germans have fled to Holland.

The Tenth German Corps is now joining the attack. It is reported that the Dutch have destroyed a Zeppelin. Belgians have cut connexion between Belgium and Luxembourg.

Heavy fighting has taken place near Etrun, Germans were completely repulsed and were unable to renew attack on Liège.

The Admiralty announces that the British light cruiser "Amphion" sank German mine-laying vessel "Kornblume" at sea today.

Mr. Asquith will to-morrow move a war credit of hundred million sterling.

The King has sent messages to the Navy declaring his confidence that the officers and men will recover all honours the Navy's old glories and prove once again the sure shield of Britain in her hour of trial.

King George has sent a message to the Dominions expressing his appreciation and pride in their constant assurance of generous support and sacrifice. His Majesty says he is confident that the Empire will stand united and strong, trusting in God.

The *Official Gazette* announced that Vice-Admiral Sir John Jellicoe will take supreme command of the fleet and that Rear-Admiral Melden will be the Chief of Staff.

Montreal: The millionaire Mr. Chalet, equipping a regiment.

Paris: General Joffe has proceeded to the front.

Lunenburg: A German aviator has dropped three bombs on the town causing some casualties.

Prince Bismarck has returned to France and has offered to serve.

The Socialist M. Vandervelde has joined the Belgian Ministry.

It is officially announced that the Germans have invaded Belgium.

The Reichstag has passed a bill authorising a war credit of £250,000,000.

Berlin: A remarkable proclamation in a military official organ refers to the flaming anger at German people. It concludes "If God vouchsafes victory, then *vae victis*."

Rome: It is reported that Germany appealed to Italy to abandon her neutrality, and that Italy refused.

Brussels: Addressing the Chamber of Deputies the King of the Belgians said:—"If we have to resist the invasion of our soil we are armed and ready to make the greatest sacrifices. The one duty imposed on us is to resist with resistance, courage and unity to guard the supreme welfare of our country."

Brussels: Martial law has been proclaimed and the campaign started. The German Consulate has removed.

The mobilisation of Turkey is considered to be most significant.

Turkey announces that her mobilisation is purely precautionary.

Two French and two Cuban warships lie in English shipyards in a practically completed condition.

It is officially announced that the Admiralty has taken over the two battleships, one completed and the other being completed, in England for Italy, and the two destroyer leaders for Chile. The battleships were called the *Agoucourt* and the *Tonin* and the destroyers *Brake* and *Frederick* after two famous naval officers.

Crowds and processions paraded the West End last night, singing the National Anthem, "Rule Britannia" and "the Marseillaise" and waving flags.

The King and Queen and the Prince of Wales appeared on the balcony at Buckingham Palace, and acknowledged the ovations in their honour.

Brussels: The Sixth German Corps advanced on Monday night, and is now in between Moresnet and Eupen. Cannon has been heard at Aachen in Dutch Limburg.

The advance of the German Corps (XVI and not as Reuter says VII) to Eupen and Moresnet indicates that the movement is developing on a line which is only a little more than twenty miles distant from the frontier from Eupen, and less from Moresnet. Eupen is a German frontier town and the obvious intention is to mask Liège and Namur by way of Luxembourg on the Sedan. Moresnet is a Belgian town some twelve miles north east of Liège and five or six miles from the German frontier.

After Germany's summary rejection of the British request that she should respect the neutrality of Belgium, the British Ambassador in Berlin received a passport, and His Majesty's Government declared that a state of war existed from eleven o'clock yesterday evening.

The United States, Sweden and Turkey have declared their neutrality.

The *Hawley Courier Gazette* extraordinary was issued on Wednesday morning.

India

The following Proclamation issued by the Government of India, published in the *Official Gazette Extraordinary*, dated the 5th August, 1914 is reproduced for general information.

"I, Charles Bannister, Governor-General in India and Commander-in-Chief thereof, being satisfied thereof by information received by me do hereby proclaim that war has broken out between His Majesty and Germany."

London

Luxemburg: Germany has promised to indemnify the Duchy for any damage. She says she merely desires to protect the Luxembourg railways.

New news received.

A Council meeting will be held at 8.30 p.m. this evening.

The most widespread outburst of patriotic enthusiasm occurred to-day when a crowd gathered in the streets to go to to-night's Cabinet. Mr. Churchill received a special ovation being greeted with shouts of "Good Old Lloyd" and "Bravo Winston." There was full attendance at the Cabinet.

While the Government has been so active Great Britain has been very calm. The nation is taking necessary precautionary measures and is ready for any emergency.

Mr. Bannister, Governor-General in India, on behalf of Canada and New Zealand, has sent a message to the King and the Imperial Government to join the Allies. The New Zealanders are prepared to help in any way possible. Mr. Harcourt replied thanking them in the most cordial terms.

A full Cabinet which perhaps prove the most momentous of the century is sitting. The Empire is anxiously waiting to hear what patriotic leaders have to say. A large crowd watched the arrival of the members of the Cabinet prior to its meeting.

Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador, called at the Foreign Office.

A *Financial Gazette* proposes a partial moratorium in the case of certain forms of Exchange.

In view of the crisis the look-out in the textile industry at Lausick has ended.

Foreign Martial law has been proclaimed at Kiachao. Foreigners, including British subjects, have been ordered to leave. All Germans are leaving Peking for Tsingtao. The French, British and Russian merchants are continuing business. No mobilisation is taking place in Siberia.

Berlin: At the opening of the Reichstag, the Empress and Princes of the Royal Family were present.

In the opening speech, the Emperor William said, "No lust for conquest impels us, we were inspired by an unflinching determination to keep the peace God had given us, and, in self-defence, with a clear conscience and a clean hand we grasp the sword." At the conclusion his Majesty shook hands with the party leaders, and the Deputies sang the National Anthem, the Emperor listening with bowed head.

Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg said: "We shall repair the wrong we are doing Belgium immediately. Our military aims have been reached. Anybody threatened as we are and fighting for their most sacred possessions must think only of pulling through." He reiterated that if England remained neutral, Germany would undertake not to attack French shipping.

Belgium: The Chamber listened to a patriotic speech by the King in dead silence and then cheered simultaneously while the King and Queen and their children walked out. The Chamber voted eight million sterling for the defence of the country.

Washington: President Wilson has asked Congress to vote half a million sterling to bring back Americans stranded in Europe. A cruiser will convey money and fleet transports will bring back tourists.

London, Aug. 7.

Brussels: Heavy fighting has taken place near Fléron. The Germans were completely repulsed and were unable to renew the attack on Liège.

Brussels: An official announcement says that the Belgians have made vigorous counter attacks on the Germans and repulsed all the assaults of the Germans in the vicinity of Liège. The forts are practically unharmful. King Albert has gone to the front to command the Franco-Belgian troops. A proclamation has been issued saying: "Our haughty neighbour has torn up the treaty and attacked us because we refused to forfeit our honour. We are confident that our soldiers will triumph in their sacred cause."

Brussels: The newspapers state that the German losses amount to eight thousand men and seven guns. Eight hundred wounded Germans have arrived in Brussels.

Liège: Twelve hundred Germans wounded were picked up on the battlefield. The Germans traversed the mine zone and the mines exploded killing whole battalions.

Brussels: This afternoon the Germans made a most desperate attack on Liège. The cannonade went on all last night. Uhlans to-day made a most gallant effort and penetrated into the town but the Belgians exterminated them.

Brussels: The following official report is published here:—"Twenty-five thousand Belgian troops at Liège took the field occupying a most extensive front on the 5th instant, they showed most extraordinary endurance, repelling repeated vigorous attacks of 40,000 men composing the German 7th Army Corps. The Belgians then delivered a counter attack which was completely successful, the Germans entering Holland. The Belgians picked up 600 wounded. The attack of the 10th Army corps is expected to night."

The papers say that a shot from a Belgian fort at Liège on Tuesday brought down a Zeppelin airship.

The Admiralty announces that the British light cruiser "Amphion" sank the German mine laying vessel *Königin Luise* at noon to-day.

The Admiralty announces that the British light cruiser *Amphion* was sunk this morning, having come into contact with a submarine mine, Paymaster Gedge and 130 men were lost. The Captain and 16 officers and 135 men were saved.

It is officially announced that the *Amphion* struck a mine while reconnoitring after sinking the *Königin Luise*. The casualties due to the explosion included 30 German prisoners. Destroyers took off the survivors.

The reported capture of the German cruisers *Göeben* and *Breslau* is not believed in Paris.

The *Königin Luise* was caught approaching the Thames.

A telegram from Kikwal reports a naval engagement off the east of the Orkneys. Continuous firing was heard throughout the afternoon. No details have been received.

The Captain of the steamer, *Uranium*, has informed the British Consulate that he intercepted yesterday a wireless message from the *Lusitania* saying that two German cruisers, which had been pursuing her, had been chased and sunk by British warship.

The *Daily Mail* publishes a telegram from Tientsin stating that the Russian warship *Askold* and the German warship *Emden* were both sunk in an engagement between the two vessels off Wei-hai-wei.

German prizes are rapidly accumulating round the coast. Many have valuable cargoes of foodstuffs.

A torpedo boat, believed to be German, has sunk off Giedder Point in Denmark as the result of an explosion. Thirty men were drowned.

Berlin: A German cavalry patrol fleeing from French cavalry took refuge in Switzerland and has been interned.

The Austrians have made no progress at Belgrade.

A semi-official message published in Vienna reports that the cannonade on Belgrade was resumed yesterday. Serbian aggressiveness is evidenced by a telegram from Nish stating that volunteers crossed the Save and planted the Serbian flag on the Austrian bank.

The Hague: Queen Wilhelmina has declared a part of Holland to be in a state of war.

A blue-book in which is published the correspondence during the European crisis shows Sir Edward Grey's struggle to preserve peace and Germany's devious diplomacy. The most interesting despatches were those sent by the British Ambassador, Sir William Goschen, to Sir Edward Grey on the 29th July recording a conversation with Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg. The latter fearing a European conflagration offered to respect French territory (sic) in return for British neutrality. Sir W. Goschen asked about the French Colonies. Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg replied that he was unable to give an undertaking on that subject. A despatch from Sir E. Grey to Sir W. Goschen, dated 30th July, said that such a bargain at the expense of France would be a disgrace from which the good name of England would never recover. A despatch of 30th July from Sir Maurice de Bunsen, British Ambassador in Vienna, to Sir Edward Grey said that Sir Maurice had been informed that the German Ambassador telegraphed to the Emperor William the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was despatched. Sir Edward Grey on the 4th August demanded the release of British ships detained in German ports, which he maintained was in contravention of international law.

Very cordial Anglo-French naval and military co-operation is proceeding and the French Embassy has received most satisfactory telegrams regarding the heroic defence made by the Belgians.

Numerous German prizes are being brought into British ports in the North Sea.

The mobilisation in France was carried out in a splendidly calm and business-like manner. Russian mobilisation will be complete earlier than was expected.

Berlin: The British Ambassador and Belgian Minister have left Berlin. The Emperor William sent an aide-de-camp to Sir William Goschen to convey his regrets at the excesses committed against the British Embassy.

The Austrian Ambassador in St. Petersburg has asked for his passports, Austria regarding herself as being in a state of war with Russia.

The German Ambassador left this morning for Germany.

It is officially announced that Italy is most grateful for the attitude of the British people. The Italian Government announces that Italy will maintain her neutrality, remarking that Great Britain and Italy worked their hardest for peace.

The newspapers of Paris publish a report that Germany has sent an ultimatum to Italy threatening war unless she supports her allies.

Washington: Representations have been made to Germany for the immediate release of Americans interned owing to the recent mobilisation.

Austria-Hungary has declared war on Russia.

Spain has declared her neutrality.

The papers print a story of a battle in the North Sea. It is stated that trawlers on the east coast have been officially permitted to proceed to the fishing grounds including Iceland. The hospitals at Hull, South Shields, Yarmouth and Grimsby have been ordered to prepare for the reception of wounded. A Daily News message from a Whitley shipowner declares that nineteen German ships have been sunk or captured in the North Sea.

Nish: Seven attempts by the Austrians to cross the Danube have been repulsed.

Berlin: The Kaiser has issued an order calling on Germans to repel the reckless assaults of their enemies on all sides. The order concludes "God help us."



The French Army.

Debate in the Senate.

REPORTING the sensational debate in the French Senate when M. Charles Humbert made his speech on the state of the military *Matériel* in France, the Paris correspondent of the *Times* telegraphed on July 13th as follows:—

Startling disclosures in the Senate to-day with regard to the deficient organization and administration of the Army were rendered still more dramatic by the intervention of M. Clemenceau, who demanded an immediate reply from the War Minister.

The disclosures were made by M. Charles Humbert, Senator for the Meuse, in submitting his report on the special vote for *matériel*. This speech was as scathing an indictment of a public department as has been heard in the French Parliament.

Fort, he said, were defective in structure; guns lacked ammunition, and the men were without boots. There was no provision for the defence of fortifications against attacks from the air, and the wireless installation for communicating from fort to fort was inadequate. When the German wireless installation at Metz was working the Verdun station ceased to receive messages. The French artillery was rapidly falling behind that of Germany. So-called improvements were themselves almost obsolete by the time they had been discussed and adopted. As for the boots of the Army, the supply was 2,000,000 pairs short of requirements. If war broke out the men would have to take the field with one pair of boots, and only one reserve boot in their knapsacks, and that one 30 years old.

There must, he concluded, be a complete reorganization of the whole business of military administration, which at present suffered from an extreme instability of government.

MINISTER OF WAR'S REPLY.

It is difficult to convey the depth of the impression made upon the Senate by this speech. M. Messimy, the Minister of War, said he could not reply to the indictment on the spur of the moment; whereupon M. Clemenceau exclaimed, "The country has a right to know how its money has been spent, we must have an immediate reply."

The Minister of War, amid great excitement, then admitted that the majority of the accusations made by M. Humbert were accurate, taken by themselves. They were, however, only accurate as exceptions and not as the rule.

M. Clemenceau moved a resolution to have an immediate explanation from the Government, and then said, "There are moments when all of us assume our responsibilities. Never since 1870 have I taken part in such disastrous proceedings as to-day. You must reply; it is necessary for the Army, Parliament and the country. Things cannot be allowed to slide. To-day we must cry halt. The facts of M. Humbert—are they correct or are they not? We refuse to vote the credit without an explanation. The truth must be known."

The Minister of War asked the Senate to agree to a postponement of the debate until after the Parliamentary recess. This, however, M. Clemenceau refused to accept, and it was finally decided to resume the debate to-morrow afternoon.

These sensational proceedings have aroused the utmost concern. They could scarcely have come at a less opportune moment than on the eve of President Poincaré's visit to St. Petersburg and the national fête day, at which the Army is the public idol.

COMMITTEE TO REPORT.

Writing on the 16th, the *Times* Paris correspondent said:—

The debate in the Senate on Army organization and administration was continued and concluded late to night. The outcome of the discussion was that the Army Committee was instructed to submit a full report on war material on the reassembling of Parliament in October.

The Minister of war, in replying to the charges made yesterday by M. Humbert, admitted that all that might have been done had not been accomplished. From 1900 to 1905, Germany had spent £28,000,000 on her Army, as compared with 11,250,000 in France. From 1906 to 1910 Germany had expended £37,200,000, while France had spent £19,000,000. From 1911 to 1913 Germany had spent £23,100,000 France £16,500,000.

In artillery France had 2,504 guns; by the end of 1917 she will have 3,020. Germany has at present 3,370, and a distinct superiority in heavy calibre weapons. The 75 mm. gun of the French Army was superior to the corresponding weapon in Germany. Efforts were being made to increase the stock of shell. Experiments with heavy artillery were now in progress and would shortly lead to an improvement in this respect. Five guns for use against dirigibles would be available this year; next year they would number 35.

INADEQUATE MATERIAL.

Germany was far ahead of France in engineering material. The Minister admitted the truth of M. Humbert's statement with regard to the condition of the fortresses on the frontier. Lack of money had prevented the organization of telegraphic communication between the forts. An effort was now being exerted to make up for lost time. Wireless telegraphy was also in a bad way. The German wireless station at Metz was much more powerful than the French frontier station. Some of the forts of the Upper Meuse did, as M. Humbert stated, date from 1878 and 1880. Up till three years ago no money had been obtainable for bridge-building supplies, but supplies of this nature would be forthcoming this year.

With regard to the boots of the Army, the men of the active Army would need to have a new pair and a pair already worn on the day of mobilization. The reserve stocks of boots required renewal, and a definite type of new footgear would be adopted next October.

Frequently the demands of successive Ministers of War have been refused on the intervention of the Minister of Finance. In 1913, for instance, the Minister of War asked for a credit of

£20,000,000. The Minister of Finance offered to let him have only **£1,200,000**

From now to 1919 the country would have to make a serious effort, but by that date considerable improvement would have been made in every direction. France would not have caught up her neighbours, but she would by then have done all that was humanly possible to repair the errors committed. The country, after having indulged in a dream of universal peace, had been awakened by the Agadir crisis. The credits which were now before the Chamber were a proof of the intention of France to protect her soil.

M. CLEMENCEAU'S INTERVENTION.

The Minister of War had caused a feeling of extreme uneasiness in the Senate. M. Clemenceau summed up this impression by stating that the Minister of War had confirmed all the accusations made against him by M. Humbert. He called upon the Senate to appoint a Committee of Inquiry to report upon the condition of French war material. He warned the House of the dangers that had attended the fallacy of letting things slide in the past. The country was naturally alarmed by the debate, and something must be done to restore Parliamentary control of military expenditure.

The Prime Minister, in a conciliatory speech, quite admitted that the Army was not supplied with all the necessary matériel, and pointed out that in the last three years expenditure had been daily increased, and that the improvements which were called for were in course of realization. There was no need to alarm the country. The spirit of the Army was excellent in every way. But M. Clemenceau asked the Senate to show their confidence in the Government by asking a course by which the Minister of War might advance by adopting a Committee a written report upon the questions raised which could be discussed when the House reassembled after the recess.

M. Clemenceau once more intervened and pointed out that this course would result in the accentuation of the old evil. If that resolution were adopted the Senate would practically be asking the Minister of War to control his own action, which would allow of no direct Parliamentary action.

Ultimately it was decided that the Army Committee should furnish a report to the House next October upon all the questions raised yesterday and to-day.

NO CAUSE FOR ALARM.

On the 15th the *Times* Paris correspondent wrote —

The sensational manner in which M. Humbert's charges against the military administration were presented to the Senate renders necessary a word of warning lest undue alarm be aroused in regard to the condition of the French Army.

He declared that in spite of the vast and increasing sums voted for the Army, the heavy artillery, the Eastern Frontier forts, the stores of war material, footgear, uniforms, and shells, the transport, bridges, and wireless telegraphy are very much inferior to those of Germany. France awoke from dreams of universal peace to a realization of this state of affairs at the time of the Morocco crisis. The military administration determined that first of all the requirements of troops in the field would have to be met. Large sums of money were spent upon reinforcing the field artillery and the machine-gun sections, and strengthening the aeronautic and railway services.

In regard to fortress artillery, which cannot be improvised in a moment, improvement is continuous. Thus by the end of 1915 or the beginning of 1916 200 115mm. guns will be substituted for 84 guns of an older pattern. At the end of 1917, 200 howitzers will have strengthened the artillery. By the end of next year the stock of shells will be three times that which existed at the beginning of 1906.

As regards the heavy field artillery old types of guns are being modernized. A number of new types are at present either in course of manufacture or are undergoing trials. The frontier forts are being equipped with new wireless installations which are on order.

MAKING UP LOST GROUND

If France has not yet made up the ground she lost from 1900 to 1905, a considerable change has come over the whole organization of the Army, and that effort has been particularly great during the last three years. While no one can remain undisturbed by the immense sums expended in Germany in recent years, any very grave importance need not be attached to M. Humbert's revelation. Most Frenchmen believe that their Army has never been a more efficient instrument of war than it is to-day.

The cause of many of the defects denounced by M. Humbert is to be found in the cheese-paring policy pursued by successive Parliaments, especially during the first six or seven years of the present century. Some of the defects have been remedied within the last two years, and now everything is being done to fill in the remaining gaps.

The change is well illustrated by the difference between the sums demanded and the sums granted for military equipment. During the last five years the sum of £17,820,000 has been granted on a demand of £20,000,000. In the previous five years a sum of £8,640,000 was voted on a demand of £15,400,000. During the last

two years the reduction on this vote has amounted to only £400,000. Since 1901 £45,680,000 was demanded for military equipment. Parliament allowed them only £31,960,000. The four Budgets of General André were reduced by nearly half as regards military equipments. Since 1912 the three Budgets prepared by the present Minister of War, M. Messimy, M. Millerand, and M. Etienne have been reduced by only £160,000.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.)

S. C. C. Suit No. 453 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

Bechan Khan, son of Alla Yar Khan, of M. Hasnood Katra, District Fyzabad ... Plaintiff,

versus

L. Khalik ... Defendant.

To LALA KHATIK, SON OF BHOLA, M. HASNOOD KATRA NEAR RETA, CITY FYZABAD.

Whereas the abovesaid Plaintiff has instituted a suit against the abovesaid Defendant for Rs. 84-7-0 you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 28th day of August, 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 30th day of July, 1914.

BY ORDER

Lakshmi Narain,

Munsarim

Munsifs Court,

FYZABAD.

Judge.

H. M. Ahmad Beg

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The Proprietor of the "Akhbar-i-Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1913, writes: "The well known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive inasmuch as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

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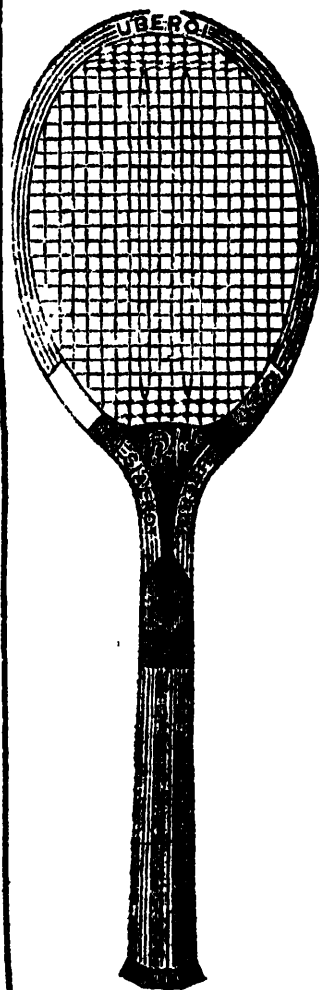


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ON THE
PRESENT DISCONTENT

. . BY . .

MOHAMED ALI, B. A. (Oxon.)

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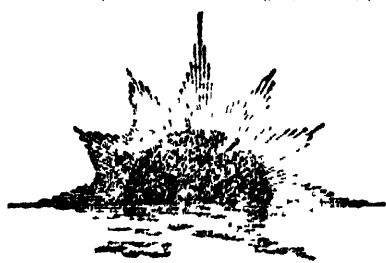
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Twice a Day for Delhi.

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- ¶ We do not think that Delhi readers could secure a better service than this, and situated as we are at the largest Railway Junction in India, we can defy competition from other centres so far as a very large area around Delhi is concerned.
- ¶ Those who need such a bulletin—and we believe their number is legion—should write to us without delay. Their names would be registered, and soon after a sufficient number of names have been secured, notification would be sent to them of the date from which "THE COMRADE WAR BULLETIN" would be issued.
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- ¶ We invite the co-operation of the public, for the fruits of such a co-operation are within its sight: if the readers of "THE COMRADE WAR BULLETIN" will induce others also to take it in, they would reduce its cost to themselves.
- ¶ The bulletins will be supplied to newspaper-vendors in outstations *at present* at the rate of **Rs. 4-8-0** per hundred, on condition that they do not sell it for more than **One Anna** per bulletin.
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—Morris.

Vol. 8.

Single Copy

Delhi: Wednesday, 19th August, 1914.

Annual Subscription

No. 7.

Annas 4.

Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

CONTENTS

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S MESSAGE	117	The Rival Chieques of the Delhi Muhammadans	123
OUR LONDON LETTER	117	The Imam of the Jama Mosque	123
TOTTA A TIRA—		LEADING ARTICLES—	
British Journalistic Restraint	121	The Campaign - II	124
The King and the Suffragettes	121	The Buckingham Palace Conference	126
Mr Zafar Ali Khan at Hyderabad	121	WAR IN EUROPE	
"New India"	121	News of the Week	128
The Racial Problem of Austria-Hungary	131	THE AUSTRIAN NOTE TO SERBIA	135
Calculations about the War	122	THE SERBIAN REPLY	135
"Religion and the Young Turks"	122	AUSTRIAN EMPEROR TO HIS PEOPLE	136
The Basis of Moslem Solidarity	128	GERMANY'S POPULATION	137
		ADVERTISEMENTS	137 140

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying such communications

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's Message.

We have this year to mourn over profound sorrow for the sad bereavement of His Excellency, the Viceroy by the death of Her Excellency Lady Hardinge. The loss to the people of India, and especially to the women of India, is incalculable. She leaves in the heart an affection of the people of India—an everlasting monument of herself as a benefactress.

What a calamity to the world is at present happening? The war in Europe. What is our Indians place in it? We are a people of the British Empire. Let us see what our duty and position is.

If ever India expects to attain again her former glory on the advanced character and scale of modern British civilization of liberty, humanity, justice and that is good, great and divine it shall be at the hands of the British people and with the British people as self-governing members of the British Empire.

We are above all British citizens of the Great British Empire and that is at present our greatest pride. On the other hand, is Britain engaged in the present great struggle for some selfish purpose for extension of her own dominion and power? No, it is simply keeping her word of honour and righteously discharging a solemn obligation for the peace and welfare of minor and weak Powers.

Fighting as the British people are at present in a righteous cause to the good and glory of humane dignity and civilization

and moreover being the beneficent instrument of our own progress and civilization, our duty is clear,—to do our every one's earnest to support the British fight with our life and property.

I have been all my life more of a critic than a simple praiser of the British rule of India, and I have not hesitated to say some hard things at times. I can, therefore, speak with the most perfect candour and sincerity what the British character is, what the civilization of the world owes to the British genius, and what we Indians owe to the British people for benefits past as well as benefits to come.

Yes, I have not the least doubt in my mind that every individual of the vast mass of humanity of India will have but one desire in his heart, viz, to support to the best of his ability and power the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour and true humane greatness and happiness.

The Princes and people of India have already made spontaneous offers, and until the victorious end of this great struggle no other thought than that of supporting wholeheartedly the British Nation, should enter the mind of India.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Venue

10th August, 1914



Our London Letters.

London, July 24

"MOSLEM DAY" AT THE WHITE CITY

LAST Friday was "Moslem Day" in the Anglo-American Exposition at Shepherd's Bush (the White City). The proceedings were held under the auspices of the Islamic Society in the beautiful Palace of Music. A very large number of Moslems were present as early as 11 a.m., though the first item on the programme—the Jama Namaz—was due to begin at 12 noon. The public were allowed admittance as well and throughout the day large numbers of people, interested in Islam, visited the Palace of Music in groups. Khwaja Kamal ud din of Woking Mosque, who presided over the proceedings, led the Jama Namaz punctually at half past twelve. He also delivered an impressive sermon on the "Unity of God." An interval for lunch followed, after which we were treated to a serious and weighty discourse on the "Philosophy of Islam" by Qari Saifullah Khan.

The Namaz-e-Ahr was led by Mr. Abdul Wahid Wake, an English Moslem—an illuminating experience of the magnificent brotherhood that prevails in Islam. Here was a man, who until lately a Christian, leading the prayer in the presence of Mr. Justice, a head and born Mussalman so to say, and yet all those who stood behind him unanimously extended to their English Imam every courtesy, reverence and devotion! This in itself is sufficient practical testimony to the truth of the chief Islamic principle—the bond of union, fellowship

and brotherhood which binds all Moslems together, irrespective of creed, sect, colour or position.

An entire hour (5 to 6 p. m.) had been thoughtfully set aside for answers by the Khwaja Sahib to any questions that may be asked concerning Islam. Several English gentlemen rightly took advantage of this opportunity and seemed to be perfectly satisfied with the replies that they received; cordial relations prevailed between the various questioners and the chairman, until finally an ecclesiastical worthy made his appearance in the hall. The reverend dignitary did not himself possess sufficient courage to put any questions on Islam, for, as far as one could realise, he seemed to be sadly ignorant of even the elementary principles and doctrines of the great religion of the Moslems. This colossal ignorance of "His Reverence" became only too apparent by his stupid interruptions and meaningless utterances, which rolled out from the ecclesiastical lips from time to time.

So far he was being treated with the contempt that he deserved, until he really became disagreeable and suddenly, rising on his feet, burst out angrily:—"It is monstrous that you people should 'come over to our country and denounce our religion!'" He had been unconsciously led into a trap. Christianity had never been denounced by anybody in that hall. The charge itself was monstrous. The Khwaja Sahib happily did not lose his presence of mind, but a few members of the audience, both Moslems and non-Moslems, were rapidly losing self-control, and for a few minutes pandemonium prevailed. It was even feared that physical force would be used. Not that there were two parties quarrelling against each other but, curiously yet rightly enough, all the opposition was directed against the Church dignitary, whose words, quoted above, had all of a sudden electrified the whole audience and had rendered them utterly incensed at his own disgraceful behaviour. I even actually heard the attendants of the Hall whispering to one or two of those who were responsible for the arrangement of the proceedings, seeking permission (nay, indeed, suggesting "instructions") to have the holy personage bodily removed out of the hall in the interest of the maintenance of law and order at the meeting. Such permission, however, was refused by the officials of the Islamic Society, whose attitude under such wicked provocations, was very praiseworthy and extremely creditable.

No little credit is also due to the Khwaja Sahib for not only keeping his temper but also succeeding in keeping the temper of the "revolutionary" members of the audience. Immediately after silence was restored, he proceeded in biting terms—"May I ask the reverend gentleman whether or not it is also monstrous for so many hundreds and thousands of Christian missionaries to visit other countries in Asia and Africa and to actually denounce the religious of those countries—a charge which could never be brought against Moslem missionaries?" Tremendous applause greeted the chairman's pertinent words. Almost immediately an Englishman jumped on his feet and administered a similar rebuke to the minister of his own religion for his unwarranted remarks. The climax came when a Frenchman sitting just in front of me also leapt out of his chair and in his own inimitable style had a "go" at the miserable looking clergyman. I could not help patting him on the back when he resumed his seat.

The reverend gentleman was now seen consulting somebody next him: a second or two later, the tall and ghastly figure of the "divine" steadily rose and in the deep stillness that suddenly overcame the audience, he offered his "regrets and apologies for what I have said and willingly withdraw my words." A generous and forgiving applause followed this brief statement of the reverend gentleman, which was renewed when a few minutes later he left the hall. The "incident" which had once become really threatening was thus happily closed without any untoward results. If it has only succeeded in teaching the clergyman a lesson, it has not been in vain.

Mr. Khalid Sheldrake opened the evening session by addressing the audience on "Why I adopted Islam?" He traced the various stages through which he had passed, ever since he was a young boy, towards the achievement of his object. His address was both interesting and instructive and was listened to by everybody present with the closest attention.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan spoke on "Islam and England" and the English members of the audience must have felt grateful to him for having so forcibly enlightened them on this all important subject.

Qari Sarfaraz Hossain led the Namaz Asha, after which proceedings were concluded.

The Islamic Society has done well in holding a "Moslem Day" in the Exhibition. Proceedings of this kind are bound to create a real interest in Islam in this country and such interest once created is certain to lead to further developments in due course of time.

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY'S CORONATION LUNCHEON.

The Islamic Society celebrated the Coronation of H. I. M. the Shah of Persia by a luncheon at the Hotel Cecil on Tuesday, the 21st July. His Excellency Raghib Rafi Bey, Counsellor to the

Imperial Ottoman Embassy, presiding. The gathering, which was very large and representative, included, amongst others, the following gentlemen:—His Excellency M. Ghaffar Khan (Counsellor to the Imperial Persian Legation), who, as the chief guest, sat on the right of the chairman, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, the Ameer Jung (son of the famous Bakhtiar Chieftain, the Sardar Asad), Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Edward Boyle, Mr. M. Abbas Ali Baig, Sir Muncheerjee Bhowangree, Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Colonel C. E. Yate, M. P., Mr. Hassan Sabry, Dr. Asadullah Khan, Professor Shaikh Mahomed Isfahani, Mr. D. M. Mason, M. P., Dr. Syed Abdul Majid, Shaikh Shauish, Mr. Edward Dalgado, Khwaja Kamaluddin, Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, Dr. Mahomed Sharaf, Mr. Emir Lawrence, Mr. S. Abul Hasan Razavi, Mr. M. Alum Ali, Mr. L. Sitarama Pershad, Mr. Jelal Shah, Mr. W. Rehman, Mr. Ghulam Rasool, Mr. Yusuf Khan, Mr. Husain Ali Khan, Mr. C. W. Jones, Mr. T. P. Roberts, Mr. Masud-uz-Zaman, Mr. Ibrahim Haji, Mr. Jan Mahomed Joonejo, Mr. F. De Souza, Mr. Abdul Ali, Mr. Ismail Mortada and Mr. Fakir Husein.

Letters of regret for inability to be present were received from Sir Edward Grey, the Turkish Ambassador, the Persian Minister, the Japanese Ambassador, the Chinese Minister, Lord Curzon, Lord Lamington, H. E. the Mushir-ul-Mulk, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Mr. A. Ponsonby, M. P., Mr. Philip Morrell, M. P., Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P., the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M. P., Mr. John Dillon, M. P., the Hon. Walter Guinness, M. P., Prof. E. G. Brown, Mr. Ibrahim Khan, Sir Thomas Barclay, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

Professor Browne's absence was very keenly felt. In the course of his letter which was read out by Mr. Jelal Shah, the acting Hon. Secretary of the Islamic Society, the Professor wrote:—"No one more heartily hopes or more fervently prays that the reign of the Young Shah who is to be crowned to-day may mark the opening of a happier epoch for poor Persia, who, through no fault of her own, has suffered so much in the last few years, especially since the end of 1911. The clouds are very heavy—very black and the omen sinister—but we can only pray for some unforeseen deliverance."

واقعہ علی کل شیء ندو

If I am not able to join you, as I fear is probable, I beg you to thank your Society for their kind desire to secure my presence, and to assure them of my entire sympathy with the object of their celebration viz., to wish long life and prosperity to Sultan Ahmad Shah, and a happy future to his country and people."

The toasts of Their Majesties the King and the Sultan (as the Khalifat ul-Moslemin) having been duly honoured, the Chairman, in a graceful speech, proposed the toast of "His Imperial Majesty the Shah." His Excellency at the outset expressed the regrets of His Highness Tewfik Pasha for his inability to be present and thanked the Islamic Society for the great honour they had done him in asking him to take the chair on such an auspicious occasion—an honour which he deeply appreciated. He sincerely wished the young Shah—the monarch of an ancient Empire—who was being crowned that day, long life and happiness, and earnestly hoped and prayed that a new era of prosperity, freedom and progress was about to begin in Persia. Speaking as a Turk, Rafi Bey assured the Persian sovereign and his subjects of the whole-hearted sympathy and good wishes of the Ottoman nation on that joyous and momentous occasion (Cheers).

The toast was eloquently supported by Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai and enthusiastically honoured.

His Excellency Ghaffar Khan of the Persian Legation responded. He offered his thanks to the chairman for the kind and cordial words he had used in proposing the Shah's toast. The Persian Minister, he said, had specially requested him to convey his gratitude to the Islamic Society for the dignified and becoming manner in which they had decided to celebrate the Coronation of H. I. M. the Shah. The Society, which had had a historic past, had once again proved its absolute necessity for the Moslem world of this great metropolis. The entire Moslem world, the speaker said, was watching the achievements of the Society with no little gratitude and respect and he was confident that Banquet in celebration of the Coronation of a Persian sovereign, held under the distinguished chairmanship of a Turkish statesman, would create a most favourable impression amongst all classes of Moslems abroad. (Hear, hear). His Excellency, who spoke feelingly, assured those present as to how highly he valued the great privilege that had been thus afforded to him to express, however inadequately, his deep sense of gratitude, with which he willingly associated that of the Persian Minister, to all those who were responsible for that magnificent and brilliant function. The cordial words of the chairman, together with other necessary details in connection with the Society's Banquet, he remarked, would be

telegraphically submitted to His Imperial Majesty the Shah. (Cheers.)

Mr. Amër Ali, in proposing the toast of "Persian People," remarked that an intelligent and gifted nation like the Persians was bound to prosper and progress, if they only worked on sound principles. The right hon. gentleman drew the attention of the audience to the great and noble part the people of Persia had taken in ancient history and he felt certain, provided they were given sufficient opportunity to put their "house in order," they would again hold their proper place amongst the nations of the world. The fact that almost all the sovereigns of Europe had sent their good wishes to the youthful Shah, in most cases such expression being accompanied by suitable gifts, showed that Persia had the goodwill of Europe, and he was therefore very hopeful of the future of that country and her people.

Dr. Asadullah Khan, on behalf of the Amere Jung, in responding to the toast, expressed the deep sense of gratification, with which the proceedings of that day would be read by all his fellow-countrymen in Persia. He considered it an excellent omen for the future of Persia that, in the very heart of the British Empire, so many distinguished and representative members of the community both Asiatic and European, had met together to celebrate the auspicious event, which was being held that day in Teheran. He was sure Raif Bey's occupation of the chair on that occasion would succeed, as nothing else would, in strengthening and promoting the bond of union and fellowship which happily existed between the two great Moslem nations, the Ottomans and the Persians. (Cheers.) The Islamic Society, he said, was to be heartily congratulated on having thus so generously afforded such excellent means towards the attainment of that noble object. (Hear, hear.)

The toast of the "Guests" was briefly proposed by Mr. W. Rehman, to which Colonel Yate, M. P., and Mr. Mason, M. P., responded. The former thought the future of Persia was, after all, not so gloomy as some people imagined and he was certain that country would soon advance, both politically and materially. He also paid a high tribute to the useful work the Islamic Society had been doing in London, where, apart from its educational work, it had further succeeded in establishing that perfect harmony and concord between the various sects of Islam that was so desirable. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mason deprecated the numerous difficulties that had been placed in the way of Persian independence and freedom and thought the only way towards salvation was for the Persian people to unanimously support and safeguard the constitution of the country. He was very pleased to take part that day in the celebration of the Shah's Coronation, and he fervently prayed for a bright and prosperous future for the young sovereign and his people.

The toast of the "Islamic Society" was proposed by Mr. Edward Delgado. Dr. Mahomed Sharaf of Cairo, who is a respected member of the Committee, responded.

Mr. Jelal Shah, in briefly proposing the health of the "Chairman," stated that His Excellency Raif Bey's occupation of the chair on that historic occasion was yet another demonstration of the great solidarity that prevailed in Islam. It clearly showed that the great Ottoman nation was that day sharing the joys and rejoicings—he wished he could say joys and rejoicings unmixed with anxiety and unalloyed with distress—of the people of Persia on the Coronation of their Shah. Their distinguished chairman's presence that day, he said, was therefore full of significance and reality and he was sure it would be hailed with no little satisfaction throughout the Moslem world.

The chairman, in returning thanks remarked that as a Moslem, he had done nothing but his duty in taking his part in the festivities associated with the Coronation of the Moslem sovereign of a historic and ancient kingdom. (Cheers.)

RECEPTION AT THE PERSIAN LEGATION.

His Excellency Musbir-ul-Mulk, the Persian Minister, held a large official reception at the Legation on Tuesday evening, in honour of the Coronation of H. I. M. the Shah. The outside of the building was brilliantly illuminated, and the hall, grand staircase, and saloons were decorated with roses and masses of lilies arranged in Oriental vases with lotus flowers brought specially from Egypt for the occasion. Among the 800 guests were the Turkish Ambassador, the Amere Jung, the French Ambassador, the Russian Ambassador, the Spanish Ambassador and Madame Merry del Val, the American Ambassador and Mrs. Foge, the Argentine Minister and Madame Dominguez, the Bulgarian Minister, the Chilean Minister and Madame Edwards, the Bolivian Minister and Madame Suarez, the Minister for Costa Rica, the Greek Minister and Madame Gennadius, the Siberian Minister and Madame Crommelin, the Netherlands Minister and Madame de Maroon, Van Swinderen, the Minister for Panama and Madame M. Valdis, the Rumanian Minister, the Servian Minister, the Siamese Minister,

the Swiss Minister and Mlle. Carlin, Raghib Raif Bey (Turkish Embassy), Senor Don Jacinto L. Villegas and Mlle. Villegas, the Belgian Charge d'Affaires, the Cuban Charge d'Affaires, the Danish Charge d'Affaires, Lieut.-Col. Vicomte de la Panouse (French Embassy), M. Charles Roux, Major M. Renner (German Embassy), Kapitau E. Von Müller (German Embassy), Mr. Yoshida and the Norwegian Charge d'Affaires. There were also present several members of the Cabinet, the Foreign Office, and his Majesty's Household, with their ladies. The distinguished company present also included the leading members of the Moslem colony in London.

By command of the King, the Hon. Sir Arthur Walsh, Master of the Ceremonies, called upon the Persian Minister at the Legation in Brinsford Gardens, S. W., on Tuesday morning, and offered His Majesty's congratulations on the occasion of the Coronation of the Shah. The full text of King George's message was immediately cabled by the Minister to his Sovereign. Among the callers were also the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Lord Chancellor, and Colonel Sir Douglas Dawson Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's Department.

MR. SHUSTER'S VINDICATION.

Under the above heading the *Daily News and Leader*, in the course of a leading article, says—"M. Mornard, the Persian Treasurer-General, has resigned. His position has become untenable partly because the Russian Consuls have taken upon themselves to collect Persian revenues and decline to abandon the lucrative task in deference to his wild remonstrances; partly because the Russian Bank has refused to pay a balance due to Persia and applied it to Russian purposes. M. Mornard is the Belgian official appointed at the instance of Russia to succeed Mr Morgan Shuster, the American, who could not be persuaded to tolerate the combination of theft and blackmail which represents Russian financial policy in Persia, and who added above all to his sins in the eyes of St. Petersburg by the strenuous zeal with which he laboured to make Persia economically independent. There could scarcely be a more illuminating evidence of the truth of his indictment of Russian conduct in Persia than the downfall of his successor."

London, July 31.

THE SITUATION IN EUROPE.

The House of Commons has had to listen to Ministerial statements of the most ominous kind. The Prime Minister withdrew his motion yesterday giving precedence to the Home Rule Amending Bill, and explained that he took this course because the House was meeting under conditions of gravity which were almost without a parallel. Accepting the view which commonsense and patriotism dictate, as was observed by the *Times* yesterday, he declared that, at a moment "when the issues of peace and war are hanging in the balance," it is in the interests of the whole world that England should "present a united front and be able to speak and act with the authority of an undivided nation." His words acquire double weight because this unprecedented step was taken with the full consent and the hearty approbation of the Unionist Party, and, as Mr. Bonar Law was careful to add, of Ulster besides.

Sir Edward Grey was obliged to inform members yesterday that he could not say the situation was less grave than it had been the day before. He had nothing to add to what was already matter of public knowledge, but the words, "so far as our information goes," with which he safeguarded the announcement that up to the hour when he spoke no other Power had taken any corresponding steps in answer to the partial mobilization ordered by Russia, show how very near the brink of the precipice Europe stands. Great Britain is still working for "the one great object of preserving European peace." With that end in view she is keeping in close touch with other Powers, and so far she has not experienced any difficulty in this. That is the one faint ray of comfort that can be detected in what the Foreign Secretary had to say. "It has not been found possible for the Powers to unite in diplomatic action, as was proposed on Monday." Why it has not been possible, he did not, of course, declare. To do so would be indiscreet and injudicious so long as it is permissible to cherish the slightest expectation that mankind may yet escape the awful visitation of a European war. At this moment that expectation may have dwindled to vanishing point. The message of the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* is particularly discouraging, though it must be remembered that even the most vigorous rattling of the sabre is one thing, and flinging the scabbard away is another. The *Times*' correspondent thinks that the die may have been cast at midnight, or that it may be cast early to-day; but that in any event it must fall, one way or the other, within the next day or two. Almost everybody in Berlin, he says, looks upon mobilization as a question of hours. The conference held at Potsdam on Wednesday night was attended by the Chancellor and the Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as by all the chief naval and military advisers of the Sovereign, and yesterday the Foreign Office

made no secret of the fact that the latter were pressing for immediate mobilization. The view given out in Berlin is that all depends upon the answer which Russia may give, or may have given, to the German communication made yesterday in St. Petersburg. There cannot be much doubt what the general nature of that answer will be. The Russian Government desire peace earnestly and intensely, but their interests and all the traditions and feelings of the Russian people forbid them to accept the Austro-German theory that the annihilation of an Orthodox Slav State is no concern of theirs. Short of accepting that view, they are prepared for any compromise. Were Austria-Hungary even now to announce that she regards the destruction of Belgrade as chastisement enough for Serbia's offences, mobilization might not be carried out. Were she even to give Russia binding assurances that this chastisement would not exceed certain limits and, above all, that it would not ruin the independence and self-respect of Serbia, an accommodation might be possible. But in the absence of any guarantees restricting Austria-Hungary's future action, Russia will undoubtedly take measures to give effect to her remonstrances, whatever may be the attitude of her German neighbour.

It is stated in Berlin that what Germany has done is to put a question as to "the character and objects of the Russian mobilization." But the exact form of the step is not likely to prove important. The point is that it has been taken, and if it be persisted in we can hardly hope that the reply will be deemed satisfactory in Berlin. We are told, indeed, that yesterday's "conversations" between M. Sazonoff and Counts Szapary and Pourtales were conducted in the most friendly tone, but they did not lead to any practical result. News of the German mobilization is expected hourly in St. Petersburg, and it will be immediately followed by that of the rest of Russia's European forces. That the gravity of the situation is fully appreciated in Paris is shown by the fact that the Cabinet Council which sat from 3 to 6 o'clock yesterday morning resumed its sittings at 10, in the hope that news of M. Sazonoff's reply to the German representations would be received. All that was known was that although the German Ambassador had reiterated his request for information he had also asked Russia herself to make proposals. Germany's official communication to France that the news about mobilization across the Vosges is "inexact," and her further statement that "direct communications" between St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin are about to be resumed, somewhat relieved anxiety in Paris yesterday evening.

ENGLAND AND THE CRISIS.

The all-absorbing question—whether or not should Great Britain be drawn into the war—is being acutely discussed in this country, both on the platform and in the Press. It can safely be said that opinion is, at present at any rate, equally divided on the question.

Those that are against England being dragged into a European war unnecessarily, when the issues involved are of no concern to herself, rightly hold the view that since this country is under no treaty obligations to back up the Russian and French cause by armed intervention, are obviously much more "understandable" than the party that is freely advocating the active co-operation of Great Britain with her two "friends" in the detestable Triple Entente—an *Entente* on which I had occasion to write in these columns a few weeks ago and which has been the direct or indirect cause also of much misery and sorrow in the various Moslem states in Europe, Asia and Africa.

The Tory Press, of course, strongly "backs up" the latter view. "Nothing in all this has occurred," says the *Times*, "which can modify the attitude of England. Within a few hours we may learn that Germany has fulfilled the unuttered menace which underlies her inquiries in St. Petersburg, and has issued orders for mobilization. France will undoubtedly follow this step by placing her army upon a war footing as rapidly as possible. In that event our duty is plain. We must make instant preparations to back our friends, if they are made the subject of unjust attack. That is not merely a duty of friendship. It is an elementary duty of self-preservation. The days of 'splendid isolation,' if they ever existed, are no more. We cannot stand alone in a Europe dominated by a single Power, or any single group of Powers. Were our friends to be attacked and conquered, not merely our position as a Great Power, but our safety within our own shores, would be gone. No concessions and no obsequiousness upon our part could long satisfy the ambitions of the victors. They would apply to us, sooner rather than later, the principles of *Realpolitik* in the harshest and the most domineering form. We should be at their mercy, for did we stand aside when the vital interests of our friends were at stake, we should justly find ourselves deserted when our own hour of trial came. It is not merely our honour which bids us be true to our friends. It is consideration for our own welfare and our own security. Were we to show weakness or pusillanimity now, none would trust us again. We should be hated by the friends we had abandoned and despised by the rivals before whose threats we had flinched. We shall still work on for peace; work on for it to the very end; but the hour has come when we too may have to make instant preparation for war. The angel

of death is abroad. We may almost hear the beating of his wings.' He may yet 'spare us and pass on.' But if he indeed visits those with whom we stand we must pay our share of the fell tribute with stout hearts."

The *Daily News and Leader*, discussing the question in a leading article headed "Our Duty", takes the opposite view, a view that is shared by the majority of the Liberals and not a few Conservatives. "So long as the great Continental Powers have not actually come to blows," proceeds the article, "the duty of British statesmanship is to devote all its energies and all its ingenuity to the preservation of peace. There is no reason to doubt that this task has been faithfully accepted by Sir Edward Grey, and that he will carry it on so long as events allow him to." But if unhappily all his efforts should fail, what then? To this the *Times* gives the answer: "We must take our stand by the side of Russia and France." This answer is given with an assurance which dispenses with the need of giving reasons. Yet nothing but the weightiest of reasons could drive us to launch into a struggle which would be the greatest conflict the modern world has known, and to risk in a tremendous gamble the splendid fabric of Empire which it has required centuries to build up. Such reasons may be of three kinds—those of honour, those of principle, those of interest. We are under no treaty obligation. What Mr. Asquith said on March 21, 1913, describes accurately our position to-day; for that we have Sir Edward Grey's assurance. "If war arises between European Powers there are no unpublished agreements which will restrict or hamper the freedom of the Government or of Parliament to decide whether or not Great Britain should participate in war." There is no obligation of principle to make us take up arms on behalf of Russia. In the quarrel between Austria and Russia a maze of rival intrigues weaved round the wretched Balkan States, a competition for the control of fountains, there is no principle to appeal to the soul of this country; and assuredly the Russian Government represents no ideal for which Englishmen should be sent to their death and the British Empire imperilled. If Germany and France are unhappily for themselves bound by treaty to sacrifice themselves in this miserable quarrel we happily are free.

"It is suggested that interest, our interest in 'the balance of power,' commits us to support Russia. No man has given substance to that hollow and disastrous phrase, but nothing is more certain than that the surest way to destroy any balance of European affairs would be to help Russia to crush Germany and Austria. Such a victory would leave Russia, who already dictates to France and so seriously prejudices our own policy, the dictator of Europe. The affected concern for the 'balance of power' merely covers the desire to strike a blow at Germany. That is a course dictated by no consideration for any British interest. If the venture succeeded it would bring into being a new Russia, who would turn against India after we had helped her to smash Germany. If it failed, the failure might involve the ruin of the British Empire. Honour, principle, interest all alike dictate one course—to maintain an absolute neutrality should this lamentable dispute in which we have neither lot nor part, bring war to the great Continental Powers. By maintaining that attitude now and making it plain to all the world, we shall do much to avert the colossal infamy of war; for we shall dissipate all suspicion as to the sincerity of our efforts for peace, and we shall disillusion any Power which is tempted to drive matters to a crisis because it counts upon our aid. By standing apart from any conflict, we preserve for Europe in the worst event the precious possession of an impartial mediator."

LORD LAMINGTON AND THE BALANCE OF POWER.

Lord Lamington, writing to the *Daily News and Leader* on "why we should not be drawn into war," though a Conservative, fully associates himself with the view taken by that journal and most of the Liberal newspapers.

"Surely," says his Lordship, "the insistence reiterated in the leading articles of many papers that fidelity to the *Entente* renders necessary our taking part in the war, should it become a 'Group' war, is quite uncalled for. Mr. Asquith reassured the House of Commons last year by saying that the *Entente* did not commit us to any such undertaking. Had not this statement been made I am confident that many protests would have been made against the suggestion that we were bound to support France in a war where we had no vital interests immediately at stake. The 'maintenance of the balance of power in Europe' is advanced as the principle that must still guide our policy. But it is antiquated and ignores the fact that our interests are primarily world-wide and not merely European. The safety of India and our overseas Dominions are of far greater importance to us than a possible defeat of France."

"But allowing that the preservation of the balance of power in Europe is a sound principle to act on, may it not then be questioned whether support ought not to be given to the Triple Alliance rather than to France and Russia, so as to maintain the balance?"

"One point is clear, which is that by the Press declaring that it is our duty to support France and Russia, Russia is thereby encouraged to make war on Austria, and a general war will necessarily follow."

TETE À TETE



We referred last week to the *Times*' effort to justify the rigours of the Indian Press Act on the score of the alleged "irresponsibility" of a section of the Indian Press. We quoted the passage containing the wild assumption that the restrictions imposed on the Press in India would "sit lightly" on English journalists who habitually keep themselves within proper bounds. This is an absurd travesty of the facts. Anyone in India who has some idea of the tone and spirit of the political polemics in which the bulk of the Tory papers have been indulging in recent controversies, would be amazed at the latitude that is permitted to them. After the abortive Buckingham Palace Conference the King's action has been criticised in terms which no Indian journalist would venture to employ in criticising a Joint Magistrate. As an apt illustration of this we reproduce the following "A Word to the King" by Mr Keir Hardie which appeared in the *Labour Leader* of the 23rd July.

British Journalistic Restraint

"This is only a brief note on the political situation. Whether or not my prophecy of a General Election this year is going to be realised, the next ten days will show. Meanwhile the King has been invited, or has invited himself, to intervene in the Home Rule 'embroglio'. The most serious constitutional crisis since the days of the Stuarts has thus been precipitated. The House of Commons has three times passed the Home Rule Bill by substantial majorities. Thrice the Lords have rejected it. Meanwhile the Ulster 'loyalists' have been arming to resist the measure becoming law. That is to say, they are in armed rebellion against the State and the King's Authority. And now the King casts in his lot with the reactionary peers and the rebellious Ulsterites. He joins his influence with the forces which are working against and seeking to destroy the House of Commons and our constitutional forms of Parliamentary Government. Needless to say he and his servile upholders, Liberal and Unionist, in the Press and in Parliament, will seek to conceal this naked truth from the public gaze. But the point is not open to dispute. The Liberal Party did not ask for his interference, whatever the Cabinet may have done. The Irish Party had no need for his services, and Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon only consented to attend the conference because the King 'commanded' their presence. The Labour Party resents his interference. These three sections of the Parliament have stood loyally together in getting Home Rule through; the Tories alone have objected, and therefore the King's interfering can have no other object than to assist his friends the Tories. The hypocritical assurance which is being spread abroad that the House of Commons will have the last word is a mere blind. If an agreement be reached it will come to us with the combined weight and authority of the King, the Tory Party, the House of Lords, and the Liberal Cabinet behind it. Under such circumstances the House of Commons will be paralysed. I have never for a moment doubted that part of any settlement come to will be an immediate dissolution, and we begin to see why the Royal crowd have been waiting Merthyr and many other industrial centres during the past two or three years. They desired to popularise themselves with the mob so that they might rivet the chains of their iron rule more firmly upon them. King George is not a statesman. He is not the pleasure-loving scapegrace which his father was before him, but, like his father, he is destitute of even ordinary ability. Born in the ranks of the working class his most likely fate would have been that of a street-corner loafer. And this is the man who is being made a tool of by the reactionary classes to break the power of Democracy and weaken and finally destroy the power of Parliament. But Democracy will accept the challenge. The rights our fathers won by sacrifice shall be maintained. Once more the Republican slogan will be heard in the land, and a sloppy Liberalism as well as a reactionary Toryism will be swept before the indignant wrath of an angry and enlightened people. The movement, all sections of it, must speak out with no uncertain sound. Reaction is most easily checked in its earlier

"stages. The action of the King, and the slippery Liberal Cabinet which sanctioned it without the consent of the House of Commons, must be condemned unsparingly if our popular liberties are to be preserved. The Government, by pandering to Rebellion in Ulster and kow-towing to the Throne, are undermining their position in the country and even endangering a settlement of the Home Rule issue. Watch carefully the developments of the next ten days." Comment is needless. We would only remind the *Times* that no provincial satrap in India has ever been addressed by an Indian publicist in such language as this.

The Buckingham Palace Conference seems to have led to curious side-developments, and among these Mrs. Pankhurst's letter, addressed to His Majesty the King, is not the least interesting. This militant and resourceful suffragist leader

points out that, while His Majesty refused to receive a deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union, certain militant men—namely, Sir Edward Carson, Captain Craig, Mr. John Redmond and Mr. John Dillon—have been received by him in person. The letter proceeds—"Your Majesty has not only received these militant men, but has condoned their lawless and violent methods by saying, 'The trend of events in Ireland has been surely and steadily towards an appeal to force, and to-day the cry of civil war is on the lips of the most responsible and sober-minded of my people.' I would call your Majesty to witness that equally responsible, sober-minded, and public spirited are those women who have resorted to militant methods because they have found by experience that all other methods of winning their just right to vote are ineffectual. . . . It can no longer be urged in answer to our claim that your Majesty cannot receive us save upon the advice of Ministers, for it would appear that the course of inviting the members of the Irish Conference to attend Buckingham Palace, receiving them in person, and addressing to them words relating to the Irish situation has been taken upon your Majesty's own personal initiative. If, however, Ministers are responsible for this course of action, then it is incumbent upon them to advise that the deputation of the Women's Social and Political Union, recently maltreated and arrested for trying to reach your Majesty's presence, shall now be received. . . . Our right to be received by your Majesty in person will again be actively asserted at a time which seems to us appropriate." Mrs. Pankhurst has mercifully decided to suspend her operations during the war, but when the "appropriate time" comes we may be sure the "assertion" of her right to be received by His Majesty would not take a very agreeable form.

Mr. ZAFAR ALI KHAN, Editor and Proprietor of the *Daily Zamindar*, sends to us a letter for publication in which he deals with a passage in the letter of Lieut.-Colonel Bayley, Private Secretary to H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the

Punjab, which appeared in the *Comrade* of 20th June last. The passage was to the effect that "When Resident at Hyderabad in 1907-09 he (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) never knew and never even remembers to have heard of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan who was apparently then employed in a subordinate capacity in the Home Office of the Nizam's Government." Mr. Zafar Ali Khan recalls certain circumstances in connection with which according to him, Sir Michael O'Dwyer must have at least heard of him as an official in the Home Department while Sir Michael was the Resident at Hyderabad. However, we refrain from publishing the letter, as we do not wish at such a time as this to prolong the controversy. Others also interested in Mr. Zafar Ali Khan desire the same.

The *Madras Standard* which had been showing vital signs of a rejuvenated spirit under the inspiration of Mrs. Annie Besant, has taken the youthful name of *New India*. It sets before itself

the great ideal of devoted and pure service to "God, Crown and Country." With Mrs. Besant as its presiding genius, we may be sure the paper will carry on its work with the zeal and vigour of a missionary. Already one feels in its pages the impress of a strong personality, and a new intellectual quality and breadth of view in the treatment of public questions. We welcome Mrs. Besant's prominent association in the work of Indian journalism, and we trust her efforts in this field would be for the good of the country she has made her own.

The results of this war are incalculable, and no one can see what new changes may come over the map of Europe. It is, however, certain that the defeat of the Teutons would tell most heavily on Austria-Hungary. The racial question in the Dual Monarchy is one of the greatest complexity. In the kingdoms and

provinces represented in the Reichsrath in Vienna there are nearly 10,000,000 Germans and 18,500,000 non-Germans. Of these nearly 17,500,000 are Slavs. Among these Slavs, the Croats and Serbs number 780,000, chiefly in Dalmatia, while there are in all 666,000 Orthodox and nearly 3,500,000 Greek Uniate. In Hungary, with its subject-kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, there are 10,000,000 Magyars, 2,000,000 Germans, and 8,000,000 other non-Magyars. Of these, 3,000,000 are Rumanians and well over 5,000,000 Slavs. The Croats, or Roman Catholic Serbs, number 1,800,000 and their Orthodox brothers are 1,100,000 in number. All told, Hungary has nearly 11,000,000 Roman Catholic subjects, 2,000,000 Greek Uniate, and 8,000,000 Orthodox. In this connexion it should be remembered that the Patriarchate of the Orthodox Serb Church has been fixed at Karlowitz, under Hungarian rule, for over two centuries. In Bosnia there are 434,000 Roman Catholic Croats, 825,000 Orthodox Serbs, and over 600,000 Bosniaks, or Moslem Serbs. Thus, it will be seen that the Emperor Francis Joseph rules over more than 25,000,000 Slavs and 3,225,000 Rumanians, of whom nearly 4,500,000 adhere to various Orthodox Churches and 5,400,000 are Uniate. Of this Slav mass 5,000,000 Poles, mostly Roman Catholics, are not particularly susceptible to Pan Slav propaganda, as that is largely Russian and Orthodox. Altogether the Dual Monarchy contains 5,500,000 inhabitants of Serb race, divided between Islam and two Christian creeds.

We take the following extract from an article by the military correspondent of the *Times* which appeared in that journal on the 20th July—"By the strict letter of her engagements Germany is not bound to move unless Austria is actually

Calculations about the War.

attacked, and mobilization does not necessarily mean war. Germany may do one of three things. She may order a general mobilization confined to her eastern frontier, or she may sit still and await events. If an eventual Russian attack on Galicia were repulsed there would be no necessity for Germany to move, but any other excuse for German inaction is hard to find. A partial mobilization on her eastern frontier only might conceivably—though the chances are not numerous—keep France and England out of the fray. However much German strategy may in principle desire a preliminary offensive against France, the German Reichsland is formidably guarded by defensive works and troops, while in rear is the splendid barrier of the Rhine. The defensive in Lorraine has been in recent years an alternative which has not been disregarded. We must however admit that when the dice are rattling in the box for the great gamble of war, Germany usually stakes a maximum. If war cannot be prevented, Germany is more likely to engage in it with her whole armed strength, and with the intention of seeking drastic remedies, than of frittering away forces upon limited war. Military exigencies now over-ride political considerations. Military exigencies, in the first place, compel Austria to seek a rapid decision in the south in order to shake her forces free for a much more dangerous campaign in the north. This may not be easy. Serbia is a difficult country, with poor communications. The Serbian fighting men are as numerous in the aggregate as the 21 Austrian divisions allotted to the attack. In the district into which the Serbians have retired there are magnificent positions, while any revolt which may take place in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, fostered as it would be by Servian and Montenegrin partisans, might impede or possibly prevent the march of General Potiorek's army to the east. We cannot yet be sure that an Austrian Army in Serbia will be utilisable elsewhere before Russia can act. Military exigencies, again, compel Russia to act as quickly as she can in order to reap the benefit of Austria's division of force. In normal circumstances we should not wager much upon the readiness of Russia to attack Galicia in less than a month. But a partial mobilization, and a partial concentration may abbreviate the term, and in any case the masses of Russian horsemen and the numerous Austro-Hungarian cavalry will come early to grips and fill the world with their doings. In this terribly automatic war, one thing leads to another. As with a line of tin soldiers, if one is knocked over, the rest fall down in turn, so may the Powers one by one, dreading and detesting war as they do, be dragged into it. We shall all support our friends because we must, and in a very short time after a Russian mobilization is announced it will be a miracle if all Europe is not aflame. How can we fail to regard without remorse and regret our old position of detached and independent arbiter of events, free of all entanglements, able to support the smaller states at need, and looked up to by all as the protector of smaller nationalities? That position we have lost because we have selfishly refused to make ourselves a nation in arms, and are consequently dragged into quarrels which appear to be no direct concern of ours, in order to maintain our security, which depends on the maintenance of the balance of power."

The following is the English translation of the article which appeared in *Tasvir-i-Afkar*, on 18th June last, over the signature of Yonus Nady Bey, first Editor of that journal, and to which we made a reference last week:—"Our con-

temporary, the *Comrade*, the English organ of the educated Moslems of India, published in its latest number two paragraphs about the Young Turks. In the first it discussed the rumours about the irreligiousness of the Young Turks and the bad effect they produce and naturally ought to produce amongst our Moslem brethren of India. In the second, it expressed its pleasure and content in regard to the strict order issued by Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, to the army ordering it to give the greatest heed to religion. It praised the Minister and prayed God for offering Islam victory and progress. Although we are very pleased to see our Moslem brethren of India interested in the slightest details of our affairs, we are obliged to declare our resentment on seeing some rumours being exaggerated and discussed eagerly and giving any judgment as to the firmness or infirmness of the Turks' religious feeling. We declare that resentment whether the judgment is for or against us, because the discussion of such a point is neither right nor wise. It is a known fact that after the spread and mighty greatness of Islam in the East and West the Crusades began. Is it not a fact, known to every student of history, that the Turks were at the head of the Moslem races, it not the only Moslem race, that bravely and strongly resisted and stood those attacks? With the heart tearing scenes of the decay, loss of independence and subjugation of Spain and many Moslem lands, we ask, were it not for strong defence, gallant resistance of the Moslem Turks to the terrible floods of fanatic Christianity whether more dreadful scenes than these would have been witnessed from Constantinople to China and India? Do we not see daily the fanaticism of Christian Europe boiling and attacking Islam in different shapes and forms? Don't we understand and see that the International Law is meant by Europe to regulate the rights of Christians only and deny the slightest right to Moslem? Does not this European ill-treatment, injustice, tyranny towards non-European, specially Moslems, necessitate the starting of an Eastern, especially Islamic, Internationality? These plain and known facts being before our eyes, we deem it unwise and a bad mistake on the part of our Indian contemporary to despise and mock at Egyptian Nationalism and then to suspect, due to false information, the religious fervour of the reforming and progressive Turks. This is our opinion, in spite of the good intentions of the writer and even in spite of his praise of Enver Pasha. Such discussions will, instead of strengthening brotherly relations amongst the different Moslem countries, cause friction and discern. This is one of the sharp weapons used by Europe in ruining Islam, and we are sorry to say that some Moslems intentionally or unintentionally are prey to it. The first paragraph of the *Comrade* shows that there is a Christian finger in the pie as it says 'The non-Moslem Turcophobes who dread the solidarity of Islam and always try to show the worst side of the Turk to Indian Mussalmans, when they fail in everything else, tell them that he is not even half as good a Moslem as they are. This so telling an argument that it becomes difficult to justify one's regard for the Turk as a brother Moslem after it.' Can't we understand this? This sentence shows that those, who are showing the Turk as irreligious in the eyes of the Moslem Indians, are nothing but enemies trying to break the friendly and brotherly relations that exist between the Indians and the Turks. Any news fabricated by enemies are nothing but mere lies. It is sufficient to know its source and the reason it was fabricated for in order to despise it. It was the duty of the *Comrade* and all zealous and true Moslem papers, owing to their political situation, to smash these lies and show their falsehood. Our contemporary (the *Comrade*) instead of that acted as if he is telling us. "Look you here! there are many intrigues flourishing against you here. They cause the worst effect. Therefore if you don't like to loose the Indian sympathies don't behave as they paint you." Good advice. It is quite different a thing to wish every Muhammadan to be firm in his religion than to disapprove these lies. To be a true Moslem strict and faithful to his religion is the duty of every Muhammadan (the Indians included). It is also the duty of the editorial staff of our contemporary, the *Comrade*, to fight such fabricated lies and destroy them at their source. The *Comrade* says in the same paragraph "Many devout Mussalmans in India are now satisfied" We answer our Indian contemporary by simply saying there is no contradiction between nationalism and religiousness. In conclusion we say the religious firmness of the Turks is not in the slightest form other than what it was yesterday. It ought not to be forgotten that it is the duty of the Moslem nations as Moslem persons to unite and be like brothers and form defensive leagues against the greedy Christian Internationality."

As regards the passionate and indignant communication of our friend

The Basis of Moslem Solidarity.

Dr. Ahmad Foad of Egypt, we need not reproduce it, for our Constantinople contemporary has practically traversed the same ground. Dr. Ahmad Foad takes us to task for our alleged sins of having doubted the religious fervour of the Turks and the Egyptians and belittled the value of their respective Nationalisms. We have carefully read our editorial remarks of the 25th April, and it seems to us that our observations on the subject have been completely misunderstood by our friends in Constantinople. We know the character of the secular movement for which the Young Turk stands, we are aware of the lofty patriotism that inspires him and of the silent devotion and ungrudging sacrifice with which he is carrying on his great task. No one admires more than we do the splendid courage and tenacity of purpose with which he is facing his enormous difficulties and trying, amidst formidible obstacles imposed on him from without, to rebuild the fabric of his once glorious Empire. For this he enjoys the entire sympathy and confidence not only of the Indian Mussalman, but also of the whole Islamic world. But it is not simply our admiration, confidence and sympathy that we give him, we have offered him the priceless tribute of love. And this deep sentiment springs from the general feeling of kinship that binds Mussalmans together all over the world. Our reference to the religious condition of the Young Turks was simply meant to emphasise the nature of this tie. We are in a sense glad to see that our remarks have drawn earnest protests from *Tasarrufiyyat* against rumours about the irreverence of the Young Turks. Such rumours are invariably set afloat by their enemies and are used as a weapon to discredit them in the eyes of their ecclesiasticalists in other countries. Need we assure *Tasarrufiyyat* that we are not wholly ignorant of these tactics? All the same, it should be clearly understood that the enemies of Islam cannot do much harm as long as Islam is a vital force and remains the true basis of solidarity among the various Moslem communities in the world. We are glad to be assured that this truth is as fully realised by the present rulers of Turkey as by any other faithful son of Islam.

We need hardly say we have habitually refrained from taking any

The Rival Cliques of the Delhi Moslems.

interest in the petty concerns of the two rival cliques which unfortunately exist among a class of the Mussalmans of Delhi. Our attitude of aloofness has obviously been based on our desire to avoid all suspicions of partisanship attaching to our efforts for doing what little we can to promote the real common interests of the community. Attempts have occasionally been made by each party to drag us within its orbit, but we have always treated these sordid advances in the manner that they deserved. Those who ever expected us to join them in a round of sterile activities or in a game of slander and self-seeking gave us little credit for our intelligence and our sense of public duty. Our stern refusal to identify ourselves with either clique has had the desired effect, and though neither of them can be expected to glory in the loss of a possible partisan, none of them has had any reason to regard us as its enemy. Our interest in local matters has been solely guided by our sense of the public good, and in whatever affair of the Delhi Moslems we have had to participate, we have acted not to please or oppose a party but to do our duty according to our lights. We know there are a number of Mussalmans in Delhi, enjoying the sort of prominence associated with a certain kind of activity, whose conception of their duty to their community materially differs from ours. We have occasionally had to criticise their acts and their ways, and naturally they have never liked that their place of honour should have been taken by being forced to measure their doings and methods by a new and inconvenient standard of public conduct. It would have been more than human—at least as far as their type of buoyancy goes—if they had not tried to use the weapons they hold against their critics. For us these weapons have had no terrors. They cannot deter us from doing our duty even if they are in the hands of much more powerful though equally unscrupulous opponents. In the existing atmosphere of India, honest public work is everywhere exposed to the poisonous fangs of a peculiarly reptile breed. But the work has got to go on, and the workers have to take the risks of slander, back-biting and abuse as a part of their lot without making much ado about it. We would have never said all this but for a peculiar incident in connection with the Jami Mosque at Delhi which, on account of its strange character, we cannot keep from our readers.

The affairs of the Jami Mosque are looked after by a committee of Mussalmans appointed by Government and controlled by the deputy commissioner of Delhi. The Mussalman public has never had a voice in the appointment of its personnel, and consequently the Committee has seldom thought it

necessary to pay much heed to public views and wishes. Complaints have always been rife as to its confirmed habit of arbitrary conduct and more particularly about its indifference to the requirements of those who go to the Mosque for daily prayers. Most of its members have been generally believed to be just the common type of men who spend much of their lives in seeking official favours and distinctions. One could not expect from such persons any marked degree of enthusiasm for disinterested public service, but one could at any rate hope that some of them would not, under the cover of their positions as members of the Mosque Committee, become the agents and authors of an intrigue. The following facts will, however, show that the hope was in vain. A very large congregation attends the Friday prayer in the Jami Mosque, and as the roofed portion of the mosque proves insufficient on these occasions to accommodate the whole number, many persons are obliged to say their prayers in the open courtyard. In the hot weather this is for them a terrible experience. The scorching heat of the sun and the burning stones of the pavement beneath their feet are unbearable. In the beginning of this hot weather the *Hamdani* drew the attention of the Mosque Committee to this great discomfort felt by a large portion of the Friday congregation and suggested that a large canopy and carpets should be provided for the occasion. Nothing was, however, done to remove the complaint. Several days afterwards Mr. Mohamed Ali, who went to the Mosque to attend the Friday prayers, brought the matter to the notice of the Imam Sahib and requested him to do something to save the people from such a great inconvenience. Some days afterwards the Imam Sahib wrote to Mr. Mohamed Ali thanking him on behalf of the Mosque Committee for having brought the general public complaint to its notice. At the same time, we heard that some member or members of the Committee had complained to the Chief Commissioner that Mr. Mohamed Ali came to the Mosque with a large crowd, and that the Committee would not be responsible for any incident that might happen in consequence. We could with difficulty believe that any member or members of the Committee would be so bold as to invent and propagate such wicked lies. When Mr. Mohamed Ali went to the Mosque for Friday prayers on the 11th instant, he was requested by several persons to ask the Imam Sahib if nothing would be done to mitigate their hardship. Mr. Mohamed Ali accordingly went to where the Imam Sahib was seated and requested him to come out and see for himself what it meant to stand outside in the courtyard and pray in the terrible heat. The Imam Sahib at once assumed a loud and insulting tone and made a snappish reply. We need not give full particulars of the talk between Mr. Mohamed Ali and the Imam which has been published in exact detail in the *Hamdani*. Suffice it to say that this worthy, who is supposed to be the guardian of the traditions of the Prophet of Islam and leads the faithful in prayers, behaved in a manner that no Mussalman, with the least presumption to model his life on the example of the great Founder of Islam, would imitate, and repeated the baseless accusation which was said to have been made against Mr. Mohamed Ali in the hearing of the Chief Commissioner some days before. Needless to say that Mr. Mohamed Ali bore himself with extraordinary self-restraint in face of such provocation, and though there were great outbreaks of resentment against the Imam's behaviour from the hundreds of persons who heard him, Mr. Mohamed Ali succeeded in restraining them all like himself. This disgraceful incident, of which the Imam of the Jami Mosque was the author, needs no furnishing of the clue. It was a very clumsy attempt to give a political complexion to a matter entirely innocent of politics. The Imam has been talking of riots and disturbances and of crowds led by Mr. Mohamed Ali. He has hit upon this clever device of "catching" a "dangerous" person, perhaps to crown a life-long loyalty. This pampered person, whose head seems to have been turned by patronage in certain quarters, is playing a dangerous game. And we warn him as well as those who are his henchmen or his dupes that such game never pays in the end. He may not have any scruples of conscience in trying to injure those whom he does not like by organised falsehoods, but he is not even serving those whom he professes to serve. Mr. Mohamed Ali can have only one feeling for such base manœuvring. His conscience is clear before man and God. For sanctimonious charlatancy he can have nothing but contempt. May we ask the Imam Sahib what earthly reason can anybody have for creating a disturbance in the mosque against him? His sole business should be to try to worthily fill the position that he has inherited and refrain from mixing himself up in affairs which manifestly lie beyond his real duties, his talent and his capacity. He needs to be reminded that when priests stray into politics they often lose their heads and always the esteem of the public. The demand for canopy and carpets made to the Imam of the Delhi Mosque does not surely amount to sedition against Government established by law in British India. If the Imam Sahib has worked himself into such a form of mind, the sooner he gets out of it the better it would be alike for him, the Moslem public and the Government.

The Comrade.

The Campaign.—II.

1. — THE GERMAN IN BELGIUM.

LAST week we gave such a long and detailed account of the campaign and the plans which Germany was credited with having made for the invasion of France through Belgium, that we presume our readers would have had little difficulty in following the course of the war during the week that followed. This week we need not write at such great length, but may safely be content with seeing how far the German plan of invasion has been successful or otherwise, and what allegations in that plan her recent experience have induced her to make.

Our fears as regards the seriousness of news have been amply justified, and we hope we are not unkind to the Press Bureau of England, France and Belgium in saying that whatever news has come down to us through the sieve has not been unaccompanied by the natural bias of the allies as belligerents. It is true that the German avalanche that buried itself against that ring fortress, although it has penetrated into the town of Liège, has not yet succeeded in sweeping off the twelve forts that surround it. So far the plans of the German General Staff have failed, and whatever theories they have been maturing for the storming of fortified places appear to have been doomed to various disappointment. This, however, has not prevented Germany from holding on to her course of attacking France on her north-eastern frontier through Belgian territory and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Had Liège fallen completely into German hands, this place would have provided the requisite base for maintaining the inevitably long line of communication for her army of invasion. But as we stated last week, if Liège could not be stormed it could not possibly be neglected or evaded, what Germany has done since her failure of her "rush" tactics is to invest the fort, bring her heavy siege guns to the rising ground to the east of Liège with a view to reducing at last the powerful ring fortress that could not be stormed, and to advance a covering army almost parallel to the river Meuse beyond its left bank, in order to act as a screen against the main field force of Belgium lying between Brussels and Liège and the apprehended reinforcements from England whose Expeditionary Army, as we pointed out last week, would more profitably be employed in Belgium as the left wing of the allied forces than in French territory itself. A recent telegram of Reuters states that it is generally admitted that the Germans planned to turn rather to the right ~~and~~ not the left through Belgium, but to keep steadily on the appointed course, yet the first fighting line of the German Army instead of facing south, had had to turn probably west. This has all along been too obvious to merit any particular mention, for it is hardly probable to credit the German General Staff with a more naive plan of campaign incapable of the slightest alteration to conform to the demand of altered circumstances and sticking to it with stupid obstinacy as it was part of the laws of Moltke and Planow. Obviously the large forts on the left bank of the Meuse could not be left uncovered by a considerable force which could oppose the advance of relieving Belgian garrisons. It is, of course, probably the army of relieving Belgian garrisons, probably about 125,000 strong, probably armed sooner or later by at least a portion of English Field Artillery Army, which was apprehended to land at Ostend, Nieuport, Dunkirk, Graveline or Boulogne or more than one of these ports. To this extent, of course, the German plan of campaign has been diverted, and the unexpectedly strong resources offered by Belgium has been responsible for the diversion. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Germans have not obtained through the Belgian Ardennes or the Grand Duchy rather soon. Had Liège fallen at the outset Germany would have met all the conditions that we mentioned on page 101 (5) in our forecast. But even if it has not fallen, only the direct road from Malmedy through Stavelot has recently been closed, but other roads that we mentioned have provided all the roads that a army needs to the north-eastern frontier of France. Except on the left only several Army Corps are tied up in account of the maximum of Liège, so that the line of German divisions towards France is concentrated in a good as non-attack. Its guns have enough work to do to reply to the heavy guns, batteries or batteries, and it is by a strong satisfactory mounted on the plateau Basse de l'Esch which dominates the forts on the right bank of the Meuse, as also on some less suitable spots on the left bank of the Meuse, the Germans being reported to have used them over the reconstructed bridge at Herstal. The Malmedy and Stavelot road, therefore, is also practically safe. As any rate, the week's telegrams clearly show that German forces have advanced along the Ourthe valley road through Marche and Rochefort and possibly also Marche and Ciney on to Dinant where, according to a French official communiqué, the Germans attacked.

with two cavalry divisions, several battalions of infantry and quick-firers, although it adds that they were repulsed by French cavalry and retired in disorder on the right bank of Meuse and, according to a subsequent message, were repulsed from that position also. Similarly, we get indications in the telegrams of German advance along the Viel-Salem, La Roche and St. Hubert roads towards Vionville, and along the Stavelot, Bastogne and Libramont road towards the same destination, not to mention the more southern roads, Diekirch-Arlon-Virton road for Montmedy and the Trèves-Luxemburg road for Longwy, an action having taken place on the Othman river, south of Montmedy, resulting in the defeat of the Germans after a two-days' struggle and the annihilation of a regiment of Dragoons by the French.

So much with regard to the German advance to the east of the Meuse. But, as we have stated above, the Germans have not been content with this and concentration against Liège forts on the right bank of the Meuse, but are crossing it by the reconstructed bridge at Herstal, some five miles to the north-east of Liège, as well as by a pontoon bridge near Vise, a little way further to the north, and are probably also fording the river still further north at Eysden, all dangerous movements while the Liège forts still hold out, and the earlier report of the 14th August that the Germans were concentrating in an attack on the right bank of the Meuse was contradicted next morning by the announcement that the Germans were concentrating their attack on the forts situated on the left bank. This is not all. The action that the Germans have placed between the Belgian frontier and Liège is continued by troops which are not only at Tongres, but are heard of now at Lanen, now at Hasselt, at one time advancing on Doot and at another on Aerschot, sometimes fighting at Haelen and on the river Velp, at other times at Rumilly and Engheze. In spite of reverses and defeat it seems certain that, notwithstanding all denial at Brussels, the Germans are advancing towards Antwerp, the population of which has considerable affinity with the invaders, and at the same time pressing on in a south westerly direction towards French territory, their course being parallel to the Meuse and possibly intended to run parallel to the river Sambre also. To all intents and purposes Liège has been cut off from the Franco-Belgian troops, and if the Germans push their screen on in the direction of Namur keeping out of the range of the guns of that fort they may similarly cut off Namur also. French losses, which were enumerated on the 15th instant to have entered Belgium at Châtillon and to be advancing on Gembloux, have been said to be claiming a large part of the main German front. If an important engagement takes place somewhere in the vicinity of the well-known battlefields of Waterloo, Genappe, Quatre bras and Rumilly, and the Germans gain a decisive victory, we do not think it would be an easy task for France to prevent their advance into French territory, specially as the German force marching through the eastern portion of the Belgian Ardennes would be able to cross the Meuse near Dinant or near Thivet and join the forces, changing southwards along the left bank of the Meuse, possibly through the same Châtillon through which the French have recently gained access into the heart of Belgium. Although it is true that the Germans have not entered French territory in any force worth the name, and more than a fortnight has passed since the declaration of war, it is not without some significance that the Germans have advanced a much longer distance from their own frontier through an admittedly difficult country the population of which is hostile to them and the troops of which are fighting every inch of the ground, than the French whose forces are moving, so to speak, on a flat plain. The full period for German mobilisation is supposed to be eleven days from the declaration of war, while the French exceed it by two days. The story of a map found on an Urban showing that German troops were timed to reach Brussels on the day following the declaration of war against France and Lille on the 5th, is worthy of old world credence only, though one may believe that a German reservist residing in France was ordered—most probably for the sake of effect only—to report himself to the German Commander at Lyons on the 13th. That was the date on which the German mobilisation should have been completed according to the accepted programme. French mobilisation, in all probability, commenced no later than the German, but we shall show later the Germans had entered in great force in Belgium to surround Liège and had fought several actions by the 13th—indeed, of course, lost them—while the French who were expected on the 19th to be advancing methodically and on the 11th to be doing so in Belgium, were only “ready to advance” on the 4th and were reported to have entered Belgium at Châtillon only on the 15th. This may be just within the scheduled limit of time for France, but the French and German schedules can be considered applicable only to German and French advance across the Franco-German frontier in Alsace-Lorraine and not to the two armies coming in contact at Dinant or near Namur.

II.—THE FIGHTING IN BELGIUM.

Let us now give a summary of the fighting in Belgium. First as to Liège, the telegrams of 10th August from Belgian soldiers

[illegible]

We now turn to the military operations in four other provinces of Belgium—Luxembourg, Namur, Liège and Brussels. In a Brussels telegram received by the French Government, it was reported to have evacuated Luxembourg going to the Belgian interior. But probably like the French troops, when past Brussels on the night of 8th, according to the same message, both the French advanced into and the German evacuation of Luxembourg were efforts of the imagination rather than a bare chronicle of facts, for, as we have stated before, the French did not probably enter Belgium in any force before the 14th instant and a large German force was reported on the 11th instant by the Official Press Bureau not only to be in Luxembourg but to have reached the Belgian frontier. German patrols were stated to be not only at Marche and Arlon, but also at Godinne, the westernmost point on the frontier of Belgian Lux-

announced on the 14th instant that the Belgians had so driven the enemy to the eastward that no German cavalry was then between Hasselt and Ramillies. Nevertheless a message from the *Pioneer's* own correspondent, dated the 14th instant, while stating that so far as is known only one battalion of German Infantry crossed the Meuse, admitted that German cavalry are only 30 miles from Antwerp; and although a later message stated that the reports that the Germans were marching on Antwerp were officially denied in Brussels, it was believed that they had retired on the main body, long before the unsuccessfulness failing to discover the enemy's forces, it was believed in the West on the same day that the Germans were marching in the direction of Aerschot, which is some eight miles due west of Dint, some 20 miles to the north-east of Brussels and about the same distance to the south-east of Antwerp. The place is only a good deal to the west of Hasselt, and Ramillies. For circumstances must have been singularly unfortunate in not looking for the Germans on the west instead of east. As a matter of fact there were skirmishes on Saturday, the 10th, near Londen and Tirlemont, the former lying straight on the line between Hasselt and Ramillies and the latter some 10 miles to the west of it and some 20 miles east of Brussels. On the 18th it was stated that measures such as the erection of barbed wire were being taken to defend Brussels against a sudden cavalry raid, and it is to be hoped that all attempts at such raids have been frustrated. This does not look very much like having seen the enemy to the eastward that no German cavalry was between Hasselt and Ramillies, and the responsibility for the failure to discover the enemy's forces must be laid at the door of "long French reconnaissance" rather than that of the "venture-some" cavalry of Germany.

No battle was reported since the battles of Haelen-Eghezee on the 12th, and the two days' battle that took place about the same time at the Orbanne, but it was stated on the 10th that the Germans were apparently advancing their infantry with a view to a frontal movement on St. Trond and Hasselt, pouring men across the pontoon bridge near Vise in spite of the obvious danger from the Liege forts. Speculation was rife with regard to the interesting question whether with the German guns facing west the Germans would dare to attack Namur, a city which it is hard to believe they would neglect it. It was stated, though we do not know on what authority, that the Liege forts were much stronger than Liege. There was every indication that a big battle was about to take place of which the skirmishes near Londen and Tirlemont between the Germans and the Belgians and on the banks of the Meuse between the French and the Germans were obviously premonitions. The Germans were declared to be marching from Liege to Mulhausen with marked density in the night. Their front was declared to follow apparently the course of river Ourthe, then along the French frontier, which it crossed in the Longwy-Briey region. A large part of this front has been strengthened by earthworks, particularly on the Ourthe between Metz and Strassburg in Lorraine. Commentators were, however, uncertain whether German attack would be delivered through Belgium or Luxembourg. From the Liege-Namur line to the neighbourhood of Metz the number engaged exceeded a million on either side. This impending great battle had not taken place till the 10th if we believe a Brussels telegram which was cabled to us from London at 1 A.M. on the 17th which reported a temporary lull. But an earlier message, dated the 16th, announced that cannonading was heard at Tirlemont from the direction of neighbouring villages of Bost and Honguise and was believed to be the beginning of great battle. The same day reports were cabled of a French Government *communiqué* preparing the public for the impending great battle, stating that several millions of men were engaged, that the front extended over 250 miles and that no definite result was expected for a week or more, and appealing to the public to follow the phases of the operations coolly and intelligently.

IV.—THE FIGHTING IN ALSACE-LORRAINE.

This brings us to the fighting in Alsace-Lorraine, for in the big battle that is now probably raging it will not be possible to separate the operations in Belgium from those on the Franco-German frontier. Last week we had dealt only in passing with French advance into Alsace-Lorraine, for it was not unexpected and the French had not penetrated far enough into the country. We may, therefore, begin with the message cabled on the 7th August that the French had occupied Vionville-Moyenvic. A day later a Paris telegram stated that French troops had crossed the frontier in Alsace and seized Altkirch after a fierce battle; and they were also reported to have pursued the retreating Germans and continued the movement in the direction of Mulhausen. Next day it was reported from Paris that the French advance guard had arrived at Altkirch at nightfall on the 7th instant, that the town was defended by a German brigade behind earthworks which the French carried after a fierce bayonet fight, and that the Germans fled in disorder and lost heavily in the French cavalry pursuit. The same day an earlier telegram from

Paris announced the still greater event of the French entry into Mulhausen. An official statement, issued in Paris subsequently, described the extreme brilliance of the success, stating that the pluck displayed by the French troops at Altkirch was astounding and was specially marked during the fierce rush which preceded the capture of the German entrenchments and in other bayonet charges which resulted in the rout of the enemy. The Germans were reported to have abandoned their second lines of work without resistance. French dragoons had started to pursue them and continued until darkness fell. At dawn French had again advanced and had occupied the German earthworks. In less than an hour Mulhausen had been occupied, and the French cavalry, traversing the streets at full gallop, had swept the German rearguard. Had the French occupation of Mulhausen been anything more than temporary, it would no doubt have been a brilliant feat, and French raptures would have been as justified as they were natural, for although Germany has not fortified her frontier against France as France has fortified hers against Germany, the recent earthworks at Mulhausen made it a comparatively stronger place. But France's triumph has proved to be short-lived, for only two days later it was reported that the Germans in force attacked Mulhausen whereupon the French force, which was stated to be smaller, retired brilliantly and took up a strong position where they stemmed the attack. On the 18th instant another cable reported that according to the French Ministry for War, the brigade sent to Mulhausen had been despatched merely to scatter the German Intelligence Department, and that it withdrew after effecting its purpose. We fear this will not easily "go down," and the French retreat from Mulhausen has been recognised even by the *Times'* military correspondent as a check to the French, although the only one yet admitted, in spite of all the brilliance claimed for the retreat as for the attack. The 11th German Army Corps and a division of the fifteenth are reported to have followed the retreating French troops and to have attacked the principal line of French defence, however, without succeeding to break it.

The same telegram announced that the French repulsed the German attack "in the district of Agincourt" on the 10th instant capturing six guns and destroying a battery, and they carried the village of Lagard at the point of the bayonet Agincourt is, of course, in the extreme north of France, and probably the place referred to is Asdicourt which is to the south of Montbeliard and to the south-west of Altkirch. But it was officially declared in Berlin that 1,500 French prisoners were captured in Alsace, which had been cleared of the enemy. It is strange that such a report should have trickled down to us; nevertheless the reports of enormous losses in Alsace were denied in Paris where it was officially stated that the French held Upper Alsace with considerable forces.

A message, dated 15th August, gives the first news of five days' continued fighting near Saales, when it was announced that the pass was occupied by the French and the town was also held by them. Saales lies a few miles to the south-west of Strassburg and to the south-east of Luneville, and its importance lies in the fact that the pass commands the valley and is on the flank of any operation from or against Lorraine. The artillery is reported to have taken the German position in the rear, and it is stated that equipment was found lying in disorder, proving the hurried nature of the departure of the Germans.

The next day a London message stated that the French had defeated the Bavarian army corps at Cury and Avicours, both places on the French frontier lying between Moselle and Saarburg in the one case and between Luneville and Strassburg in the other. This shows that the Germans had penetrated the French frontier to about the same extent that the French had penetrated the German frontier, for only 3 days before it had been reported that the Germans had bombarded Pont-à-Mousson, a place on the French frontier lying on the river Moselle between Metz on the German side and Nancy on the French. Evidently the French, although not yet confident enough of advancing towards Strassburg and Molsheim even after the occupation of Saales, it was officially announced that the French had begun the offensive in force on the night of the 14th instant along the line from Luneville to Saarburg, and that the move had been successfully continued on the 15th. This enterprise well matched with the occupation of Thann, which lies at a short distance to the north-west of Mulhausen, and was to be followed two days later by the occupation of Colmar. We have already referred to the French Government *communiqué* preparing the public of the impending great battle, and we only take it the movements of French troops in southern Lorraine as well as Upper Alsace were preliminaries to the big battle. The telegram of the 17th stated with reference to this advance all along the Alsace-Lorraine that the movement was now particularly rapid towards Strassburg, the French being reported to have captured many guns of heavy calibre, field guns and convoys including motor lorries. The French possess a natural advantage all along the frontier from Belfort up to Luneville on account of the Vosges mountains, and a special cable to the *Indian Daily News*, Calcutta, sent from London on the

17th instant, stated that, according to an official account of Paris, severe fighting had taken place in Vosges and the entire German Division, which may consist of 14,000 or 21,000 men, had surrendered. This lacks confirmation both from London and Paris, and we do not think German and French forces in such large numbers had come into contact so early. But a telegram of the 16th reported that the two forces were in contact on the German left and that the French were advancing in Upper Vosges where they had "checked German offensive and even gained ground." French aviators had proved even more venturesome and were reported to have flown in their aeroplanes over Metz and after dropping shells on Zeppelin sheds to have returned unscathed to Verdun despite the fact that over two hundred shots were reported to have been fired on them from aeroplane guns. A message on the 17th instant gave details of the French advance in Upper Alsace, but it is difficult to find the names of the places mentioned on the maps. The French were reported to have continued to advance in the neighbourhood of the heights of Domau and to have occupied Schermeck, twelve miles below Saales. French cavalry was stated to have pushed on to Molbach and Lutzelhausen and the French were said to occupy in Alsace a line from Thann and Cernay to Dammern. On the 18th it was stated that the French were making methodical progress in Alsace and Lorraine and had gained a distance of ten to twenty kilometres to Belfort, advancing strongly in some valleys particularly on Strassburg. There is one Chambary we know in France, but it lies very far from the scene of action, being some hundred and fifty miles to the south of Belfort. Probably either the name has been misspelt or there is another place of the same name to the north of Belfort. A later message, dated 18th, stated on the authority of the Official Press Bureau that the Germans were retreating in Upper Alsace to the north and east in disorder before French advance, and the latest news is to the effect that on the afternoon of 19th the French advanced rapidly and reached Moerchingen which is the northernmost point the French have yet reached, lying to the south east of Metz and being an important point in the Strassburg-Metz railway.

While being of opinion that it is easy to exaggerate the importance of the French advances in Alsace-Lorraine, particularly when it is known that the Germans have not touched their frontier like the French and that particularly Lorraine has been comparatively lightly held by the Germans, and their adversaries have not come anywhere near Metz and Strassburg in no less than seventeen days after the declaration of war, in spite of the population of Alsace-Lorraine having French sympathies, while the Germans have overrun at least a third of Belgium and cut off its strongest re-garrison from all succour, it cannot be denied if, as the *Times* Military Correspondent says, they had made any plan of attacking Nancy, it has not been followed. But in that case we must presuppose that the Germans had any such plans, and so far as overt indications go, we have no reason to presuppose such a thing.

We regret we have been unable to deal with the operations on the Austro-Serbian, Russo-Austrian and Russo-German frontiers this week, nor with the rumours of a naval engagement in the Adriatic. But at the present stage of the campaign these are of little consequence. However, we cannot close this review without offering hearty congratulations to Lord Kitchener and Sir John French on the landing of the British Expeditionary Army on the shores of France quite a week before it was expected. With reference to this, let us add that the landing of the British forces does not merely testify to the rapidity of mobilization and the excellence of military organisation, but also to the brave spirit of the civil population.

The British military intervention in Europe, in the early stage of war at any rate, would probably be limited to troops from the United Kingdom, namely, the Expeditionary Force, which includes practically the whole of the Regular Army in home stations, brought up with reserves to six divisions numbering with cavalry about 168,000. These troops would probably be despatched to co-operate with the French Army. At first sight the intervention of 168,000 men in a struggle between armies together numbering over 17,000,000 men on war establishments may seem unimportant, especially as it would still leave the French troops numerically inferior to the German. This small force, however, might prove of the utmost value to its allies, when the Germans are attempting to advance through Belgium, for the British command of the sea would enable it, with or without French or Belgian reinforcements, to threaten the enemy's flank and lines of communication from the coast—an operation the risks and difficulties of which are clearly great but not insuperable. If utilised with judgment, skill and daring, and provided it could be despatched in time and maintained in the field, the British Expeditionary Force might help materially to turn the scales of advantage in favor of the Triple Entente, and enable the French and Russian Armies to gain the initiative and press a vigorous attack against the Germans and their Ally. But Mr. Solans, Editor of the *Imperial Army Series of Military Training Manuals*, writing in the *Britannia Year Book*, says:—

It is, however, doubtful, whether the Expeditionary Force could be despatched to the continent in time or at all...If the fleets of the

(Continued on Page 126)

Notice.

It has been decided to publish the *Comrade War Bulletin* from Thursday, the 27th instant.

Intending subscribers are requested to send in their applications with subscriptions to

The Manager

OF

The "Comrade",
Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi.

Triple Entente gain command of the sea, Britain is practically secure from military offence by the Germans and Austrians. If Britain loses command of the sea, her position is paralysed and her existence is at stake on the fortune of war upon the continent and perhaps in any event, with her fleet 'in being,' Britain is considered secure from military offence by the Triple Alliance except in remote raids. In theory it is considered that the results of these raids would be limited to the moral effect upon the nation, which might be very great and to the loss and confusion occasioned by the possible destruction of naval bases, of communications such as bridges and railways, and of property in harbours, industrial centres and generally. The invasion of the United Kingdom, despite British fleets in being, by a hostile raiding force of at least 70,000 men has authoritatively been disclosed to be a practical possibility, and there can be no certainty that its strength will never exceed this number. It is both asserted and admitted on the highest authority that the Territorial Force, which is intended for the defence of Great Britain—and presumably Ireland in the absence of the Regular Army abroad, is unfit to meet good Continental troops in the field, and that this weakness cannot be remedied until some months after the outbreak of war. This then is the position of Great Britain. Her obligations to the Triple Entente, as well as her own vital interests and ultimate security might and most probably would demand the despatch of the Expeditionary Force to the help of her allies on the continent immediately war broke out or very soon afterwards. Sound strategy in any case would demand this step, in order to develop the greatest possible strength at the decisive point which in this case is the continent. But under the circumstances Britain could not fulfil her obligations to her allies, nor act in her own interest to the best advantage and in accordance with the principles and sound strategy, without leaving herself in a very deficient defenceless in the event of invasion for some months after hostilities commenced owing to the unready state of the Territorial Force. Theoretically she might be well advised to despatch the Expeditionary Force to the continent and take what strategic risks would form the minor war risks of invasion by raiding force. Actually this is what she might do if the principles of strategy were not in consideration and statesmen and soldiers were perfectly free to act upon them. Once war broke out, however, many other factors would be certain to influence and determine the national councils. It is possible that the instinct of self-preservation might impel a Government to forbid the despatch of the Expeditionary Force until it is a complete catastrophe, because rightly or wrongly they would be afraid that its absence would leave them insufficiently protected against the decided risk of invasion. In this case neither the demands of national honor and interests nor those of sound strategy might be able to make head against the clamour of popular fear, whether it were justified or not. It must be remembered that panic clouds the vision and dominates the acts of nations as well as men, and that sometimes without distinction of party have never been more subservient to the force of public opinion than at present.

No such panic as was feared by this writer has hitherto manifested itself and one may well believe that the British force, although small when compared with the millions engaged by France, Germany and Austria, will play an important and perhaps a decisive part in this Titanic struggle.

The Buckingham Palace Conference.

THE outbreak of the war in Europe has thrown the domestic controversies of Great Britain into the background, and the Irish Home Rule struggle has for the moment been suspended in face of a common national peril. The spectacle of the Irish Nationalists and the Ulsterites—all ready but yesterday to fly at each other's throat—now fraternising together and willing to go through any sacrifice to confound the enemies of the Empire, must have delighted the soul of every Briton. Few, however, can forget the gravity of the crisis on the eve of the war, and responsible British politicians may well regard the sudden outbreak of the struggle in Europe as a blessing in disguise, which has averted the all but certain catastrophe of civil strife in Ireland. The English papers received with the last mail are full of dire forebodings about the latest phase of the Irish question. They are, according to their several standpoints, full of the deepest concern about the issues which the breakdown of the Buckingham Palace Conference raised into ugly and sharp prominence. This abortive Conference proved the source of a new and heated controversy, and the party feeling rose to a white heat. Angry protests against the King's intervention emanated from the Liberal and Labour ranks. Furious discussions ensued as to the King's functions, the constitutional practice and the ministerial responsibility. The Ministers were subjected to outspoken and even harsh criticism by their own followers. Independent spirits among the Ministers themselves made the whole proceeding in unmeasured terms, and even moderate Liberals lifted the political atmosphere with cries of alarm. There were visible threats of serious mutiny in the Liberal ranks, and Liberal and Radical papers inveighed against what they described as the usurpation of the functions of Parliament by the Crown. What the upshot of this pandemonium might have been it is now difficult to say, but there can be little doubt that the crisis had reached its utmost gravity, and that the war in Europe has saved Ireland from a sanguinary civil war. It would, therefore, be no less instructive than interesting, if we reproduce in brief some passages of the exciting chapter of British politics which politicians and publicists of the various schools of thought have written round the ill-fated Conference over the Irish question.

The Conference was summoned to meet on 21st July, and Mr. Asquith announced it to the House of Commons on the 20th. The

announcement was received without much enthusiasm, and the bulk of the Liberal and Radical members were frankly amazed at the novel departure. The members of the Conference were Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Lansdowne, Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig, Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon. The Leader of the Opposition said that it was neither necessary nor desirable that he should say more than that he had loyally accepted the command of His Majesty to attend the Conference. The Irish Leader repudiated any responsibility for the policy of calling the Conference. He said that the invitation to attend the Conference had come to him in the form of a command of the King, and as such he had at once accepted it. Mr. L. Guinness several times attempted to address the House and when he at last gained the permission of the Speaker, he asked the following question:—“May I ask, then, what precedent he (the Prime Minister) has and what authority he has to advise the King to place himself at the head of a conspiracy to defeat the decisions of this House?” No answer was given to this question, the Speaker, without waiting for the reply, called upon new members to take their seats, thus effectually closing further debate. On the same day Lord Courtney asked Lord Crewe in the House of Lords to state the degree of responsibility of the Ministers for the step which had been taken and to reassure him as regards to his apprehension that the step would be viewed by the world at large as something like a supersession of Parliament. Lord Crewe replied that there was no abrogation whatever of Ministerial responsibility, no departure from the constitutional practice in the circumstances in which his Majesty had summoned the representatives of various parties and interests to meet and consider that supremely important question. He also assured Lord Courtney that there had not been and could not be any intention to supersede the authority of Parliament in that matter, and that no such result could conceivably follow.

Mr. Asquith's announcement in the Commons proved a signal for tremendous outburst of all manner of political views, opinions and passions outside the House. In the meantime, a rumour had gone forth that the King intended to withhold his assent from the Home Rule Bill unless an Amending Bill was presented to him along with it. According to the *Daily News*, the view expressed in Court circles was stated to be, first, that the Government had vitiated the Parliament Act procedure in the third session by the introduction of an Amending Bill to a Bill designed to pass unchanged under the Parliament Act. Secondly, that since the Parliament Act procedure had not, as it was suggested, been complied with, the King was not bound by the provisions of the Act in the case of the Home Rule Bill. A wave of alarm had spread amongst the Liberals, and they became vaguely suspicious of some conspiracy behind the scenes which was working for the early dissolution of Parliament and bringing the King into direct conflict with the democracy. The announcement about the conference strengthened these suspicions, and accordingly a meeting of 150 unofficial members of the Liberal party was held in the House of Commons at which resolutions were passed urging the Government to make no concessions not accepted by the Nationalist members and to agree to no settlement involving a dissolution before the Plural Voting Bill had become law. The Parliamentary Labour party was much more emphatic and outspoken in its condemnation of the new proposal adopted to settle the Ulster question and after Mr. Asquith had made his statement, passed the following resolution of protest:—

The members of the Labour party, having the Prime Minister's statement to the King as a basis, regret that to summon a conference of representatives of British and Irish parties to discuss outstanding points in the problem of Irish government, and having been unable to express their opinions in the House of Commons itself owing to the way in which the statement was made, though strongly wishing for a permanent settlement, protest against such a command having been issued regarding any matter of political controversy as being an undue interference on the part of the Crown and calculated to defeat the purposes of the Parliament Act. They further put on record their surprise that two of the representatives are practically rebels under arms against the authority of the Government, and regret that in future an organisation of force is to be officially considered to be most effective in industrial as well as in political disputes.

Surprise and even resentment was manifested in influential Liberal and Radical circles that no representative of the Labour Party, which represents a growing force in British democracy, was invited to the Conference, though the Labour members themselves regarded the Conference as an unconstitutional intervention on the part of the Crown.

The supreme issue that formed the subject of anxious questionings among the supporters of the Government was the character of the King's initiative in summoning the Conference. Mr. Asquith's announcement roused strong suspicions and scepticism. Members of British Parliament, whether Tory or Liberal, usually view with a jealous eye the removal of affairs of State from the venue of the high court of Parliament. The Liberals and the Radicals in this case felt alarmed lest the King should have himself decided on a line of action to which his advisers thought it prudent to consent only in view of the circumstances. A Liberal paper stated that the idea of the Conference had not originated with his Majesty, but that its popularity

belonged to Mr. Asquith. There were, however, grave misgivings as to the part played by the King, and the bulk of the Liberal and Radical members were anxious to clear up the baffling mystery.

The Conference met on the 21st July at Buckingham Palace, and the King welcomed it in a speech which was hailed by the Tory Press with loud acclamation, but which deeply exasperated the Liberal and Radical opinion. The passage in the speech which caused deep umbrage to the latter is this: "The trend has been 'surely and steadily towards an appeal to force, and to-day the cry of 'civil war is on the lips of the most responsible and sober-minded 'of my people.' The Liberals, the Radicals and the Labourites alike felt in this sentence an intimation of the King's sympathy with what they regarded as "the cause of the rebels." The cry of civil war, they argued, was on the lips of the Ulster leaders and volunteers who had sworn to defy the authority of Parliament, and such persons could not surely be described as "most responsible and sober-minded." When the House of Commons met on the 22nd July, Mr. Asquith was asked "whether the King's speech published 'last night in the Court Circular was drawn up or published on the 'advice of his Majesty's Ministers in accordance with custom and precedent." The Prime Minister replied that "the speech delivered 'by the King was sent to me in the ordinary way by his Majesty 'the day before, and I take the whole responsibility for it." When asked whether the summoning of the Conference was an act taken by his Majesty on the advice of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith said that "His Majesty the King throughout this matter has followed the strictest constitutional precedent and has taken no step up to now except in consultation with and on the advice of his Ministers." This silenced the exasperated Liberals, but did not entirely remove their doubts and misgivings.

The King's speech became the source of a heated discussion as the very summoning of the Conference had raised general issues relating to the powers of the Crown, and the requirements of constitutional practice and precedent. As we have said, the Tory papers without exception characterised the speech as a broad-minded, great and patriotic pronouncement. The *Times* was convinced that the speech would appeal to the nation at large. It assured His Majesty that the exceptional circumstances, to which he referred as the reason for his intervention, amply justified it in the eyes of the world, whatever interpretation a few disaffected politicians might, for reasons of their own, choose to put upon it. The *Morning Post* summed up its impression of the speech with "thus speaks the patriot King." The *Daily Telegraph* regarded the speech in every word just such an address as the ordinary man, not greatly concerned with the manoeuvres of party and the jealous diplomacy of the political struggle would wish to be pronounced by an impartial Head of the State.

But the tone of the Liberal and Radical comment was entirely different, and the Labourite dislike of it may be judged from the following remarks of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Leader of the Labour Party:—"It is a most extraordinary speech, and makes 'one rub one's eyes and wonder whether one is dreaming. The King 'confesses that because he is agitated about the political situation, he 'takes it upon himself, apparently without the advice of his Ministers, 'to call a conference of political leaders for the purpose of settling a 'political difficulty behind the back of members of the House of 'Commons. The remark about 'responsible and sober-minded people' 'talking about civil war is a statement which might grace the speech 'of a Unionist candidate for Parliament. If that is not taking sides 'in a political controversy I do not know what is."

The same spirit of dissatisfaction with the speech pervaded the expressions of the Liberal and Radical opinion. The *Daily Chronicle* remarked that the "cry of civil war" was nothing more or less than the Unionist party cry. According to it, the only impression left on the Liberal readers of the King's speech was, as if the King had spoken of the Unionist party as "we" and of the Liberal party as "they", and it declared that the obviously personal character of the speech made that impression still more painful. "His Majesty," it said, "must beware of raising great issues which may dwarf all others in the field of politics. The Liberal party has not removed the veto of the House of Lords in order to instal in its place the veto of the Crown." The *Westminster Gazette* inferred from "internal evidence" that the speech could not have received the imprimatur of the Government.

But the gravest Liberal apprehensions were stored by the origin and character of the Conference itself, which they regarded as a dangerous innovation likely to interfere with the supremacy of Parliament. Their fears took the form of various anxious and angry questions. Was this an interference on the part of the King? Was the Conference summoned on the suggestion of the Cabinet? Was it an attempt to defeat the purposes of the Parliament Act? Even Mr. Asquith's assumption of responsibility for the King's action did not allay the Liberal fears. They saw in the Conference the eleven-hoof of the Tory arch-intriguers who were supposed to be working through the King's entourage to wreck the Home Rule Bill. Al-

most all Liberal organs were frankly alarmed and showed much resentment. The *Daily News* thought it would be a poor service to the Monarchy as well as an impossible task to conceal the feeling of mistrust which had been aroused by the intervention of the Crown in that formal and unprecedented manner. It did not pretend to know the circumstances which had led up to that intervention, but it declared that it knew the spirit of the country well enough to understand that if that "new departure" was to become a precedent, other issues would have been raised than those which were being discussed at the Palace. "It is impossible," it went on to say, "to dissociate this episode from the Parliament Act. Not until that Act came into existence had we seen rebellion officially fomented by one of the two great parties in the State, or Parliament threatened, under the sanction of the Privy Counsellors in close contact with the Court, by a militarist revolt or a new inner chamber of the high court of Parliament set up under the direct authority of the King. These are grave facts closely touching our most inviolable liberties, and whatever the result of the Conference, it is the duty of all who stand for the cause of democratic government to face them frankly and firmly." The *Daily Citizen* the official organ of the Labour party, declared that for the Lord's veto a King's veto was being substituted, that Buckingham Palace was usurping the function of St. Stephen's, that Parliament was in danger of supersession, and that the Throne had recognised the argument of organised rebellious force, and the rebels had been "invited" to Royal consultation. No definite information was forthcoming as to the exact origin of the idea of the Conference. The *Times* thought that his Majesty made a suggestion and found that it had the approval of the Ministry. The *Daily Chronicle* believed that the idea originated with Mr. Asquith. In either case it was contended by the Liberals that the Ministerial responsibility had been impaired and that it would sink to a mere polite fiction, if it were to become automatic instead of being effective.

To sum up. The Liberal outburst against the King's action was due to a general resentment and alarm against what was believed to be a Tory intrigue to destroy the fruits of the Liberal legislation and policy. The *Nation* puts the Radical standpoint about the Conference episode in a way that we make no apology for recapitulating it. It said that the main fact about English history for two centuries was that Parliamentary institutions had suited the governing classes, and that all politicians were agreed in accepting and maintaining them. The chief feature of the existing situation was the disappearance of that general consent. Ever since the Parliament Act, one party, with increasing recklessness, had challenged it in the name of the Court or of the Army—the very powers against which the ancestors of the Britons had been careful to exalt Parliament. The reason was perfectly plain. So long as Parliamentary institutions had been in the hands of the wealthy class, their integrity had been a principle of paramount importance. It was because the balance of power had changed that the party that had represented the old supremacy of class was no longer loyal to that constitution and was actually conspiring against it. The outburst of the Conference week meant that the Liberals recognised that danger. The danger was not that General Gough would play the part of Cromwell, or that King George the Fifth would play the part of Charles the First. In form Parliamentary government would continue. But in fact, if those politicians got their way, Parliament would reflect the will of the Court and the Army. They, and not the House of Commons, would decide at what point a Government ceased to deserve the confidence of the Crown. The *Nation*, after emphasising this supreme issue, concluded—

Since when has the Army counted in politics, or have newspapers revived the old cry of a Patriot King? It is not to the Army, nor to the House of Lords, nor even to the King that the electorate committed its destinies when it sent back Mr. Asquith to office. A dissolution at the bidding of these powers, or any bargain in which a dissolution was an element, would be a betrayal of the historical rights of Parliament and of the confidence of the people of England.

This was the Liberal case in a nutshell. To preserve the principle of the supremacy of the House of Commons, Liberalism is as full of vigour, energy and strength of conviction to-day as it was at any time in its history. The Buckingham Palace Conference failed and the Amending Bill was being pushed through the House of Commons. The Liberal rank and file were fired with a fresh zeal to carry the Home Rule Bill in amended form before the dissolution of Parliament, and their latest experience increased their resolve to persevere along their course without paying further heed to the threats of the Opposition and of Ulster. The war, however, broke out in the meantime and the Home Rule question has been for the time being shelved by the general consent of the parties concerned. The Irish people have shown a united front at this crisis in the history of the Empire and the Tory taunts about the Nationalist infidelity have proved a wicked slander. The war has postponed the Home Rule, but it has also effectually helped to destroy Tory opposition to the measure.

War in Europe.

News of the Week.

London, Aug. 7.

BERLIN: When war was declared between Britain and Germany, the mob besieged the Embassy and smashed the windows. Forty British subjects have been placed in a fortress.

Eight of the *Amphion's* wounded men have died in hospital. Capt. Fox of the *Amphion* has been appointed to the command of the *Faulkner*, one of the destroyers built in the English yard for Obili.

Despite the censorship and numerous elaborate official precautions all sorts of reports, seemingly perfectly baseless, continue to be published. These relate especially to alleged naval engagements.

Mr. Churchill's statements this afternoon that beyond the sinking of the *Amphion* and the *Koenigin Luise* nothing has happened, demolished the whole series of them. It is almost impossible to distinguish between true and untrue when anything may happen at any moment.

A six-thousand-ton British oil steamer has been sunk by a mine in the Elbe.

Several seizures of arms and ammunition belonging to Germans in London and Dover have been made. Many reservists have been captured on ships and imprisoned at Harsham and elsewhere.

British forces on the Gold Coast under instructions from Mr. Harecourt have seized Lone in German Togoland without resistance and South Togoland up to 120 kilometres north from the coast. The surrenders were simultaneous.

Paris: The French have occupied Vic and Moyen Vic.

Stringent precautions are being taken in the United States to prevent German shipowners infringing the neutrality of the United States. American newspapers condemn German ambition and bravery (?).

Russians have had serious losses. The German cavalry have attacked Kibarty near Wirballen.

Contrasting with the courtesy shown to the departing German Ambassadors in England and France, the French Ambassador to Berlin states that Germans would not allow him to travel in Holland and Belgium but forced him to Denmark. During the journey thither which lasted 24 hours, he was without food. Passing Kiel Canal, soldiers entered the train and stood over him with revolvers in their hands. Nearing the frontier M. Cambon was ordered to pay the costs of the journey. Otherwise he was informed the train would be stopped. A cheque was refused. The staff of the Embassy and a Russian diplomat accompanying the party assisted to raise the necessary amount of £200.

Intense admiration is expressed in the Netherlands for Belgians, and Dutch eye-witnesses of the fighting testify to the bravery and resourcefulness of the Belgian troops.

The patrol of Germans has surrendered to the Dutch at Wilre and the Belgian official at St. Wenenpi.

Eighty thousand Germans were before Liège on Wednesday. The garrison of the town consisted of 30,000 men.

It is announced that the King and 125,000 men are at Louvain. In a statement the King said it was the duty of Belgians to delay Germans as long as possible.

Liège is quiet, Germans have at present retired.

The official version of the operations in Belgium is as follows:— "Advance guards on Wednesday penetrated the Belgian frontier. A small detachment with great boldness tried a *coup de main* at Liège. Some cavalry entered Liège with the object of seizing the Belgian commander who saved himself by flight. The attempt on the fortress which is a modern one, was not successful. Our troops are still in contact with the enemy. The hostile foreign press will characterize this enterprise which cannot have the slightest influence on larger operations, as a defeat. It is, however, but an unique act of heroism in the history of war and a sign of the gallantry of our troops.

Germans at Liège, repeating their methods of 1870, are hurling masses of troops in frontal assaults, the men displaying reckless bravery.

The Germans killed are more numerous than their wounded.

London, Aug. 8.

Montenegro has handed his passports to the Austrian Minister.

Rome: Extraordinary Austro-German pressure is being continued to induce Italy to fight. She has firmly refused, rejecting promises of territorial aggrandisement and pointing out that the nation would not permit a war against England and France.

Despite restrictive measures demonstrations have been held everywhere in Italy, at which speeches have been made proclaiming the union of Latins and Anglo-Saxons against German brutality.

A crowd of 5,000 people waving the British and Italian flags

cheered the Italian Embassy in London yesterday. The Ambassador acknowledged the ovation.

The *Daily Mail* and the *Standard* in editorial articles say that Italy cannot stand off but must join the *Entente*.

Peking: China has requested the co-operation of the United States and Japan to prevent hostilities in China.

The following special London cablegrams, dated August 7, were published in the *Pioneer*:—

Sir E. J. Cory stated in the House of Commons that it was understood all steamers were hung up in the Suez Canal. He asked whether the Canal Company in Paris could delegate to the London office authority to receive dues and telegraph to Port Said instructions to permit boats to pass.

Mr. Aeland replied that the matter was being considered.

An arrangement has been made on the line suggested by Sir J. Cory and vessels can now pass through the Suez Canal.

Sir John Rees asked whether officers of the Indian Army now at Home and ordered back were detainable in order to fill vacancies in the Territories.

Mr. Tennant replied that the India Office could not see its way to place the officers at the disposal of the War Office.

It is uncertain whether the *Amphion* was sunk by a British or German mine.

The Admiralty considers it probable that the *Koenigin Luise* laid a line of mines before she sank.

Berlin: In a manifesto Prince von Buelow, ex-Chancellor, says: "Even if the world were filled with devils, Germans would maintain their place in the sun."

Paris: The French troops have crossed the frontier in Alsace and seized Altkirk after a fierce battle. They pursued the retreating Germans and continued the movement in the direction of Mulhausen. The success of the troops was extremely brilliant.

Simla: It is notified that under Act III of 1864, all foreigners other than Asiatics resident or arriving in India will be required under penalties of arrest, detention and deportation, to report themselves to a designated authority and in the case of Germans and Austrians will not be allowed to travel in India without passes to do so. All foreigners are also advised to carry satisfactory proof of their identity and nationality.

Colombo: German vessels detained here have been dismantled.

Petersburg: A German fleet of twelve battleships of the old type and numbers of torpedo boats and cruisers is mobilising with feverish haste at Koenigsberg and Qanzig.

The attacking force at Liège consisted of the whole of the German third army, General Emmich commanding.

The King of Belgians has issued a stirring message to the troops. He says: "Liège has done honour to the army. You are the advance guard in a titanic struggle. We await the French to march to victory."

Brussels: France has decorated Liège with the *Légion d'Honneur*.

Paris: The cavalry has made a rapid advance east of Liège.

Brussels: A German cavalry division succeeded in fording the Meuse north of Liège, but it was fallen upon by the Belgian cavalry and practically annihilated.

The garrison at Liège retreated in good order on Thursday evening to give the men rest, but resumed the offensive yesterday and by a turning movement, routed a German cavalry division in Belgian Luxembourg.

Brussels: The Minister of War announces that Germans have asked for an armistice of 24 hours. They admit that 24,000 men are *hors de combat*.

The decrease in imports during July amounted to £289,989 and in export to £275,882.

London, Aug. 9.

Brussels: At ten o'clock last evening the Minister of War announced that the position of the Belgians was hourly improving and the progress of the French and Belgian armies was continuing methodically.

The army awaited the night attack yesterday, but all was quiet at 2 o'clock this morning. Germany has sent an urgent telegram to Belgium threatening reprisals in future.

The army is in an excellent position. The King has reviewed the brigades which participated in the defence of Liège. Germans have evacuated Luxembourg owing to the French advance. French troop-trains passed Brussels last night. It is officially admitted that Liège is invested, but all fort are holding out.

Servia has handed the German Minister his passports.

New York: Five thousand five hundred Germans, ten thousand Austrians and hundreds of Dutch reservists, who have been unable to secure passages to Europe, have been ordered to return to their homes in the United States and await instructions.

St. Petersburg: At an extraordinary session of the Duma, M. Samonoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs, made a speech in which he said that Russia, France and England could not admit that America

will, supported by Germany, was obligatory on Europe. It was Austria who provoked the intestine war among the Balkan Slavs in pursuance of her policy of undermining Russia's historic position in the Balkans. But Austria would fail to ruin the work of Slav unification.

During the passages in which M. Sazonoff paid tributes to France, England and Belgium, the members of the Duma rose repeatedly and cheered various ambassadors and ministers who were seated in the gallery.

The Czar solemnly received the Council of the Empire and the Duma in audience at the Winter Palace. In the speech the Czar said that the hurricane of patriotism in Russia assured a happy conclusion of the war and he saw with joy that the union of the Slavs with Russia was progressing.

The British Consul at Venice reports that the Austrian fleet is off Pola.

According to a telegram of yesterday's date from Nisau, the Austrians have evacuated Visigard and the frontier of Sanjak of Novi Bazar and the Serbian troops have occupied Visigard.

The Austrian Ambassador is still in London. It is understood that Anglo-Austrian relations will remain unchanged pending an act of war on the part of Austria. The ports of the latter are regarded as neutral and this will affect the position of the German cruisers, the "Goeben" and "Breslau," which are now believed to be in the Adriatic.

The German Emperor has issued a proclamation as follows.—

"In the midst of peace our enemies surprised us. We will resist till the last breath of man and horse and fight out the struggle even against a world of enemies."

In regard to the application of those Germans wishing to leave by to-day's mail steamer for military service in Germany, Government has replied that it will not be possible for them to go. They must report themselves to the military commander in Bombay and give parole. This applies to all German reservists in Bombay. Letters explaining their impossibility of getting away will be given exonerating such persons from blame by the German Government for not having joined the colours in a time of war.

The Hansa (German) steamer Rheinfels arrived in Bombay yesterday from New York with general cargo and kerosine oil. The steamer has not been allowed to discharge cargo in the stream or in the dock and it is gathered that she will be seized by the authorities.

The French troops have entered Mulhausen. The Alsace-Lorrainers were overjoyed at the arrival of the French and tore up the boundary mark.

Paris: A French advance guard arrived at Altkrich at nightfall on Friday. The town was defended by a German brigade behind earthworks, which the French carried after a fierce bayonet fight. The Germans fled in disorder and lost heavily in the French cavalry pursuit which followed.

When the official announcement was made that the French troops had entered Mulhausen there were great rejoicings in Paris at this first French victory on German soil, the people being especially glad that a footing had been gained in Alsace.

General Joffre, the French Commander-in-Chief, has issued the following proclamation: "Children of Alsace.—After 44 years of sorrowful waiting, the French soldiers again tread the soil of your noble country. They are pioneers in the great work of revenge."

An official statement issued here says that the pluck displayed by the French troops at Altkrich was astounding. It was especially marked during the furious rush, which preceded the capture of the German entrenchments and in the other bayonet charges which resulted in the rout of the enemy who abandoned their second line of works without resistance. The Jragoons instantly started to pursue the Germans and continued until darkness fell. At dawn the French again advanced occupying the German earthworks. The Alsatians everywhere greeted the French rapturously. In less than an hour Mulhausen was occupied and the French cavalry traversing the streets at full gallop swept the German rearguard.

It is officially announced that French have entered North Togoland.

Paris: The French garrison at Grand Popo in Dahomey acting in conjunction with a British cruiser, is taking possession of German Togoland.

St. Petersburg: It is officially announced here that the Germans lost 100 men killed in two days near Rydetkuhen.

The French garrison at Grand Popo in Dahomey, acting in conjunction with a British cruiser, is taking possession of German Togoland.

Earl Kitchener has sent a circular to Chairmen of Territorial County Associations asking them to co-operate in raising as soon as possible 100,000 men for the regular army. The men will be accommodated in camps near existing regular depots. The circular concludes that this is not an ordinary appeal for recruits, but the formation of a second army.

Sweden and Norway have made mutual declaration of neutrality and pledge themselves not to fight against each other in the present war.

Lisbon: After a joint session of the Chamber and the Senate, the Premier made a speech in which he declared amid cheers that Portugal would not fail in her alliance with England.

Petersburg: The Russian troops entered Austrian territory by the valley of the Styr, driving the enemy's advance guards before them.

Athens: Turks are concentrating in Bulgarian territory near Dedeaagatch.

Paris: Believing that a part of the Austrian mobilisation is directed at the French frontier, the Minister for Foreign Affairs has told the Austrian Ambassador that he wishes to be informed as to Austria's intentions as soon as possible.

London, Aug 10.

A Brussels telegram says some uncertainty prevails regarding the position of Liège. The Germans seem to have made their way into the town between the forts, and to have told the civil authorities that they would bombard the town unless the forts surrendered. It is stated that they now hold a number of local notables as hostages. It is expected that the Belgians will not surrender the forts but would rather blow them up.

Brussels: The Germans are chiefly advancing on France through Eselsur-Alzette (Luxemburg). The forward movement against the River Ourthe has ceased, and the Germans are entrenching themselves.

According to informations derived from a Belgian official source the Liège forts are intact, and the Belgian main army is advancing on the city, where there are 120,000 Germans, but the forts are unable to train their guns on the city itself. The story to the effect that 8,000 troops had been made prisoners is described as baseless.

The French operations to the south of the Meuse have cleared a considerable area, but a decisive action is not expected until the French and Belgian forces take the offensive.

An official telegram from Brussels says:—"The situation this afternoon was satisfactory. The French are advancing methodically. The forts of Liège are amply supplied with food and ammunition."

The rupture of Franco-Austrian relations is officially announced. The Ambassadors are leaving the respective capitals.

Tokio: The first and second Japanese Squadrons have put to sea under the command of Admiral Dawa. There is reason to believe that Japan will adhere not only to the letter but also to the spirit of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to the most extreme limit. The whereabouts of the German Squadron has not been disclosed, but it is reported to be menacing British shipping. The protection of British interests may necessitate the step of enabling Japan to occupy Tsingtau.

The Duke of Connaught has informed Mr. Harcourt that Canadians through the Government offer one million bags of flour as a gift to the people of the United Kingdom. The first shipment will be made in about ten days. Mr. Harcourt has gratefully accepted the gift.

Melbourne Brigadier General Bridges will command the Commonwealth expeditionary force. It has been described to organise a small mixed naval and military force to serve within or without of Australia, and to be distinct from the expedition which is going to England.

Mr. Mullen, Commonwealth Minister of Defence, states that the mobilisation and concentration of the citizen forces has been carried out satisfactorily.

Lady Munro Ferguson, wife of the Governor-General, has initiated successful movement for the formation of an Australian branch of the Red Cross Society.

Mr Cook, Commonwealth Prime Minister, has deprecated the countermanding of orders on the part of importers, thereby spreading distrust. He has appealed to exporters and importers to do business as usual, and by so doing to manifest Australia's confidence as to the result of the war.

Capetown: As an instance of the patriotic determination of all South Africans to stand by the flag, there was a meeting yesterday at Aliwal North, which was a rebel centre during the war, and a resolution proposed by an ex-rebel was passed for transmission to the Imperial Government declaring that Aliwal North Africans will defend the Union Jack to the last cartridge.

A telegram from Nish states that great demonstrations are taking place throughout Serbia and Montenegro in favour of Russia, France and England.

Two Austrian cruisers have bombarded Antivari and the surrounding mountains where the inhabitants of the town have taken refuge.

Paris: Believing that part of the Austrian mobilisation is directed at the French frontier the Minister for Foreign Affairs has told

The Austrian Ambassador that he wishes to be informed as to Austria's intentions as soon as possible.

The Montenegrins have occupied Spizza on the Adriatic and two neighbouring towns.

There are numerous accounts of German spies in England. Reports are in circulation of their attempting to poison water supplies, etc. Several Germans are in custody charged with attempting to blow up railway bridges.

The House of Commons has adjourned for a fortnight. Mr. Asquith said that he trusted that when they resumed they would be in a position to conclude the business of the session. He hoped to make proposals which would meet with general acquiescence.

Princess Arthur of Connaught has given birth to a son.

The gold influx into the Bank of England to day amounted to £2,600,000. Silver rose to 37½.

The Admiralty announces that German submarines yesterday attacked one of the cruiser squadrons of the main fleet. None of his Majesty's ships has been damaged. One of the enemy's submarines was sunk.

Allahabad, Aug. 10.

A Pioneer cable, dated London, 7 August, states:—Arrangements have been made on the lines suggested by Sir J. Cory, and vessels can now pass through the Suez Canal.

London, Aug. 10.

Experts agree that the German plans have been much upset by the stand made by the Belgians against picked German troops, which has permitted the French to concentrate and effect a junction with the Belgians. Every day's delay lessens the German chances of making a successful advance into French territory—it is generally agreed that a dash for Paris was their object—and brings the Russian legions a step nearer their other frontier. Moreover, the moral effect of Liège's resistance and the French dash into Alsace is regarded as incalculable among other things destroying the legend of German invincibility.

Accounts agree that the Germans at Liège adhered to the older theoretic tactics of hurling masses of men in frontal assaults against forts.

The operations in the North Sea are shrouded in silence but although the German Fleet has apparently not yet accepted battle, the steady silent strangulation of German commerce continues, raising the question of food supplies sooner or later.

Bombay, Aug. 11

With reference to the telegram issued from Simla reporting a naval battle in the North Sea, Reuter's Agency learns from its office that the message was based on a press despatch from North Shield, which was erroneously described in London as having the official sanction of the Admiralty. The Admiralty subsequently issued a denial.

An English correspondent, who was present at the first assault on Liège, says that the German artillery practice was perfect. Shells exploded in the ramparts of the forts and smashed the disappearing carriages of the guns of the fort at Fleron, which was silenced. The Germans attacked in close order. The question in the mouth of every inhabitant of Liège was: "When will the English come?"

Brussels. Uhlans have appeared at Tongres and carried off the cash in the treasury and available food. All were apparently famishing.

There are eight thousand German prisoners in Belgium. It is announced in Paris that the French lost a hundred killed and wounded at Altkirch.

The German made a desperate attack on Fort Seraing, Liège, on Sunday night but were repulsed. It is estimated that 800 were killed.

Only fragmentary details of the operations are arriving from Liège. The Germans undoubtedly hold the town in considerable force, having succeeded in penetrating between the ring of forts surrounding the city, and they are now doing their utmost to subdue the forts, not only with artillery but by means of the most gallant attempts at storming. The defenders are behaving splendidly, making sorties and keeping the assailants at bay. The loss of life has been terrible.

Four thousand diamond cutters in Amsterdam have been rendered idle by the war. Other Dutch industries are being closed.

Lord Islington has been appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

Admiral Sir George Callaghan has been appointed principal Naval Aide-de-Camp and to the Special Service War Staff, Admiralty.

Any moment now may see titanic forces at grips. Twenty-two German and Austrian Army Corps, consisting roughly of 40,000 men each, will meet twenty-three French and Belgian Army Corps in Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine. Both armies are

completely mobilised and ready. The French Army is already in Belgium, joining hands with the Belgians.

Regarding the Russian forces a line drawn north and south through Brest Litovsk, fairly represents the line on which the Russians are assembled. The movements reported on the two flanks are doubtless only those of advanced guards, but they suggest that the armies in the rear may be nearly ready to support them, and that issue will be joined before the end of the month.

An Uhlan captured in Belgium had a map on him showing that the Germans were lined to reach Brussels on August 3rd and Lille on August 5th.

The Official Press Bureau announces that there is reason to believe that the mass of German troops are on the Western Frontier, distributed between Thionville and Liège, and that Lorraine is held comparatively lightly. There is every indication that Austrian troops have entered Alsace.

It is believed that the forts at Liège are still not taken.

The Germans are methodically reconnoitring the district of Hesraye, west of Liège. Cavalry patrols, followed by infantry, are pushing in the direction of Namur, over which aeroplanes are flying. There have been cavalry skirmishes near Tirlemont. Six thousand Germans with guns seized Landen, twenty-four miles west of Liège. These movements are evidently preliminaries to the big battle.

With Serbia and Montenegro formally hostile to Austria the greatest interest attaches to the position in the Balkans, especially with reference to the mobilisation of Turkey. Though the latter has hitherto shown no direct intention of joining in the general conflagration, nevertheless it is significant that the Bulgarian Premier announces that while Bulgaria is resolved to maintain her neutrality yet she is compelled to take measures with a view to preventing or repelling any violation of her frontiers. A Turkish trade has been issued, authorising a supplementary credit of three millions sterling for the War Minister.

Rumania remains silent, and opinion in that country is very divided.

Mr. Churchill has announced that His Majesty's cruiser "Birmingham" sank a German submarine on the 10th instant.

Melbourne: The Commonwealth Navy has been formally transferred to the Admiralty till the conclusion of the war.

Nothing whatsoever will be published in Great Britain concerning naval matters except when issued by the newly constituted Press Bureau.

Allahabad: A Pioneer cable, dated London, Aug. 10, says the report from Paris concerning naval action in the Mediterranean is now discredited. It appears that the "Panther" is not in the Mediterranean. The battle cruisers "Goeben" and the smaller cruiser "Broelau" are probably still cruising there.

The Times in a leader says the time is at hand when the British Army as well as the Navy will have to be thrown into the scale of destroyers of the peace of Europe.

Melbourne. A leading ware-house here announces that it will give its employees accompanying the Australian expedition one month's full pay, thereafter half pay, and will keep their positions open for them.

A Launceston telegram says:—An unprecedented manifestation of loyalty is occurring in Tasmania, and applications to join the expedition are pouring in from all quarters.

Patriotic funds have been opened in New Zealand and Western Australia.

Lord Crewe has informed the signatories of the patriotic address presented to him last week by Indian residents and visitors for submission to the King that he has great pleasure in submitting to the King-Emperor their notable tribute of loyalty. Lord Crewe adds that he has been deeply impressed by the sentiment of sincere and unselfish devotion to the common cause of the Empire which was so eloquently expressed in the address.

The Prince of Wales yesterday joined the Grenadier Guards, and began his duties immediately. The British Government has recognised Boy Scouts for non-military public service. Strikers and suffragists imprisoned in England have been granted an amnesty. The Government have countermanded the despatch of Territorials to Ireland to replace Regulars. Mr. Asquith has informed Mr. Redmond that Earl Kitchener will do everything to equip and organise the Volunteers in Ireland.

Three thousand are enlisting daily in response to Earl Kitchener's appeal. The recruits are of a superior type.

The Germans in force attacked Mulhausen, whereupon the French force, which was smaller, retired brilliantly, and took up a strong position, where they stemmed the attack. The French remain masters in Upper Alsace.

The official Press Bureau says that three German Army Corps are still opposite Liège, two cavalry divisions are at Tongres, and other German troops are entrenching along the line of the River Aisne. A large German force in Luxembourg has now reached the Belgian

frontier. German patrols are reported to be at March, Gedinne and Arlon.

The Austrians have advanced from Cracow towards Kielce. The Russians are moving from Rovno on Lemberg. The Serbian official account of the Austro-Serbian operations shows that the Austrians attacked seven different points, but were repulsed with tremendous slaughter due to the effective marksmanship of the Serbian artillery. The valleys of the Sava and the Danube are covered with Austrian corpses. The Serbian losses were heavy. Not a single Austrian soldier is now on Serbian soil. The Austrians have abandoned the offensive, and are hurriedly entrenching, waiting for Serbia to take the offensive.

Their Majesties visited Aldershot to-day where they received an ovation from the troops.

It is officially announced in St. Petersburg that in consequence of the Russian successes in minor engagements the Austrians are evacuating Radziviloff, close to the Galician frontier near Lemberg.

Recruiting continues splendid. It is officially announced that besides Territorial units, which for some time accepted liability to serve overseas, further volunteers are now being asked to follow their example. A great response is anticipated, and it is probable that brigades and even divisions will come forward.

The First South Midland Mounted Brigade, consisting of three Yeomanry regiments with artillery, etc., have volunteered for service abroad.

It is officially announced that during twelve hours on Monday 4,700 men joined.

Fourteen women and girls were killed, and fifty others injured, in a panic in a church at Louviers, Belgium, which was due to slight outbreak of fire while Mass was being celebrated.

It is officially announced in Capetown that the Imperial Government has, on the suggestion of the Union Government, since the outbreak of war, decided to remove the Imperial troops from South Africa, and the Union Government has undertaken to replace the Union, and will organise and equip an adequate force to replace the Imperial troops.

London, Aug 12

The Belgians have reoccupied Londen. A French official despatch emphasises that every fort along the whole front from Tunc (from Lille to Belfort) is intact, and only small groups of Germans have entered the town of Liège under cover of darkness. Small and unimportant engagements have occurred between French and Germans. The French cavalry in all contacts has shown its superiority.

The German armies are marching from Liège into the heart of Belgium. The German cavalry is advancing and all along the front of the allied armies a hot cavalry engagement is proceeding.

The River Aisne, mentioned yesterday by the Official Press Bureau, is a small Belgian stream, and not the French river.

The military expert of the *Times* concludes that the Germans have almost entirely abandoned concentration in the Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine in favour of an advance through the Ardennes into which the Germans have flung the mass of their army, closely concentrated, thus enabling the Germans to act together in any direction with the object of dealing their opponents a knock-down blow and following this up by relentless pursuit, thereby shattering the French moral.

The Official Press Bureau says: At this period of hostilities no news of any importance can be expected. Any movements of the British Army, or of those nations with which she is co-operating, can naturally not be divulged, and over the enemy's proceedings there lies the fog of war. A telegram from Maastricht says that a terrific cannonading was going on all the morning, the sound coming from the direction of Tongres.

A Belgian official announcement says that the German advance guards have been falling back on the main army. There is no other news.

Allahabad: A *Pioneer* cable, dated London, August 12th, states:—It now appears certain the town of Liège is occupied by Germans who passed between the forts after the Belgians ceased to defend the intervening lines. The forts remain as formidable obstacles to the German advance as ever.

Amsterdam telegrams say that siege guns have been brought across the Meuse on a reconstructed bridge at Herfetal. Other messages indicate that the Germans are passing around Liège on the north.

It is understood here that the French have detached five army corps to assist the Belgians and a big battle is anticipated in a few days.

A military correspondent of the *Times* estimates that 600,000 Germans are probably assembling between Metz and Thionville and suggests that the Germans may not be in force between Metz and Savern. An Austrian army corps is reported to be advancing by Bux to assist the Germans on the extreme north of the frontier.

Austria has begun blockade at Montenegro. Montenegro has given the German Minister his passports.

An official Press Bureau statement says there is strong reason for believing that the German cruisers "Goeben" and "Breslau" have

taken refuge in the Dardanelles, and that they will be dismantled. The safety of trade is thus almost entirely secured.

The German cruisers "Goeben" and "Breslau" have entered the Dardanelles and are searching foreign steamers.

Proof of British mastery of the sea is afforded by announcements that the steamship services between Harwich and Esbjerg and Newcastle and Norway have been resumed. The service between Harwich and the Hook of Holland was never suspended. Danish food ships have already arrived.

A correspondent of the *Scotsman*, describing the destruction of the German submarines, says the enemy's flotilla approached with only their periscopes showing. The cruiser squadron continued steaming as if unaware of the approach of the German submarines. When the nearest submarine was within the danger zone H. M. cruiser "Birmingham," which was going at full speed, fired, shattering the submarine's periscope. The remainder fled. When the sightless submarine reappeared a second shot from the "Birmingham" ripped up her upper structure, and the submarine sank like a stone.

Lord Kitchener's new Army will consist of six divisions. The Scottish and Light Infantry Divisions will assemble at Aldershot, the Eastern Divisions at Shorncliffe, the Western at Salisbury Plain, and the Irish at the Curragh. The place of assembly for the Northern Division has not been decided on.

The Press Bureau states that the name Light Division recalls Wellington's advance in the Peninsula. It is officially announced that the mobilisation of Territorials is being completed without a hitch: every unit is believed to be up to establishment.

The seventh and eighth battalions Lancashire Fusiliers and the fifth and sixth brigades Territorial Field Artillery have volunteered for active service.

Colonel Whynaker, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment at the end of last May in connection with the army canteen case has been released, and has volunteered for active service.

Recruiting in Canada has been continued, and women have been secured to be required. Moreover, several regiments have volunteered as a whole regiment, thereby preserving their identity.

Volunteering in Australia is equally enthusiastic. Queensland is dealing with legislation to supply Great Britain with meat.

A statement issued in Berlin that war loans must be raised by the people, and that of the people's savings of fifteen hundred millions sterling will be taken first.

The British Consul General at Shanghai reports that no British vessel has been captured or detained.

With the annexation of Iceland Great Britain obtains one of the largest wireless telegraph stations in the world, one that is capable of communicating over a distance of 3,000 miles.

A casting vote was carried at Capetown and reports that the Germans have evacuated Swakopmund and Luedtitzbucht.

The projected Africa has given the Motherland half a million bushels of oats.

Unconfirmed reports are current in Paris that anti-war and anti-Hammerstein riots have taken place in Berlin, where a number of Socialists are said to have been shot.

The *New York Herald* states that the American Ambassador in Berlin has been forbidden to communicate with his Government.

The separation allowances to the wives of those engaged in the war, and the pensions of the widows of those who may be killed, will be the same whether they are married on or off the strength.

It is officially announced that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Austria from midnight.

The official Press Bureau states that the bulk of the twenty-six German Army Corps are now located. It is evident that the mass of German troops are concentrated between Liège and Luxembourg, and that in the Eastern theatre of war the frontier, so far as Germany is concerned, is comparatively lightly guarded, unless it be by reserve troops.

Simla, Aug. 13.

Authoritative information has been received through the censor here that war with Austria was declared last night.

"Gazettes Extraordinary," similar to those issued in connexion with the war with Germany, are being brought out at Simla in consequence except as regards travelling restrictions and disarmament in India which have already been dealt with as regards Austrians as well as Germans.

The Germans are constructing siege batteries north of Liège.

There are British, in addition to French, cruisers in the Atlantic, hunting for German cruisers.

The Admiralty is confident of the fleet's ability to keep the trade routes open.

It is stated in Brussels that the Germans have resumed the bombardment of Liège forts, which are replying vigorously. Attempts to cross the Meuse, above Liège, are considerably hampered by fire from the forts.

Russians have repulsed the German attempts to re-occupy Eydtkuhnen.

The American fleet will return north from Vera Cruz on September 1st.

A Belgian Cavalry Division and a brigade of Infantry, fought a second German Cavalry Division and a battalion of Infantry, with twelve guns, north-west of Hasselt.

The prisoners in the hands of the Belgians include Prince George of Prussia, a nephew of the Kaiser.

London, Aug. 13 4.50 p.m.

The Belgians are fighting at a considerable disadvantage. Having no khaki, they are obliged to expose themselves in ordinary uniforms, some of which are brilliantly coloured.

The Germans are clad in grey, which is splendid colour protection. Their spiked helmets are covered with brown holland which renders them less conspicuous.

The untiring energies of General Joffre, the French Commander-in-Chief, are much admired. He appears to be everywhere, and he has covered a thousand miles in a few days. His chauffeur is the famous racing motorist, Boillot.

King Albert is also rushing around in a travel stained motor.

Harrowing stories of brutality are reaching Brussels. Shooting, burning and pillaging is the lot of many unhappy villages from which it is alleged that shots were fired. The Germans make a practice when they enter a town, of proceeding to the post office and banks and collecting what money there is.

6-50 p.m.

The German in force attacked the Belgian trenches before Haelen. German artillery compelled the Belgians to retire on the town. Reinforcements supporting the Belgians insured victory in spite of the German numerical superiority. The town was extensively damaged.

The Germans have entered Kalisz and threatened to decimate the Russian population in the event of further resistance.

The Dutch Government announces that any attempt to violate the neutrality of Holland will be resisted by force.

The Russians have repulsed German attempts to re occupy Bydtkuehnen.

The Montenegrins are bombarding Cattaro.

There are British in addition to French cruisers in the Atlantic hunting five German cruisers.

The admiralty is commissioning merchant cruisers for patrolling trade routes.

A Belgian announcement says that after retreating on August 11th the Germans resumed the advance yesterday. The Belgians fought their first engagement in the open, north-west of Hasselt, and were successful in holding their own. Ten thousand troops took part. The Germans are constructing batteries north of Liège.

It is stated in Brussels that the Germans have resumed the bombardment of the Liège forts, which are replying vigorously. Attempts to cross the Meuse above Liège are considerably hampered by fire from the Liège forts.

A Belgian cavalry division and a brigade of infantry fought a second German cavalry division and a battalion of infantry with twelve guns north-west of Hasselt.

The French repulsed a German attack in the district of Empirecourt on the 10th instant, capturing six guns, and destroying a battery. The French carried the village of Fagnards at the point of the bayonet.

A semi-official French announcement says that engagements have hitherto shown that the French artillery is greatly superior to the German, and the latter's speeds are not very effective.

A French official *communiqué* issued yesterday night announces that the Belgians have blown up a number of railway bridges behind the Germans in the Linden district, cutting off their means of supply.

A message from Brussels says that an engagement in which 6,000 men took part on each side occurred on the left wing of the Belgian army. The Germans were routed and fled, leaving a number of dead and wounded.

Calcutta, Aug. 13.

An Indian Daily News special cable states that among the Germans killed at Liège were Prince Ligne and his son.

London, Aug. 13.

One hundred spies have been shot in Belgium.

Three thousand five hundred German shells have been found concealed in a shop in Antwerp.

The reports of enormous losses in Alsace are denied in Paris, where it is officially stated that the French hold Upper Alsace with considerable forces.

It is officially declared in Berlin that 1,500 French prisoners were captured in Alsace, which was now cleared of the enemy.

The French Ministry for War states that the engagements so far have been merely on outpost affairs. The brigade sent to Mulhausen

was despatched to scatter the German Intelligence Department and it withdrew after effecting its purpose.

The Fourteenth German Army Corps and a Division of the Fifteenth followed it and attacked the principal French line of defence, but failed to break it.

Two hundred and fifty mansions have been offered to Government as hospitals, including Balnoral Castle.

H. H. the Maharaja of Sikkim has given £10,000 to the Prince of Wales' Fund for the relief of distress.

Earl Roberts has joined a committee organising an Imperial Light Horse. There have been already 600 applications, although recruiting only began on Thursday.

Mr. Lloyd George has completed arrangements with the Bank of England terminating the deadlock in the money market. The Government agrees to guarantee the Bank any losses sustained in discounting bills of exchange accepted prior to August 4th.

A meeting of the Ceylon Association approved the formation of a Ceylon Contingent for war service.

The American fleet will return north from Vera Cruz on September 1st.

The French have defeated the Germans after a two days' fight at Namur and have annihilated a regiment of German Dragoons. The French have capped the victory by capturing 1,000 German officers and men.

Russia has captured Sokal in Galicia after inflicting heavy losses on the Austrians.

The British Fleet in the Far East will soon account for the German Fleet there.

War is soon expected between Japan and Germany.

Lord Roberts has been taking an active part in the war.

The Russian mobilisation, combined with the checks in Belgium, is likely to completely upset the Germans' time-table.

Italy and Greece are considering what steps should be taken regarding Turkey's action in not disarming the German cruisers—the "Goeben" and the "Breslau".

The Belgians have driven the Germans far eastward.

Germans are concentrating an attack on Liège Forts on the right bank of the Meuse.

Transportation of French troops to Belgian territory is complete.

In Nyassaland, a German steamer was surprised, and the Captain, Engineers and mechanics were made prisoners.

An Austrian Lloyd steamer has been sunk in the Adriatic.

The Germans are holding Liège in strength, but are ready to make a hurried retreat.

Two aviators were killed at Diest by the Belgian artillery.

Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey have sent congratulations to the Belgian Government on the Belgians' heroic resistance.

The German Cruiser "Leipzig" is coaling at San Francisco.

Seventy-three German and twelve Austrian steamers have been seized in Russian ports.

It is proposed in Australia that the Australian farmers shall give a million sheep to the motherland.

The Government is taking action to prevent the British railways from withholding dividends. There have been numerous letters complaining of hoarding of dividends by companies.

The Germans bombarded Port Amousson near Nancy on the 12th instant. Little damage was done.

It is generally reported that a Socialist leader in Germany, Herr Liesknicht, has been court-martialled and shot in Berlin for refusing military service.

The Liège forts are intact. Yesterday's engagements will be known as the battle of Haelen. Fighting lasted throughout the day. The Belgians by evening had cleared the ground between Diest Haelen and Zolick. The country is covered with the dead. A portion of the Belgian left wing wavered but was reinforced.

The Belgian official despatch confirms the victory of Haelen. The German losses were three fifths of those engaged. The Belgian losses were slight. Belgians captured a number of quick-firers mounted on motor cars.

The Germans in force attacked Belgian trenches before Haelen. The German artillery compelled the Belgians to retire on the town. Reinforcements supporting Belgians insured victory in spite of the German numerical superiority. The town was extensively damaged.

London, Aug. 14.

Earl Roberts has been appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the Forces from overseas.

Simultaneously with the battle of Haelen the Germans were repulsed with heavy loss at Echezee, ten miles north of Namur. The French defeated and pursued the Germans after two days' battle on river Ochain south of Montmedy. The French annihilated a regiment of Dragoons and captured a thousand officers and men.

Reuter's correspondent describing the engagement along Haelen-Contenack front says that it was the result of a determined attempt by the German cavalry to crush the Belgian left wing.

The Germans advanced in two divisions along several roads with the object of reaching Diest and also defended the passage of the river Velp at Cortenacken. It is estimated that the Germans with eight thousand strong in cavalry and quick-firers supported a regiment of Infantry. The Belgians numbered seven thousand. Artillery exchanges began at eleven o'clock. The Germans scarcely sought shelter, but let the Belgian shells plough through them at two thousand metres. Cavalry encounter developed in the early afternoon. The Belgians charged the Germans across the broken ground which compelled them to split into groups resulting in hand to hand encounters. Shortly afterwards the enemy developed a grand attack regardless of sacrifices and hurled themselves against the Belgian entrenchment. The Germans were obliged to cross the Velp by a few narrow bridges and their long columns were ripped up. The bridges were soon piled with the dead. The Germans thinking only of their objective endeavoured to override the Belgians by sheer weight but by six o'clock the Germans were obliged to recognise defeat and to withdraw along river Velp and Gette. The Retreat developed into headlong flight towards Tongres which they hold.

The fights at Haelen and Elgezee and on river Othain were the consequence of the German advance to test the strength of the whole of their Franco-Belgian defences.

The German losses in the engagement at Haelen are estimated at two thousand. The Belgians lost a few killed but many wounded.

An interesting sign of Germany's confidence in the success of her intended sudden attack is shown by the fact that a German subject in France received a notification to report himself at Rheims on the thirteenth day of the mobilisation, namely, to-day.

Bulgaria has assured Russia that she will observe the strictest neutrality.

London, Aug. 14. 4.15 p.m.

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Calcutta, Aug. 14.

The following are special cables to the *Indian Daily News*: 120,000 Germans were engaged at Liège.

They lost 8,000 killed, Prince Lippe and his son being among the slain.

It was reported that some smaller forts were captured, but it is officially stated in Paris to day that all of them are intact.

London, Aug. 14.

Canada has purchased two submarines built for Chile and presented them to the Admiralty.

Sir John French visited Mr. Asquith to day previous to the Cabinet meeting.

It is reported that 100 spies were shot in Belgium.

8,500 German rifles were found concealed in a shop in Antwerp. The Germans have entered Kalisz and threatened to decimate the Russian population in the event of further resistance.

The Russians have captured the town of S. d. in Galicia after dislodging the Austrians with a heavy loss. The Russians pursued the enemy across the river Bug and destroyed two bridges and a viaduct.

Communication between Japan and Europe is interrupted.

Advanced Guard and Cavalry fights are now proceeding along the front covered by the armies in northeast France and Belgium.

The Military expert of the *Times* considers that the results have hitherto been favourable to the allies except at Mulhausen but he points out that French are mainly on the defensive there and so long as they hold Belfort and the chain of forts to Epinal nothing else matters. He considers that events of the past twelve days are satisfactory as the close of the twelfth day of the French mobilisation finds scarcely a German soldier in France.

The Germans are concentrating at Tokyo and Yokohama preparatory to leaving owing to the expectancy of war between Germany and Japan.

The British Fleet is gradually encircling the action of the German Fleet in the Far East.

The Turkish Ambassador assured Sir E. Grey that Turkey intends to remain absolutely neutral.

Reports of various food riots and anti-war demonstrations in Berlin are reported. Troops were employed and a number of Socialists were shot.

Paris is calm and confident.

Great silence prevails in the main theatre of war. Only scraps of news are filtering through. Liège is still intact and after five days' fighting France maintains possession of the crest of Vosges having repulsed well directed German attacks. Belgium has asked France to accommodate 2,000 German prisoners. The French cap-

tured in the battle of Othain a battery of artillery, three machine guns and ammunition wagons.

The Russian mobilisation has been unexpectedly expeditious. Naturally Russian movements are carefully veiled; but there are indications that masses of Russians are beginning to move. This combined with the checks Germans have suffered in Belgium, is likely completely to upset the Germans time-table.

The fact that German cruisers, the "Gibon" and the "Breslau," have not yet been disarmed is regarded as a grave violation of Turkey's neutrality. The allies and also Italy are considering what steps are necessary to secure Turkey's strict neutrality. Greece is perturbed at the possibility of these vessels being used in a manner contrary to Greek interests in the Aegean.

The Press Bureau announces that the Belgians have so driven the enemy to eastward that no German cavalry is now between Hasselt and Ramlies. The light forts are plentifully supplied.

The Prince of Wales fund has reached millions sterling.

The Germans are concentrating an attack on those Liège Forts which are on the right bank of the Meuse.

Belgian newspapers announce that transportation of French troops to Belgian territory is complete and that the whole force is ready to advance.

An Austrian Lloyd steamer, the "Baron-Gantsch," has been sunk in the Adriatic. One hundred and fifty persons are missing. The cause is unknown.

The extraordinary position at Liège is described by a Bank Cashier, who cycled from Liège through Namur to Brussels. He says the Germans are holding the town in strength but also gave an impression that they were ready to make a hurried retreat. The inhabitants were well treated.

An ardent wave of patriotism is sweeping over South Africa, coupled with a deep-seated sympathy with the Motherland and Europe and also with gratitude for the generous British policy of 1902, all of which have combined to unite the Dutch and the English.

The Lloyds are undercutting the Government war risk insurance and are quoting in some instances two per cent.

The Belgian artillery has killed two aviators at Diest. A third was terribly injured.

Allahabad, Aug. 14.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables:—The *Times* publishes a report of its Military correspondent to locate German forces. He places the 14th Austrian and 15th German Army Corps between Strassburg and Switzerland, 21st between Metz and Saarbrück, 7th, 9th and 10th about Liège, 1st at Rochefort, 19th at Castillon, 8th at Luxembourg with 12th and 3rd Bavarians echeloned behind it, 16th and 2nd Bavarians from Theville to Metz, 3rd and 11th from Veureis to Malmédy, 13th and 1st Bavarians at Saarbrück Guards and 18th and 14th further east, 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, 7th and 20th facing Russia.

London, Aug. 15.

The Belgian Government states that no further communications will be issued regarding the movement of Belgian and French troops.

It is officially announced that the Nyassaland Government armed steamer, the "Gaculeni," completely surprised the German Government armed steamer, the "Weissmann" on the eastern shore of the lake and that engineers and guns were removed from the captured vessel. The Captain, Engineers and mechanics were made prisoners.

The Tsar has conferred autonomy on Poland. A Viceroy of the Poland is to be appointed.

A French official despatch says that the Russians have been victorious on the Dniester. The Fourth Austrian infantry regiment and the first Austrian Cavalry have been annihilated. Russians have destroyed railway and telegraph lines at eleven points along the river Memel to Tilsit.

3-0. p. m.

The Bank of England's gold influx during the week amounts to £5,250,000.

The Austrian Lloyd Steamer "Marianbad" has been captured near Alexandria and handed over to the Port authorities.

Mr. and Mrs. Gadhia and numerous other Indian ladies and gentlemen, have organised a movement resulting in a large number of Indians offering their services unconditionally during the war. The wide-spread offer of service and expressions of loyalty from India, have been received in England with the greatest pride and gratification as a proof of the unity of the Empire.

The "Pall Gazette" says: "We have cast our bread upon the waters and in the hour of trial and tribulation there is no spot in the whole Empire where we fear disturbance."

The English Rugby Union has sent a letter to the clubs expressing the hope that all players will join the force of their own town or country.

5-10 p. m.

Zanzibar is quiet and the natives are loyal and continue to work.

The British have smashed the Dar-es-Salaam wireless station and sunk the spraying ship.

The French and Belgian armies have exchanged staff officers.

Since Great Britain's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, excitement has been at fever heat in Italy where people are awaiting further developments with impatience.

3-50 p. m.

The Press Bureau announces that there are indications that the Germans are endeavouring to envelope the extreme left of the allied forces. There have been one or two engagements but they were mostly outpost affairs. The French and Belgian artillery continue superior, while the German infantry do not determinedly face the bayonet.

It is a source of general satisfaction and congratulation that although no naval engagement has occurred, what has been aptly termed the black magic of naval pressure has had the effect of clearing the seas for British trade and obliterating the German flag from international traffic.

It is generally admitted that the Germans planned to turn neither to right nor left through Belgium but to keep steadily on an appointed course, yet the first fighting line of the Germans, instead of facing south, has had to turn practically west; instead of France being invaded, it is Belgium, with German guns facing west. The interesting question is whether the Germans will dare attack Namur summarily or have the nerve to neglect it. The fortress is much stronger than Liège.

In spite of the Allies' successes, military experts constantly give warning against any undue exultation about the phases of the war up to the present time. The brilliance of the Belgian defence is warmly acknowledged and appreciated, but it is urged that we are on the verge of a battle which may end with varying success over a fortnight.

Russian mobilisation is more rapid than was expected and within a week we may expect to see a serious Russian advance which will be met by forces small as compared with those on the western frontier of Germany. Had the Germans thoroughly beat the French in the meantime, they will be confronted with the awkward dilemma involving the throwing of the western army or leaving a comparatively open road into Germany.

Tales of German apathy and indifference are dispelled by the splendid courage displayed by German troops at every point.

It is fully recognised that the Germans know that they are fighting a life and death struggle and will hesitate at no sacrifice on the field of battle to gain their ends. Exactly the same tenacious and heroic spirit pervades the forces of the allies. Hence, the intense excitement with which the tremendous clash of arms is awaited.

The Press Bureau says that there is no reason to doubt that Turkey is about to replace the Germans on land the cruisers "Goeben" and "Breslau" with Turkish officers and crews. This official statement shows that Turkey has purchased the vessels.

4-15 a. m.

Reuter's correspondent who arrived at Mytilene on Friday from the Dardanelles, says that the German cruisers "Goeben" and "Breslau" entered the Dardanelles on Monday night. The next morning German officers boarded several ships, including one British vessel, and peremptorily ordered them not to move. They smashed the wireless apparatus of the French liner "Saghalien" which had six hundred reservists on board. Turkish officers visited the cruisers and the correspondent, through his glasses, saw them fraternising with the Germans. The "Goeben" proceeded onward on Tuesday and the rumour was circulated that she had been purchased by Turkey, but she was seen in the Sea of Marmora on Thursday flying the German flag. The "Breslau" also flying the flag was still in the Dardanelles on Thursday. According to reliable information, the Porte had apologized to the Powers for the arbitrary proceedings of the Germans but no explanation appears to be forthcoming as regards the flying of the German colours by the cruisers. The Turks are acting most strangely in the Dardanelles and are demanding for days, without explanation, ships belonging to the Powers of the Triple Entente and Italy.

Cannonading was heard at Lihmont at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon from the direction of the neighbouring villages of Bost and Hangaerde. It is believed to be the beginning of a great battle.

5-55 a. m.

The French have brilliantly defeated a Bavarian Army Corps at Avricourt and Chercy on the borders of Lorraine. The enemy fled leaving many dead, wounded and prisoners. The French are continuing their advance through the Vosges and Upper Alsace where they have captured Thann.

The report which was circulated of the death of the German General Emmich at Liège, is totally unconfirmed.

The French Government has issued a *communiqué* preparing the public for the impending great battle. It says that owing to the fact that several millions of men are engaged and that the front extends over 250 miles, no definite result can be expected for a week or possibly more. It appeals to the public to follow the phases of our lions coolly and intelligently.

It is announced in Duest that Germans are advancing in the direction of Aerschot. There were skirmishes on Saturday near Landen and Fulemont and also between the French and Germans on the banks of the Meuse. These are obviously preliminaries for the great battle for which the dispositions are as follows: Germans stretch from the Liège to Mulhausen with marked density in the north. Their front apparently follows the course of the river Our; then along the French frontier which it crosses in the Longwy-Brisy region. A large part of this front has been strengthened by earthworks particularly on the Our, and between Metz and Sarrebourg in Lorraine. The French are in contact with Germans on the German left. The French are advancing in the upper Vosges where they have checked the German offensive and even gained ground.

12-45 p. m.

It is officially announced that the French-Belgian offensive, in force, on Friday night, was a long line from Sanclotrg to Luneville, and that the movement was successfully continued yesterday.

A Paris telegram says that the Allies will demand that Turkey shall disarm the "Goeben" and "Breslau" and it is anticipated that Turkey will agree.

Greece is demanding explanations of Turkey's mobilisation. Greece will mobilise if the reply is unsatisfactory.

1-50 p. m.

The position to date is cleverly summarised by the French War Office which says: "Germany's original plan of sudden double attack near Namur and the Belgian Frontier has failed, and consequently French mobilisation and concentration have been completed perfectly. We are working in splendid co-operation with the allied armies. The Russians have hastened their mobilisation and the Servians are masters of Herzegovina and will cause Austria to hesitate to send troops to Alsace."

The commander of one of the large forts who has been twice wounded, is continuing his direct operations from an invalid chair.

Two French aeroplanes flew over Metz and dropped shells on a German shelter. The aeroplanes returned unscathed to Verdun, despite the fact that over two hundred shots were fired at them from German aeroplanes guns.

The British also sank the floating dock at Dar-es-Salaam.

5-0 p. m.

An artillery duel has occurred at Dinant and French drove the Germans from the town.

The Russians have compelled the Austrians to evacuate Kielce and the neighbourhood. The Russian cavalry is pressing forward to the German frontier.

An Austrian official despatch confirms that heavy losses were sustained on both sides in the recent battle between Austrian and Servian troops.

Allahabad, Aug. 16.

The following are special cables to the *Pioneer*: While the German cavalry are only thirty miles from Antwerp, so far as is known only one battalion of German infantry crossed the Meuse. It is generally considered that a great battle is imminent, perhaps commencing to-day, but commentators are uncertain whether the main German attack will be delivered through Belgium or Luxembourg. From the Namur Liège line to the neighbourhood of Metz, the numbers engaged exceed a million on either side. It is pointed out that time is of the first importance to Germany to whom a further check, or even an unbrave victory will be equivalent to a defeat as it would mean the abandonment of the hope of striking a mortal blow. France is expected to be ready for a serious advance in the middle of next week.

The *Times* military correspondent explains that Lord Kitchener's plans are based on the assumption that the war may last a long time and that the power of Britain to throw fresh troops into the field at a later stage, may well be a decisive factor in the result. It is an essential part of Lord Kitchener's plans that British troops shall not be sent to the front until they have received proper training for war conditions. A total of 1,000,000 even will probably be secured within a fortnight, but it will take at least six months' training to form them into a fighting force worthy of taking its place in the Allies' army. The necessary organisation is to be secured by constituting separate units of the Territorial Force for foreign service without interfering with the force necessary for Home defence. The present aim is gradually to strengthen the expeditionary force by at least two divisions of Territorials as well as troops from the Dominions.

The Austrian Note to Serbia.

TERMS OF THE NOTE.

Belgrade, July 23.

THE Austro-Hungarian Minister this evening presented to the Government a Note with regard to the Serajevo crimes, demanding a reply before 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, the 25th inst.

The Note is in the following terms—

"On March 31, 1909, the Royal Serbian Minister in Vienna, on the instructions of the Serbian Government, made the following statements to the Imperial and Royal Government—

"Serbia recognizes that the *fait accompli* regarding Bosnia has not affected her rights, and consequently she will conform to the decisions that the Powers will take in conformity with Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin. At the same time that Serbia submits to the advice of the Powers, she undertakes to renounce the attitude of protest and opposition which she has adopted since October last. She undertakes, on the other hand, to modify the direction of her policy with regard to Austria-Hungary, and to live in future on good neighbourly terms with the latter."

The history of recent years, and in particular the painful events of June 28 last, have shown the existence in Serbia of a subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of Austria-Hungary from the Monarchy. The movement, which had its birth under the eyes of the Serbian Government, has had consequences on both sides of the Serbian frontier in the shape of acts of terrorism and a series of outrages and murders.

Far from carrying out the formal undertakings contained in the declaration of March 31, 1909, the Royal Serbian Government has done nothing to repress these movements. It has permitted the criminal machinations of various societies and associations and has tolerated unrestrained language on the part of the press, apologies for the perpetrators of outrages and the participation of officers and functionaries in subversive agitation. It has permitted an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction. In short, it has permitted all the manifestations which have incited the Serbian population to hatred of the Monarchy and contempt of its institutions.

This culpable tolerance of the Royal Serbian Government had not ceased at the moment when the events of June 28 last proved its fatal consequences to the whole world.

It results from the depositions and confessions of the criminal perpetrators of the outrage of June 28 that the Serajevo assassinations were hatched in Belgrade, that the arms and explosives with which the murderers were provided had been given to them by Serbian officers and functionaries belonging to the Narodna Obrava, and finally that the passage into Bosnia of criminals and their arms was organized and effected by the chiefs of the Serbian frontier service.

The above mentioned results of the magisterial investigation do not permit the Austro-Hungarian Government to pursue any longer the attitude of expected forbearance which it has maintained for years in face of the machinations hatched in Belgrade and thence propagated in the territories of the Monarchy.

The results, on the contrary, impose on it the duty of putting an end to the intrigues which form a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the Monarchy.

To achieve this end the Imperial and Royal Government sees itself compelled to demand from the Royal Serbian Government a formal assurance that it condemns these dangerous propaganda against the Monarchy, the aim of which is to detach from the Monarchy territories belonging to it, and that it undertakes to suppress by every means this criminal and terrorist propaganda.

In order to give a formal character to this undertaking the Royal Serbian Government shall publish on the front page of its *Official Journal* for July 26 the following declaration:—"The Royal Government of Serbia condemns the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary—the ensemble of tendencies of which the final aim is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories belonging to it, and it sincerely deplores the fatal consequences of these criminal proceedings. The Royal Government regrets that Serbian officers and functionaries participated in the above mentioned propaganda and thus compromised the good neighbourly relations to which the Royal Government was solemnly pledged by its Declaration of March 31, 1909. The Royal Government, which disapproves and repudiates all idea of interfering or attempting to interfere with the destinies of the inhabitants of any part whatsoever of Austria-Hungary, considers it its duty formally to warn officers and functionaries, and the whole population of the Kingdom, that henceforward it will proceed with the utmost rigour against persons who may be guilty of such machinations, which it will use all its efforts to anticipate and suppress. This declaration shall simultaneously be communicated to the Royal Army as an Order of the Day by his Majesty the King and shall be published in the *Official Bulletin of the Army*."

POINTS OF REDRESS.

The Royal Serbian Government further undertakes (1) to suppress any publication which incites to hatred and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the general tendency of which is directed against its territorial integrity, (2) to dissolve immediately the society styled Narodna Obrava, to confiscate all its means of propaganda, and to proceed in the same manner against other societies and their branches in Serbia which are addicted to propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Royal Government shall take the necessary measures to prevent the societies dissolved from continuing their activity under another name and form, (3) to eliminate without delay from public instruction in Serbia, not only as regards teaching body, but also as regards the methods of instruction, everything that serves, or might serve, to foment the propaganda against Austria-Hungary, (4) to remove from the military service, and from the administration in general, all officers and functionaries guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian Government reserves to itself the right of communicating to the Royal Government, (5) to accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy; (6) to take judicial proceedings against all persons to the plot of June 28 who are on Serbian territory. Delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Government will take part in the investigation relating thereto; (7) to proceed without delay to the arrest of Major Vojta Tankasitch and of the individual named Milan Ciganovitch, a Serbian State employee, who have been compromised by the results of the magisterial inquiry at Serajevo, (8) to prevent by effective measures the cooperation of the Serbian authorities in the illicit traffic in arms and explosives across the frontier, to dismiss and punish severely officials of the frontier service at Schabatz and Loznica guilty of having assisted the perpetrators of the Serajevo crime by facilitating the passage of the frontier for them; (9) to furnish the Austro-Hungarian Government with explanations regarding the unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian officials, both in Serbia and abroad, who, notwithstanding their official position, did not hesitate after the crime of June 28 to express themselves in interviews in terms of hostility to the Austro-Hungarian Government, and, finally (10) to notify the Austro-Hungarian Government without delay of the execution of the measures comprised under the preceding heads. The Austro-Hungarian Government expects the reply of the Serbian Government at the latest by 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, the 25th of July.—*Reuter*.

The Serbian Reply.

We publish the following Serbian reply to Austro-Hungarian Note:—

The Royal Serbian Government has received the communication of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government of the 10th of this month, and it is persuaded that its reply will remove all misunderstanding tending to threaten or to prejudice the friendly and neighbourly relation between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbia.

The Royal Government is aware that the protests made both at the tribune of the National Skupstina and in the declarations and the acts of responsible representatives of the State—protests which were cut short by the declaration of the Serbian Government made on March 18—have not been renewed towards the great neighbouring Monarchy on any occasion, and that since this time, both on the part of the Royal Governments which have followed, on one another, and on the part of their organs, no attempt has been made with the purpose of changing the political and juridical State of things in this respect.

The Imperial and Royal Government has made no representations have concerning a scholastic book regarding which the Imperial and Royal Government has received an entirely satisfactory explanation. Serbia has repeatedly given proofs of her pacific and moderate policy during the Balkan crises, and it is thanks to Serbia and the sacrifice she made exclusively in the peace of Europe that this peace has been preserved. The Royal Government cannot be held responsible for manifestations of a private nature such as newspaper articles and the peaceful work of societies—manifestations which occur in almost all countries as a matter of course, and which as a general rule escape official control—all the less in that the Royal Government, when solving a whole series of questions which came up between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, has displayed a great readiness to treat *per se*, and in this way succeed in settling the greater number to the advantage of the progress of the two neighbouring countries.

It is for this reason that the Royal Government has been painfully surprised by the statements according to which persons of the Kingdom of Serbia are said to have taken part in the preparation of the outrage committed at Serajevo. It expected that it would be invited to collaborate in the investigation of everything bearing on this crime, and it was ready to prove by its actions its entire correct-

ness to take steps against all persons with regard to whom communications had been made to it, thus acquiescing in the desire of the Imperial and Royal Government.

POINTS OF COMPLIANCE.

The Royal Government is disposed to hand over to the Courts any Servian subject, without regard to his situation and rank, for whose complicity in the crime of Serajevo it shall have been furnished with proofs, and especially it engages itself to have published on the front page of the *Official Journal* of July 13-26 the following announcement:—

"The Royal Servian Government condemns all propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, that is to say, all tendencies as a whole of which the ultimate object is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories which form part of it, and it sincerely deplores the fatal consequence of these criminal actions. The Royal Government regrets that Servian officers and officials should, according to the communication of the Imperial and Royal Government, have participated in the above mentioned propaganda, thereby compromising the good neighbourly relations to which the Royal Government solemnly pledged itself by its declaration of the 31st March, 1909. The Government, which disapproves and repudiates any idea or attempt to interfere in the destinies of the inhabitants of any part of Austria-Hungary whatsoever, considers it its duty to utter a formal warning to the officers, the officials, and the whole population of the kingdom that henceforth it will proceed with the utmost rigour against persons who render themselves guilty of such actions, which it will use all its efforts to prevent and repress."

This announcement shall be brought to the cognizance of the Royal Army by an Order of the Day issued in the name of his Majesty the King by H. R. H. the Crown Prince Alexander, and shall be published in the next official bulletin of the Army.

(1) The Royal Government engages itself furthermore to lay before the next regular meeting of the Skupstina an amendment to the Press Law punishing in the severest manner incitements to hate and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and also all publications of which the general tendency is directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy. It undertakes at the forthcoming revision of the Constitution to introduce in Article XXII. of the Constitution an amendment whereby the above publications may be confiscated, which is at present categorically forbidden by the terms of Article XXII. of the Constitution.

(2) The Government does not possess any proof, nor does the Note of the Imperial and Royal Government furnish such, that the society Narodna Obrana and other similar societies have up to the present committed any criminal acts of this kind through the instrumentality of one of their members. Nevertheless the Royal Government will accept the demand of the Imperial and Royal Government and will dissolve the Narodna Obrana Society and any other society which shall agitate against Austria-Hungary.

(3) The Royal Servian Government engages itself to eliminate without delay from public instruction in Servia everything which aids or might aid in fomenting the propaganda against Austria-Hungary when the Imperial and Royal Government furnishes facts and proofs of this propaganda.

(4) The Royal Government also agrees to remove from the military service (all person) whom the judicial inquiry proves to have been guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and its experts the Imperial and Royal Government to communicate at an ulterior date the names and the deeds of these officers and officials for the purposes of the proceedings which will have to be taken.

AUSTRIAN COLLABORATION.

(5) The Royal Government must confess that it is not quite clear as to the sense and object of the demands of the Imperial and Royal Government that Servia should undertake to accept on her territory the collaboration of delegates of the Imperial and Royal Government, but it declares that it will admit whatever collaboration which may be in accord with the principles of international law and criminal procedure, as well as with good neighbourly relations.

(6) The Royal Government, as goes without saying, considers it to be its duty to open an inquiry against all those who are or shall eventually prove to have been involved in the plot of June 28, and who are in Servian territory. As to the participation at this investigation of agents of the Austro-Hungarian authorities delegated for this purpose by the Imperial and Royal Government, the Royal Government cannot accept this demand, for it would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure. Nevertheless, in concrete cases, it might be found possible to communicate the result of the investigation in question to the Austro-Hungarian representatives.

(7) On the very evening that the Note was handed in the Royal Government arrested Major Voislav Tankositch. As for Milan Ciganovitch, who is a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and who, until June 15, was employed as a beginner in the administration of the railways, it has not yet been possible to

(arrest) him. In view of the ultimate inquiry the Imperial and Royal Government is requested to have the goodness to communicate in the usual form as soon as possible the presumptions of guilt as well as the eventual proofs of guilt against these persons which have been collected up to the present in the investigations at Serajevo.

(8) The Servian Government will strengthen and extend the measures taken to prevent the illicit traffic of arms and explosives across the frontier. It goes without saying that it will immediately order an investigation, and will severely punish the frontier officials along the line Schabatz-Losnizza who have been lacking in their duties and who allowed the authors of the crime of Serajevo to pass.

(9) The Royal Government will willingly give explanation regarding the remarks made in interviews by its officials both in Servia and abroad after the attempt, and which, according to the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government, were hostile towards the Monarchy, as soon as the Imperial and Royal Government has (forwarded) it the passages in question of these remarks and as soon as it has shown that the remarks made were in reality made by the officials regarding whom the Royal Government itself will see about collecting proofs.

(10) The Royal Government will inform the Imperial and Royal Government of the execution of the measures comprised in the preceding points, in as far as that has not already been done by the present Note, as soon as each measure has been ordered and executed.

In the event of the Imperial and Royal Government not being satisfied with this reply the Royal Servian Government, considering that it is to the common interest not to precipitate the solution of this question, is ready as always to accept a pacific understanding either by referring this question to the decision of The Hague International Tribunal or to the Great Powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Servian Government on the 18/31 March, 1909.



Austrian Emperor to his People.

The Emperor Francis Joseph has issued the following rescript and manifesto, dated Ischl, July 28:—

Dear Count Sturgkh,

I have resolved to instruct the Ministers of my Household and Foreign Affairs to notify the Royal Servian Government of the beginning of a state of war between the Monarchy and Servia. In this fateful hour I feel the need of turning to my beloved peoples. I command you, therefore, to publish the enclosed manifesto.

MANIFESTO.

To my peoples! It was my fervent wish to consecrate the years which, by the grace of God, still remain to me, to the works of peace and to protect my peoples from the heavy sacrifices and burdens of war. Providence, in its wisdom, has otherwise decreed. The intrigues of a malevolent opponent compel me, in the defence of the honour of my Monarchy, for the protection of its dignity and its position as a Power, for the security of its possessions, to grasp the sword after long years of peace.

With a quickly forgetful ingratitude, the Kingdom of Servia, which, from the first beginnings of its independence as a State until quite recently, had been supported and assisted by my ancestors, has for years trodden the path of open hostility to Austria-Hungary. When, after three decades of fruitful work for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I extended my Sovereign rights to those lands, my decree called forth in the Kingdom of Servia, whose rights were in no wise injured, outbreaks of unrestrained passion and the bitterest hate. My Government at that time employed the handsome privileges of the stronger, and with extreme consideration and leniency only requested Servia to reduce her Army to a peace footing and to promise that, for the future, she would tread the path of peace and friendship. Guided by the same spirit of moderation, my Government when Servia, two years ago, was embroiled in a struggle with the Turkish Empire, restricted its action to the defence of the most serious and vital interests of the Monarchy. It was to this attitude that Servia primarily owed the attainment of the objects of that war.

The hope that the Servian Kingdom would appreciate the patience and love of peace of my Government and would keep its word has not been fulfilled. The flame of its hatred for myself and my House has blazed always higher; the design to tear from us by force inseparable portions of Austria-Hungary has been made manifest with less and less disguise. A criminal propaganda has extended over the frontier with the object of destroying the foundations of State order in the south-eastern part of the Monarchy; of making the people, to whom I, in my paternal affection, extended my full confidence, waver in its loyalty to the ruling House and to the Fatherland; of leading astray its growing youth and inciting it to

...treacherous deeds of madmen and high treason. A series of murderous attacks, an organised, carefully prepared, and well-carried-out conspiracy, whose fruitful success wounded me and my loyal peoples to heart, forms a visible bloody track of those secret machinations which were operated and directed in Serbia.

A halt must be called to these intolerable proceedings, and an end must be put to the incessant provocations of Serbia. The honour and dignity of my Monarchy must be preserved unimpaired, and its political, economic, and military development must be guarded from these continual shocks. In vain did my Government make a last attempt to accomplish this object by peaceful means and to induce Serbia, by means of a serious warning, to desist. Serbia has rejected the just and moderate demands of my Government, and refused to conform to those obligations the fulfilment of which forms the natural and necessary foundation of peace in the life of peoples and States. I must, therefore, proceed by force of arms to secure those indispensable pledges which alone can ensure tranquillity to my States within and lasting peace without.

In this solemn hour I am fully conscious of the whole significance of my resolve and my responsibility before the Almighty. I have examined and weighed everything, and, with a serene conscience, I set out on the path to which my duty points. I trust in my peoples, who, throughout every storm, have always rallied in unity and loyalty round my Throne, and have always been prepared for the severest sacrifices for the honour, the greatness, the might of the Fatherland. I trust in Austria-Hungary's brave and devoted forces, and I trust in the Almighty to give the victory to my arms.



Germany's Population

Some particulars regarding the population of the German Empire are given in the *German Year-Book, 1914*, edited by H. A. Walter, and published by the Anglo-German Publishing Company. The German Empire in Europe covers an area of 208,777 square miles. The population of the Empire is now about sixty-eight millions. Its growth has been continuous during the last century, particularly since the foundation of the new Empire in 1871. At present it increases at the rate of over 800,000 per year, due mainly to the surplus of births over deaths, and to a small extent to an immigration from neighbouring countries. The emigration of Germans into foreign countries is much smaller than the emigration from England, but there is nevertheless a large number in every habitable part of the globe.

All European as well as Oversea countries have a more or less large German population, running very often into six figures. The aggregate number of Germans in the world in the current year, as far as can be estimated reaches 100 millions. Large numbers of foreigners live in Germany. Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Italians, Dutch, French, and Danish to a large extent settle permanently in Germany because opportunities are greater there than in their native countries. The foreign population proper in Germany amounted at the Census of 1910 to 1,253,878. More than 50 per cent were of Austrian nationality (634,988), Dutchmen came next with 144,175, followed by Russians (137,697), and Italians (104,204). Of British nationality there were 18,319 people as against 16,180 in 1900. The great number of these foreigners are unskilled labourers.

Like all other great nations of to-day Germany has become a nation of town dwellers. Almost three fifths of the population live under urban conditions. The number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits has remained stationary since the beginning of the last century, while all increase of population during the last fifty years has gone to swell the town population. When the Empire was founded in 1871 there were only eight towns with a population of over 100,000 inhabitants, whereas the number of such towns in 1913 was 1,150. Towns with over 500,000 inhabitants in 1910 were Berlin, 2,071,257; Hamburg, 931,035; Munich, 596,467; Leipzig, 589,850; Dresden, 548,898; Cologne, 516,527, and Breslau, 512,105.

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OPINION.

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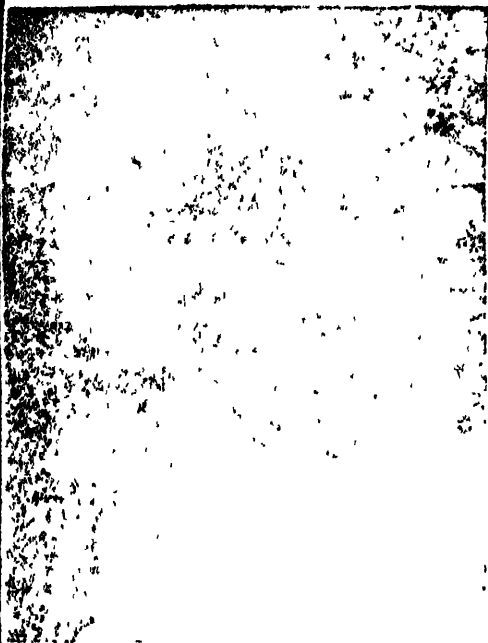
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Personal Experience derived by the learned proprietor of the daily paper of our Moslem brothers.

The Proprietor of the "Akhbar i Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1913, writes: "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to disease pertaining both to males and females on account of his long and experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive inasmuch as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

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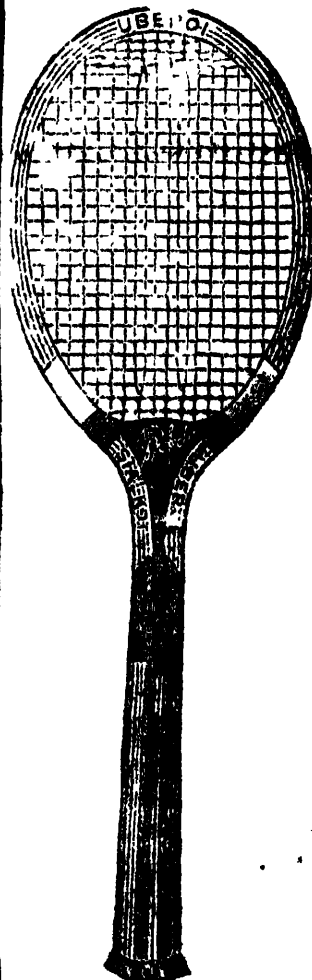
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Jhajar Dt. Rohtak, 26th Sept. 1913.

I am in receipt of all your communications for which I am much obliged. Herewith I send you two dozens of Gent's books, knitted exacting your kind instructions and trust these will meet with your kind approval. Will you please allow me to add that after a long and continued forbearance and obedience I have now been in a position to offer to sincere thanks for your kind treatment, and shall be glad to recommend you to any of the enquirers, and may you rest assured to refer me to your new constituents. I am also ready to teach and give every possible help in my power to those who might stand in need of it. Thanking you in anticipation of the same

(Sd.) R. S. ASGHAR HASAN (Ali.)

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CALCUTTA.

Thoughts on the Present Discontent.

By Mr. Mohamed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.)
(Published in 1907.)

Price, As. 8.

Some Press Opinions.

Mr. Mohamed Ali has read widely, and has thought well over the present conditions of India. He has the ardent temperament of the East, controlled by knowledge, and he wields a powerful and attractive pen. Above all he is absolutely honest. We recommend the study of his brochure, because it is a frank statement of the views of many educated Indians and without the sympathetic appreciation of those views it is impossible to approach that great problem in the governance of India—the position of educated Indians in the State. Mr. Mohamed Ali has found so many supporters as the Secretary of State. We believe that his diagnosis of the complaint is substantially accurate. —*The Times of India*

The reader will find much that is fresh and excellently put on the perennial topic of Indian discontent. The style of the book is piquant all through, and carries the reader through without becoming prosy. We find not a combination of clever and common-sense and knowledge of both East and West. The originality which we have mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic of his book appears not in his facts but in his presentation of it. —*The Madras Times*.

Mr. Mohamed Ali is right in his prescription for the present fever. We commend the book to the thoughtful. —*The Empire*.

He is particularly frank in certain of his views, what he says being well worth the careful attention of Englishmen and others who are really desirous of getting at the point of view of men whose minds are not always open books at Garden parties and ante-ceremonial gatherings. —*The Morning Post*.

Bery and thoughtful articles. Their literary merit is by no means their least attraction, and the piquancy of the style will stimulate thought. —*The Indian Spectator*.

We accept his assurance that he made a conscientious effort to set down what many of his countrymen feel, without malice and also without cowardice. —*The Bombay Gazette*.

Every thoughtful Indian and Englishman who would like to see India well and wisely ruled might learn something and profit much by a perusal of the "Thoughts on the Present Discontent," as written by a Mohammedan gentleman who shows no bias either on the one side or the other. He takes a common-sense view of the questions and bestows praise or blame either on the rulers or the ruled as he thinks it is necessary. His remarks are generally pungent and witty. The pamphlet contains a good deal of honest straightforward criticism which makes it a most valuable addition to that mass of literature which the present situation in India has evoked in the public press. —*Hindu Patriot*.

Mr. Mohamed Ali disclaims allegiance to any of the political parties or prejudice on either side, but he justifies his outspokenness which is put into print quite free of any body's uneasy conscience. . . . An opinion is no good unless it is strong; but it is not necessarily strong—in fact it is essentially weak—if it is violent or delirious. In Mr. Mohamed Ali's little brochure we have strength, but we have neither delirium nor violence. —*The Parrot*.

To be had of The Manager of "The Comrade,"
Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi.



War Bulletin

Daily for Outstations.



Twice a Day for Delhi.

- ¶ Many of our readers and others have suggested that we should issue a *daily* bulletin giving the latest news of all notable events connected with the War and other important affairs.
- ¶ Arrangements have already been made by us for the supply of such news from more than one source, and it will not be difficult for us, with the large printing plant of THE COMRADE AND THE HAMDARD PRESS, to issue, if we were assured of a sufficient number of subscribers, a *four-page* bulletin, of the same size as the *Comrade*, every day for outstations, and a *two-page* bulletin *twice a day*, morning and evening, for Delhi, containing news received up to **half an hour** before the time of issuing the bulletin, with explanatory notes where necessary.
- ¶ We do not think that Delhi readers could secure a better service than this, and situated as we are at the largest Railway Junction in India, we can defy competition from other centres so far as a very large area around Delhi is concerned.
- ¶ Those who need such a bulletin—and we believe their number is legion—should write to us without delay. Their names would be registered, and soon after a sufficient number of names have been secured, an intimation would be sent to them of the date from which "THE COMRADE WAR BULLETIN" would be issued.
- ¶ The monthly subscription would be **Re 1-8-0** only *for the present*; but if more than a thousand subscribers are secured it will be reduced to **Re 1-4-0**, and a substantial addition in their number would bring it down to **One Rupee** only.
- ¶ It must be remembered that the subscriptions quoted are inclusive of postage, wrapping, etc., which in themselves would cost *half that sum*.
- ¶ This extremely cheap service is made possible only on account of the fact that most of the cost of issuing such a bulletin is already being incurred by the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* newspapers. No daily paper can compete with us without losing heavily by the reduction in its own circulation.
- ¶ We invite the co-operation of the public, for the fruits of such a co-operation are within its sight: if the readers of "THE COMRADE WAR BULLETIN" will induce others also to take it in, they would reduce its cost to themselves.
- ¶ The bulletins will be supplied to newspaper-vendors in outstations *at present* at the rate of **Rs. 4-8-0** per hundred, on condition that they do not sell it for more than **One Anna** per bulletin.
- ¶ If, however, any vendor orders more than 250 bulletins daily, they will be supplied to him at the rate of **Rs. 2-4-0** per hundred, provided that he undertakes not to sell them at more than **Half an Anna** each.
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Vol. 8.
No. 8.

Single Copy
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Delhi: Wednesday, 26th August, 1914.

Annual Subscription
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CONTENTS

THIS WEEK ...	141	The Attempt on the Khedive ...	144
EGYPT A TOTE—		The English Mail ...	144
Moslem Education ...	142	LEADING ARTICLES—	
The Kaiser and the Tsar ...	142	Turkey and the War ...	144
The King and the Tsar ...	142	The Campaign—III ...	145
German Defences on the		WAR IN EUROPE—	
Eastern Frontier ...	143	News of the Week ...	150
The German Coast Defences ...	143	THE MADNESS OF MEN ...	160
Mr. Chesterton on War ...	143	THE WAR MUST BE STOPPED ...	160
Mr. Angell's Point of View ...	143	THE RULING TURK ...	161
The German Assault on Lidge ...	143	ADVERTISEMENTS ...	162-164

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying such communications.

Week.

English Mail.

Calcutta, Aug. 19.

The British Postal authorities cable to-day that the last home mail to leave via Brindisi was that of July 31st. The Mail of August 7th, left on ss. "Maitan" by sea route, and a farther mail was despatched by ss. "Cardia" on the 9th. These are expected at Bombay approximately on August 28th and 30th, respectively.

"The Khalsa Akhbar."

The security deposit of the Khalsa Akhbar newspaper of Lyallpur, has been confiscated under orders of the Punjab Government.

Egypt.

Reuter wires from Cairo that a meeting of cotton merchants and cultivators has been held at the Ministry of Agriculture to discuss the questions of financing the cotton crop. No scheme was recommended upon and the meeting adjourned.

Albania.

A Reuter's message from London, dated August 24, states that an official telegram from Albania to Italy describes the position of the country as desperate especially economically.

Security under the Press Act.

Lahore, Aug. 25.

The rumour about the Punjab Government having demanded security from a press turns out to be true. Pandit Hari Lal Saran, proprietor, *Subah Press*, has been required by the Punjab Government to deposit with the District Magistrate, Lahore, Rs. 8,000 for having published in the daily Urdu paper 'Hindu' an article which, in Local Government's opinion, contains words likely to spread hatred or ill will against European subjects of the King-Emperor in British India. Pandit Harilal Saran is also the editor of the paper. The press had deposited a security of Rs. 500 before this.

Imperial Relief Fund.

Simla, Aug. 25.

The Imperial India Relief Fund has now reached ten and half lakhs. Recent subscriptions include the Maharaja of Mysore's two lakhs, Maharaja of Jodhpur's one lakh, General Gurdit Singh's of Patiala half a lakh and the Thakur Sahib's of Gondal quarter lakh.

Bengal Ambulance Corps.

Barisal, Aug. 26.

The *Bengalee's* Correspondent states that re the enlistment of volunteers nearly two hundred enrolled themselves yesterday when the Calcutta papers announced the Government's refusal of services. Words cannot express the extreme disappointment of the people and this is throwing in cold water over the burning enthusiasm of the people.

H. E. The Viceroy's Visit To Delhi.

Simla, Aug. 25.

His Excellency the Viceroy pays a visit to Delhi next Saturday.

Haj Pilgrimage.

Bombay, Aug. 27.

A Turkish boat the *Karedenz* has come to Bombay with a view to participate in the Haj pilgrims traffic. Though early in the Haj season, which commenced in June, the influx of Hajis numbered two to four hundred daily, the war panic has caused the number to decline from 80 to 40 per day. The *Kowest*, which left on the 25th took 1,118 pilgrims to the Haj and the *Mansori*, which arrived here from Karachi with 850 Hajis, sailed yesterday for Jeddah with another contingent of 850 pilgrims, making 700 in all. Since the beginning of the season 7,963 pilgrims have left Bombay.

TETE À TETE



The Government of India have issued a *communiqué* summarising the results so far achieved in the direction of encouraging Moslem education on lines set forth in its circular of 3rd April 1913.

Some of the local Governments have submitted their matured proposals. The *communiqué* states that the Government of India in pursuance of a policy there laid down gave during 1912 and 1913 allotments to the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, which have permitted grants to be made to the Islamia College, Peshawar, of over three lakhs non-recurring and forty thousand rupees recurring. On the strength of replies received from local Governments the Government of India have also allotted ten thousand rupees recurring in Central Provinces and fifteen hundred rupees recurring in Coorg for the promotion of Muhammadan education. The Madras Government have made considerable demands for a scholarship for Muhammadan elementary board schools including girls' schools and Maktabas, secondary schools for Muhammadans and additional Muhammadan inspecting staff. The Government of India are allotting thirty thousand rupees recurring during the current year for these purposes which sum is over half the recurring grant asked for. They are now also allotting a grant of twenty-six thousand rupees during the present financial year for the improvement of the Islamia College, Lahore. It is proposed to raise this grant to thirty thousand rupees in future years. In Bengal the whole question is under consideration by a committee. Replies are awaited from other local Governments and Administration. The promptitude and earnestness with which the Government of India seem to be giving effect to their policy to help forward Moslem education is eminently gratifying, and the recent announcement of liberal grants will be received with deep and genuine thankfulness by the Moslem community. In these anxious and engrossing days, when the British Empire is engaged in war and the Indian Government has necessarily to share the duty, the anxiety and the burden of the hour, it is reassuring to feel that the Indian administration is working at its normal vigour, and various schemes of internal progress and development are receiving the usual attention of the Departments concerned. We trust the Government of India will finally give a comprehensive shape to practical measures for effectively helping the growth of Moslem education when the replies of other local Governments and Administrations have been received. We also trust that those measures would be conceived in the spirit of the just and wise policy on which the Government circular was based. The broad needs of Moslem education and the directions in which the State help is considered to be necessary have been frequently stated in these columns, and we need not, therefore, make a detailed reference to them now.

A **WIRE** Book, issued in Berlin on August 5, sums up the last stages of the negotiations of the German Government. It states that the German Government worked shoulder to shoulder with England in the attempt at mediation with Vienna. It forwarded the British proposal that Austria ought, after her invasion of Serbia, to dictate her conditions there. It had been assured that Russia would accept this as a basis; yet, while the efforts at mediation were being supported by British diplomacy, there came the constantly increasing news of Russia's mobilization. This was in full progress, though it was repeatedly and solemnly denied. The Kaiser called the Tsar's attention to the menacing character of Russia's action, and the Tsar replied: "I thank thee from my heart for thy mediation, which leaves a gleam of hope that even now all may end peacefully. It is technically impossible to discontinue our military operations, which are rendered necessary by Austria's

mobilization. We are far from wishing for war, and so long as the negotiations with Austria regarding Serbia continue, my troops will not undertake any provocative action. I give thee my word upon it. I trust with all my strength in God's grace, and I hope for the success of thy mediation at Vienna and for the welfare of our countries and the peace of Europe.—Thy most devoted NICHOLAS." To this the Emperor replied:—"In answer to thy appeal to my friendship and thy prayer for my help I undertook mediatory action between the Austro-Hungarian Government and thine. While this action was in progress thy troops were mobilized against my ally Austria-Hungary, in consequence of which, as I have already informed thee, my mediation was rendered nearly illusory. Nevertheless I have continued it. Now, however, I receive trustworthy news of your serious preparations for war, even on my Eastern frontier. The responsibility for the safety of my kingdom compels me to take definite retaliatory measures. My efforts to maintain the peace of the world have now reached their utmost possible limit. It will not be I who am responsible for the calamity which threatens the whole civilized world. Even at this moment it lies in thy power to avert it. Nobody threatens the honour and power of Russia, which could well have waited for the result for my mediation. The friendship which I inherited from my grandfather on his death-bed for thee and thy kingdom has always been holy to me. I have remained true to Russia whenever she has been in sore straits, and especially during her last war. The peace of Europe can still be maintained by thee if Russia decides to cease her military measures, which threaten Germany and Austria-Hungary."

SIR EDWARD GREY wired on the 1st August to Sir G. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to apply at once for an audience with the Tsar and convey to him the following personal message from the King:—"My Govern-

ment has received the following statement from the German Government:—"On July 29 the Russian Emperor requested the German Emperor by telegraph to mediate between Russia and Austria. The Emperor immediately declared his readiness to do so. He informed the Russian Emperor of this by telegraph, and took the required action at Vienna. Without waiting for the result of this action Russia mobilized against Austria. By telegraph the German Emperor pointed out to the Russian Emperor that hereby his attempt at mediation would be rendered illusory. The Emperor further asked the Russian Emperor to suspend the military operations against Austria. This, however, did not happen. In spite of this the German Government continued its mediation in Vienna. In this matter the German Government have gone to the farthest limit of what can be suggested to a Sovereign State which is the ally of Germany. The proposals made by the German Government in Vienna were conceived entirely on the lines suggested by Great Britain, and the German Government recommended them in Vienna for their serious consideration. They were taken into consideration in Vienna this morning. During the deliberations of the (Austrian) Cabinet, and before they were concluded, the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg, reported the mobilization of the entire Russian Army and Fleet. Owing to this action on the part of Russia, the Austrian answer to the German proposals for mediation, which were still under consideration, was not given. This action on the part of Russia is also directed against Germany—that is to say, the Power whose mediation had been invoked by the Russian Emperor. We were bound to reply with serious counter measures to this action, which we were obliged to consider as hostile, unless we were prepared to endanger the safety of our country. We are unable to remain inactive in face of the Russian mobilization on our frontier. We have therefore informed Russia that, unless she were prepared to suspend within 12 hours the war-like measure against Germany and Austria, we should be obliged to mobilize, and this would mean war. We have asked France if she would remain neutral during a German-Russian war. I cannot help thinking that some misunderstanding has produced this deadlock. I am most anxious not to miss any possibility of avoiding the terrible calamity which at present threatens the whole world. I therefore make a personal appeal to you to remove the misapprehension which I feel must have occurred, and to leave open grounds for negotiation and possible peace. If you think I can in any way contribute to that all-important purpose, I will do everything in my power to assist in reopening the interrupted conversations between the Powers concerned. I feel confident that you are as anxious as I am that all that is possible should be done to secure the peace of the world." The Emperor of Russia made the following reply to his Majesty King George:—"I would gladly have accepted your proposals had not German Ambassador this afternoon presented a note to my Government declaring war. Ever since presentation of the ultimatum at Belgrade, Russia has devoted all her efforts to finding some pacific solution of the question raised by Austrian action. Object of that action was to crush Serbia and make her a

naval of Austria. Effect of this would have been to upset balance of power in Balkans, which is of such vital interest to my Empire. Every proposal, including that of your Government, was rejected by Germany and Austria, and it was only when favourable moment for bringing pressure to bear on Austria had passed that Germany showed any disposition to mediate. Even then she did not put forward any precise proposal. Austria's declaration of war on Serbia forced me to order a partial mobilization, though, in view of threatening situation, my military advisers strongly advised a general mobilization owing to quickness with which Germany can mobilize in comparison with Russia. I was eventually compelled to take this course in consequence of complete Austrian mobilization, of the bombardment of Belgrade, of concentration of Austrian troops in Galicia, and of secret military preparations being made in Germany. That I was justified in doing so is proved by Germany's sudden declaration of war, which was quite unexpected by me, as I had given most categorical assurances to the Emperor William that my troops would not move so long as mediation negotiations continued. In this solemn hour I wish to assure you once more that I have done all in my power to avert war. Now that it has been forced on me, I trust your country will not fail to support France and Russia. God bless and protect you."

THE Russian advance into Prussia appears to have achieved several minor successes, but the operations have hitherto been confined to preliminary clearing of ground for general advance on German frontier. The places declared to have been

occupied by Russian troops are of no decisive strategic value to the Russians, for the line of German defences lies behind, and Russia must turn or carry this line before she can hope to deliver a crushing blow. The German fortifications on the Russian frontier are as follows: Lying well back from the Eastern frontier of Silesia, and originally destined to oppose not a Russian, but an Austrian attack, are fortresses of Glatz and Glogau, the latter being astride the Oder, some sixty miles north-west of Breslau, the headquarters of the VI Army Corps. Sixty miles north of Glogau is the very strong fortress of Posen, which again is the headquarters of the V Army Corps. These are the only fortresses south of the Vistula. Lying close to the frontier and astride the Vistula is the fortress of Thorn, which is surrounded by a formidable girdle of forts. The two fortresses of Posen and Thorn are the most serious obstacles which the Russians will have to meet on this frontier, apart from hostile army corps. Lower down the river from Thorn, the towns of Kulm and Graudenz are fortified, and there are fortified bridge heads at Marienburg and Dirschau. To the east of the Vistula, there are comparatively small works at Lyck and Lötzen, and one strong fortress at Königsberg, the headquarters of the I Army Corps. These are the permanent defences which Germany has prepared to oppose a Russian advance against her eastern frontier. The Russians on their side have the big fortress of Warsaw, flanked to the north by the fortress of Nova Georgiisk, lower down the Vistula and Ivangorod, about sixty miles above Warsaw. In second line is the first class fortress of Brest-Litovsk.

In view of the recent naval attack off Heligoland by the British fleet and of the Russian advance into Prussia, it would be interesting to note the German coast defences along the North Sea and the Baltic. Guarding the narrow entrances to each of the curious

The German Coast Defences.

"Haffs" along the north coast of Germany is a fortress. At the extreme north of East Prussia, the fortress of Memel guards the entrance to the Kurische Haff. Pillau, thirty miles west of Königsberg, covers the entrance to the Frische Haff, and almost due north of Berlin, Swinemünde safeguards the entrance to "The Haff." In addition to these, there is the well-known fortress of Dantzig in Dantzig Bay; Kiel, the fortified naval base at the end of the harbour, and Friedrichsort, protecting the entrance to the harbour from Kiel Bay. These are the German coast defences on the Baltic. In the North Sea the Germans have three fortified islands:—Heligoland, and two of the East Frisian group of islands, Wangeroog and Borkum off the north coast of East Friesland. On the mainland they have the fortress of Osthaven and the Elbe defences, Geestemünde and the Weser defences and the fortified naval base at Wilhelmshaven. The German defences along the North Sea are considered to be very formidable.

MR. NORMAN ANGELL'S theory of the economic and moral futility of aggressive warfare has aroused deep interest in a band of earnest students who have recently been conducting a summer school at Old Jordans hotel near Haslemere. Among the methods followed has been that of inviting criticism from various

schools of thought on the problem of war and peace. Addresses have been given by representatives of the Navy League and the National Service League. According to the *Westminster Gazette*, an interesting encounter of intellects took place on the night of July 26 when Mr. Gilbert Chesterton responded to a request to expound his objections to the basis of Mr. Angell's teaching. Mr. Chesterton said that the part of Mr. Angell's teaching, which had won the general attention of the world, was that from an economic point of view war did not pay. He admitted that the proposition was on the whole true, but he did not regard it as important, for no war had ever been waged for profit. According to him, if war were to cease owing to clearer perceptions of national self-interest, no advance would have been made in the morality of mankind. The real abuse of force, on which capitalist society rests—the perpetual harrying of the poor by the rich—would be rendered easier and more secure if the apparatus of warfare were to disappear. Fighting would not disappear, but only fight on equal terms. "It is better," said Mr. Chesterton, "for an English workman to be shot down in fair fight on the battlefield than to be massacred in the course of an industrial dispute." He maintained that the test of the sword was in some cases the only one that could be applied. If the two nations were each honestly convinced that the ideals they held precious were at stake, there was no course they either could or ought to take but to present their bodies as offerings for the things they held precious. Mr. Chesterton's contention that the clash of ideals led sometimes to the clash of arms is no doubt true, but this only means that humanity has not reached a stage of intellectual tolerance necessary to perceive that a narrow and standardised uniformity of growth for mankind would immediately cause stagnation and decay.

MR. ANGELL dealt effectively with Mr. Chesterton's arguments, and the points he urged in support of his thesis are well worth noting. Wars are, of course, not waged for profit, in the crude sense suggested by Mr. Chesterton; but they are waged for political

ascendancy, and from a false conception of the advantages that that ascendancy can bring. The horrors of peace are sometimes worse than those of war; but it is impossible to deal effectively with the evils of peace until the waste of energy, thought and collective effort entailed by the war system has been removed. As regards a conflict of ideals, war does not decide the point at issue. A nation is entitled and bound to resist if its ideals are attacked, but no nation can impose its type of civilisation by force. The only way of settling these questions is, according to Mr. Angell, the realisation by both parties that the appeal to force is barren and futile. The chief argument against war is that it consumes energy and resources which could well be applied to works of peace. Mr. Angell gives an apt illustration of this when he says that "if the United States had been involved in war with Mexico, she would have been incapacitated for thirty years of dealing with her internal problems of grafts and trusts and so forth. As it was, the Mexican trouble effectually diverted attention from the atrocities committed by capitalism in Colorado."

THE Australian papers publish accounts of the first German assault on Liège which were cabled to them from the English papers. In a cable message from Brussels to the *Daily Telegraph* on 10th August Dr. Dillon states:—During Thursday night the entire German Seventh Army Corps made a tremendous assault upon Liège, but the Belgians manfully held their positions. The whole country around was illuminated with search lights and the ground quaked like an earthquake. Daylight revealed hundreds of German corpses strewn over the battlefield. The Germans stood for a few minutes awaiting an onset and then fled in a panic. The Seventh Army Corps was broken and a few hours later 5,000 fugitives passed Maestricht in Holland. The morale of the Seventh and Tenth German Army Corps was seriously shaken by the withering Belgian fire, which mowed men down like corn. Many German shells burst in the streets of Liège setting fire to buildings. A number of guns were captured. When the shells fell in Liège thousands of the inhabitants became panic stricken and fled to Brussels and Tongres. The rest of the inhabitants took refuge in cellars. The Burgomaster desired the Belgians to surrender but General Leiman refused. The Germans detached the Third Army Corps, known as the Iron Corps, from the advance towards the River Meurthe in France and sent it to assist the attack on the Liège. The six forts attacked on Thursday were Barchon, Evenges, Kleron, Chaud Fontaine, Embourg and Boncelles, all east of the Meuse. The principal attack was on the space between the forts. Forces numbering 18,000 were hurled

against one space protected by barbed wire trenches. A terrifying spectacle was provided by creeping masses of men advancing under the blinding glare of search-lights, those in front carrying snipers to cut the wire entanglements. Meanwhile the forts belched shells, and the machine guns from the parapets fired incessantly on the advancing forces. The Germans got through between Fleron and Evagnes forts and shelled the city, but all the forts still remained intact. General Leman, responsible for directing the defence of Liège, is Professor of Mathematics at the Belgian Military Academy. He is 62 years old but of untiring energy. This is his first work as a practical soldier. A German officer wounded at Liège states that the Belgian artillery was remarkably effective and created indescribable panic. He says:—"We observed the indecision of the German artillery before taking positions. Whenever a projectile from the Belgian burst among them they retired."

In a recent communication the Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer*, writing about the insane attempt made on the life of the Khedive, indulges in the following interesting remarks:—"The attempted assassination of the Khedive should afford the

The Attempt on the Khedive.

"Egyptian, in other words the British Government, a good opportunity for representing to the Governments concerned, especially the Turkish, the great dangers attendant on this liberty of residence and action accorded to these agitators and the great necessity in the interests of Egypt as a State and of those holding authority there for the establishment of some restriction on such agitators and of some form of punishment, possibly expulsion, if their conduct becomes such as to create trouble and anxiety for the Egyptian Government. It may be difficult to take any such measures in other countries, where such individuals might legally be considered as political refugees and so immune from any such action—it should, however, be possible for the Government concerned to decide that as they are conspiring against a friendly Power their action is detrimental to the interests of the State where they have taken up residence and consequently that their presence is undesirable—but in Turkey, the same obstacles ought not to be met with. Egypt is the vassal State, and it is absolutely ridiculous and insupportable that the sultan should allow plots and political conspiracies and propaganda to be carried on within its borders against a State which it still claims is subject to it. The Egyptian Government would appear to have an excellent case—it has had one all along—but the attempt on the Khedive's life has rendered its point of view even more irrefutable than it was before; and it is to be hoped that it will press once and for all for the exercise of some effective control over the men who are at the bottom of all Egypt's political troubles." There are certain naïve assumptions packed in these remarks which it would be interesting to point out. The wretched youth, who attempted the crime, was shot dead on the spot, and the Turkish official inquiry into the character of the crime has not yet been concluded, but the *Pioneer's* correspondent has already judged and pronounced his verdict and would have "these agitators"—i. e., the Egyptian nationalists, who have incurred the displeasure of the occupation authorities, including men like Sheikh Abdul Aziz Shawish—hung, drawn and quartered. Other countries may legally offer asylum to political refugees, but Turkey can not take up this attitude, for "Egypt is the vassal State, and it is absolutely ridiculous and insupportable that the sultan should allow plots and political conspiracies and propaganda to be carried on within its borders against a State which it still claims is subject to it." Very true and eminently reasonable. But we have been at the outset told with an emphasis little short of ostentations that the Egyptian Government is "in other words the British Government." Where does then the much-blamed "suzerain" come in? It is really delightful to have this "suzerainty" argument by one's side which can easily be brandished as a fact or dismissed as a fiction as the occasion serves. The *Pioneer's* correspondent is not an unworthy member of the tribe that is well aware of its uses.

The last but one week's English Mail, which should, in normal conditions, have reached Delhi on Saturday, the 22nd August, has been received here, on Saturday, the 29th. A full week's delay has necessarily upset our arrangements, and we exceedingly regret that we should have had to bring out this issue so late. We changed our day of issue from Saturday to Wednesday simply with a view to keep our readers well posted with fresh and up-to-date information gleaned from the foreign mail. It seems, however, that owing to the exigencies of the war the mail service between Europe and India may not escape unforeseen interruptions and irregularity, at any rate for some time to come. If this uncertainty continues much longer, we think we may have to revert to our former arrangements.

The Comrade.

Turkey and the War.

IMMEDIATELY after the outbreak of the general war in Europe Turkey made a declaration of her neutrality, and there have been no indications since then that she might find it unavoidable either through choice or necessity to depart from her neutral attitude. Reports were, no doubt, received some days ago of her unusual military activity and of the concentration of Ottoman troops near Dedeağach. There were also accounts, furnished by *Reuter's* correspondent, of fraternising scenes between Turkish and German officers on board the *Goeben* and the *Braslau* after they had taken refuge in the Dardanelles. And it was simultaneously announced that the Powers of the Triple Entente and Italy were about to take steps in order to effectively secure Turkish neutrality. We heard also of the assurances given by the Ottoman Ambassador in London about the intentions of his Government, and a few days later the Porte repeated its declaration of neutrality in order to allay anxieties that seemed to have arisen in some quarters. At the same time it was declared that France and England had assured Turkey that they had no designs on the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and that Russia had also given similar assurances. We do not know why such assurances had been thought to be necessary, and we can only explain this on the hypothesis that Turkey had been led to believe in the existence of some menace to her integrity, and the Franco-British declaration was intended to remove her fears. Be that as it may, the apprehensions entertained in some quarters as to the intentions of the Turkish Government seem to have been groundless. On the eve of a general war in Europe Turkey was bound to take all precautionary measures. The situation in the Balkans, and particularly the attitude of Greece, rendered it imperative on her part to guard herself against all possible developments and surprises. Beyond keeping a watchful attitude and taking the necessary steps to safeguard her interests she seems to have done nothing that could compromise her neutral position.

Speculations about untoward changes in the existing Turkish attitude have been made, and there are people who seem to be greatly concerned that Turkey should be tempted to take sides in the present war with the reckless desperation of the gambler making his last bid. As if the present rulers of Turkey are a set of desperadoes or unhinged lunatics. The men in power at Constantinople to-day are the ablest and most devoted patriots that have directed the destinies of the Ottoman Empire in modern times. They know their own minds and are alive to the real needs of their country, and can be trusted to act with all the caution, deliberation and cool judgment required in a crisis with which Europe is face to face to-day. They understand their responsibilities, and it would be an insult to their sense of duty to suppose that statesmen of their proved capacity and integrity are prone to act with the gambler's instinct. Their supreme consideration at this juncture would naturally be not to weigh the chances of fighting on this side or that in this war, but to preserve the interests and honour of their own country. Of the ways and means of attaining this end they, of course, are the best judges. The Turkish declaration of neutrality means that they are convinced that they would best serve the interests of the Ottoman Empire by keeping it as far as possible out of the general conflagration in Europe.

To us, who are at a distance, it seems to be the safest and on the whole the most satisfactory position for Turkey to adopt and maintain. We look at the matter from the point of view of Turkish interests. This is the only test that counts in determining a national policy in crucial moments of a nation's history, however skillfully the naked materialism of such a policy may be disguised. Now the one great interest of the Turks, whether young or old, must obviously be to preserve their Empire intact and to add to its stability, efficiency and strength. The question is whether the war in Europe has any direct or an indirect bearing on this primary interest of the Turkish statesmen; and, if so, what line of conduct it impose upon them.

From the point of view of the Turk, the war in Europe, apart from its general character of a grim and tragic episode in human history, must inevitably cause great relief of foreign pressure upon the Turkish Empire by considerably diminishing the weight of an overbearing and selfish diplomacy at Constantinople. Except Great Britain, whose interests in the Mediterranean and in the East generally would be most secure by the existence of a free and independent Turkey and who ought, therefore, to strive for the maintenance of a strong and efficient Ottoman Empire, no other Power in Europe has any other idea but to exploit the Sultan's weakness for their own schemes of territorial and commercial expansion.

These designs received a marked and aggressive impetus at the close of the Balkan War, when a diplomatic struggle for spheres of influence began under the familiar guise of demands for reforms and railway concessions. France, Germany and Russia used every handle known to diplomacy—from virtuous insistence on internal reforms to threats of financial boycott—to extort privileges and strengthen their respective claims in Syria, Anatolia and Armenia. The Turk, who has been much more a victim of diplomacy than of armed aggression, has had to submit helplessly to its ruthless operations. He is often accused of having failed in putting his house in order and in developing the great resources of his Empire. We need not say how baseless and atrocious such accusations are. He has never been allowed to have a chance. A strong and prosperous Turkey has never been a desirable prospect for her enemies. Through subtle intrigues, cleverly-prepared distractions, organised threats, interventions and even blackmails, a ceaseless and overwhelming strain has steadily come to sap her energies and prevented her from reorganising and consolidating her resources and power. Her one great need has perpetually been to be left alone and carry on her affairs without outside interference. If the present war offers such an opportunity, every patriotic Turk would hail it with infinite relief. Whatever its duration and results, this war will leave the combatants too exhausted for some time to embark on costly adventures abroad. Europe's preoccupation is Turkey's opportunity. The menace of Russian aggrandisement, of German penetration and of French aggressive ambitions must for some period cease to be the active influence that has hitherto thwarted the efforts of Turkish statesmen. No sane Turk would, therefore, be mad with furious desires to chase will-o'-the-wisps or break loose into a scramble for doubtful gains.

Such appears to be the Turkish position to a dispassionate outside observer; and, as we have said, the declaration of Turkish neutrality, judged by this test, embodies the sincere and earnest desire of the Porte to keep out of the European complications. The factors in the Balkan situation are, however, incalculable, and no one can set limits to the possible contingencies that may arise out of this colossal war. Of the future policy and action of the Turkish Government in relation to future contingencies, the Turkish statesmen can be the best judges, and we think it is safe to repeat that they can be trusted to do nothing that would not accord with the real interests and honour of their Empire.

There have been apprehensions lest Turkey should be tempted to join Germany and Austria-Hungary against the Powers of the Triple Entente. The vital Turkish interests do not point to any possibility of such action on her part, and the Teutons have certainly no claim on Turkish gratitude. Austria-Hungary cruelly despoiled Turkey of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Germany actively supported the Italian raid on Tripoli and her "whole policy in relation to Turkey has naturally been based on calculated and conscious selfishness. There can, therefore, be little scope for apprehension that Turkey would rush wantonly into the war simply to oblige the Powers that have seldom done her a good turn and have always been ready to use her as their cat's paw. No one can, however, be certain of what the future has in store for Turkey and Europe. The struggle in Europe is big with infinite possibilities. Greece is an incalculable element, and the temper of the Balkan States—an easily inflammable thing at all times—cannot inspire much confidence at this juncture. A combination of untoward circumstances may easily force the hands of Turkey and drive her, wholly against her will, into the fray. If in the vast European commotion, the Balkans again drift into the chaos of war and Turkey has to fight for her safety or safeguard her interests and incidentally finds herself ranged against England and her Allies, it would be a contingency that no Indian Mussalman can contemplate without the deepest pain. We trust, however, that such a catastrophe would never come to pass.

As we have often said, Great Britain is the only Power whose vast Imperial interests require the continued existence of Turkey as a strong and independent State. Nothing can be more gratifying to Mussalmans in India and elsewhere than that an Empire containing the largest number of Moslem subjects should be the friend and ally of the greatest Moslem Empire in the world. We have often dwelt on the mutual strength and benefit of such friendly alliances, and though we have sometimes had to deplore the actions and policy of His Majesty's Government on some memorable occasions in recent years, we have never given up the hope that Turkey and Great Britain would ultimately come to realise of how great a value their friendly co-operation would be to both. Turkey is sometimes reminded of the help given to her by England in the past. Even her worst enemies would not accuse Turkey of ingratitude, but it seems to be forgotten that in her recent troubles England has not played the part of the traditional friend. Unscrupulous aggressors have despoiled her of her territories, intriguers have battered at her expense, wicked wars of spoliation have been forced upon her, while England's Ministers have looked on with apparent indifference and allowed the most solemn treaties and obligations to be cast to

the winds. Let all this, however, pass. We would not talk of gratitude or traditional relations, but of a stronger force that endures best in modern diplomacy. The most vital interest of Turkey is to preserve herself intact. It is equally the interest of England to preserve a vigorous and independent Turkey to keep her own position in the Mediterranean and her Eastern possessions free from the menace of the Teuton or the Slav. Is it impossible, then, to evolve on this basis of solid mutual interest a strong and lasting friendship? It is for Great Britain to give the answer.

The Campaign.—III.

I.—AUSTRIA AND SERBIA.

ALTHOUGH interest must of necessity be still centred on the struggle between France, Belgium, England on the one side and Germany on the other, the campaigns on the Austro-Servian, Austro-Russian and Russo-German frontiers have sufficiently developed to deserve a résumé since we last dealt with it in our issue of the 12th August. As regards the struggle between the original combatants, Austria and Serbia telegrams, dated London, 9th August, stated that according to a Servian message from Nish, the Austrians had evacuated Vindograd and the frontier of the Sanjak of Novibazar, and that the Servian troops had occupied the former which is a town in Bosnia on the Austrian side of the frontier of the Sanjak, formerly a Turkish province but incorporated into Servia after the Balkan War. Two days later a Servian official account stated that the Austrians had attacked seven different points, but that they had been repulsed with tremendous slaughter due to the effective marksmanship of the Servian artillery. We do not know how far to credit news from Servian sources, but the Servians themselves were led by the success to state that not a single Austrian soldier was on Servian soil and that the Austrians had abandoned the offensive and were hurriedly entrenching, waiting for the Servians to take offensive. However, according to another official despatch from Nish, 400,000 Austrians made a concerted night attack on the 13th instant all along the Servian frontier. This does not look like abandoning the offensive and waiting patiently for a Servian attack. But it is certain that the number of the Austrians was grossly exaggerated, for Austria could not reasonably be expected to send about a fourth of her entire forces during a night attack and practically her entire peace establishment even for the purpose of chastising a refractory kingdom whose entire forces on a war footing are not expected to exceed the 400,000 which Austria was stated to have used merely in a single night attack. But even if such a force would have been sent, who could believe such utter rubbish as the repulse of such overwhelming Austrian forces? What is probable, however, is that just when Servia was lulled with the belief that the Austrians were hurriedly entrenching, Austria despatched a strong force of half a lakh or more to make a concerted night attack all along the Servian frontier. We can well believe that considerable losses were sustained on both sides, and the Servians have themselves admitted that the Austrians crossed the Save and captured Shabatz which is about forty miles due west of Belgrade, and similarly crossed the Drina at Loznitz which lies on the frontier between Bosnia and Servia, some thirty miles to the south-west of Shabatz. The same telegram stated that the Servians were concentrating for a big battle which was expected on the night of 15th. On the 16th, the Servians were reported to have routed Austrians near Shabatz and to have annihilated three Austrian regiments and captured fourteen guns together with great quantities of war material. They were still pursuing the enemy whose strength was estimated by the French, who confirmed the victory, to be about 80 thousand. Three days later another message stated that the Austrian numbered about 100,000, which is still no more than a fourth of the number previously stated to have made a night attack. It was reported that the battle had lasted three days and the Servians were still pursuing their enemies. The losses too had swelled into 36 quick-fires. Next day a St. Petersburg telegram added that the Austrians routed in the recent fighting had fled towards Drina bridge pursued by the Servians all along the line. It is not quite clear whether this telegram also referred to the battle of Shabatz and the pursuit of the Austrians, for it goes on to refer to the fighting as the Servian victory of Loznitz. Possibly this was another battle fought on the Drina and not a pursuit of the Austrian army beaten at Shabatz on the Save. This battle is reported to have lasted four days, and the Servians were stated to have captured forty guns and a quantity of horses and ammunition and another rich booty. The guns captured were reported to be highly important, being mostly howitzers. (The howitzer is a form of ordnance in use from the 16th century to the present day. It is a short and therefore comparatively light gun, which fires a heavy projectile at low velocity. A high angle of elevation is always given and the angle of descent of the projectile is consequently steep, being up to 70°. On this fact is based the tactical use of the modern howitzer. The field howitzer is of the greatest value for "searching" trenches, folds

of ground, locality, etc., which are invulnerable to direct fire, while the most powerful siege howitzer has, since the introduction of modern artillery and, above all, of modern projectiles, taken the foremost place among the weapons used in siege warfare. The name is derived, through an earlier form *hawitz*, and the German *houbitz*, from the Bohemian *houfnice* which means a catapult, from which came also, through the Italian *obiza* or *obice*, the French forms *obus*, a shell and *obusier*, a howitzer.) The victors were also reported to have taken several thousand prisoners. It appears that each side of the Austrian army, which had crossed the river Drava, was overthrown. A later telegram, dated the 24th instant, states that according to a Serbian official announcement the spoils till then collected at Loznitz comprise 4 500 prisoners, 53 guns and howitzers, 114 caissons (ammunition waggons), 14 field kitchens, a great number of waggons and vast quantities of rifle and ammunition. The Serbians also claim to have cleared the country round Loznitz, Lestniza and Shabat and their cavalry is stated to have defeated Austrian columns capturing 4 howitzers and 10 field guns. A French official despatch, evidently referring to this engagement, says that Austrians, in attempting a counter-attack towards Shabat, were repulsed, and that the Serbians were now ready to cross the Save and invade Hungary.

Little faith as we have in Serbian account of their victories, there still remains a residuum of fact after discounting the fiction, and it is evident that the Austrians have met with a serious check in their advance into the difficult Serbian country. Most probably the Austrians were beaten in detail on each occasion before their entire force had crossed the river which intervened between their territory and that of Serbia. But the reverses at Shabat and Loznitz cannot seriously effect the ultimate operations, and while Serbian readiness to cross the Save and enter into Hungary does their martial spirit credit, it must be remembered that they would thus be reversing the conditions which contributed to the repulse of Austria, and that when it comes to their turn to cross the Save near Ruma or Klenak, Austria may not be slow to wreck its vengeance for the reverses at Shabat and Loznitz. As for the final result Austria must be beaten on her Galician frontier by Russia rather than her Herzegovinian, Bosnian, and Hungarian frontier by Serbia. It must not be forgotten that whereas Austria can put 1,820,000 men in the field, Serbia cannot bring more than 400,000.

II.—AUSTRIA AND MONTENEGRO.

Although we do not often hear of the smaller ally of Serbia, we must not forget that, as in the case of the Balkan War, Montenegro has not been slow in participating in the war which is, so to speak, the chronic condition of the people of Black Mountain. Their first step appears to have been the capture of the height of Spizza which commands their only harbour of Antivari and make it useless. The Austrians have replied by the bombardment and blockade of Antivari, whereupon the Montenegrins have commenced to bombard from the fortified heights of Lovcen into the Austrian haven of Cattaro, the finest natural harbour of the Adriatic. Cattaro harbour, which could accommodate a squadron of "Dreadnoughts" completely concealed from ships passing up and down the Adriatic, is, however, dominated by the Black Mountains of Montenegro rising in the peak of Lovcen to a height of 6,000 feet. The Austrian frontier line, which is strongly fortified, passes along this ridge at a height of 2,000 feet, the whole of the mass above that line being Montenegrin territory. The higher peaks are armed with guns presented to King Nicholas by the Tsar of Russia, and it is from this vantage that the Montenegrin gunners are now operating on the Austrian harbour below. The inlet of Bocche de Cattaro expands into five broad gulfs united by narrow channels. Tondo, on the outermost gulf, is a small level port. Cattaro is strongly fortified and about 3,000 troops are stationed in its neighbourhood. On the seaward side the defensive works include Castel Nuovo (Ereoge Novi) which guards the main to the Bocche. On the landward side the long walls running from the town to the Castle of San Giovanni far above, form a striking feature of the landscape; and the heights of the Krivocic or Orvoscia, a group of barren mountains between Montenegro, Herzegovina and the sea are crowned by small forts. Foreign visitors to Montenegro usually land at Cattaro which is connected by steamer with Trieste and by road with Cetitje.

III.—AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA.

Although Austria cannot afford to neglect Serbia and Montenegro in view of the internal conditions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is more likely that she would act on the defensive towards these States, abandoning the plan which the fighting at Shabat and Loznitz and the earlier bombardment of Belgrade showed she had formed and to transfer the bulk of her forces to Galicia. It is not impracticable to contain Serbia and Roumania with three or four Army Corps and Landsturm and to detach two or three Army Corps from the southern to the northern theatre. Shortly after the war was declared the following dispositions of Austrian and Russian troops were the

result of the conjectures of well-informed people. Austria was believed to have her 1st Army Corps and the 12th Infantry Division and 7th Cavalry Division at Cracow which is a fortified place, and the 10th Army Corps and 24th Infantry Division at Pozemysn which is also a fortified place to the east of Cracow. To the north of the latter is Jaroslau where the 2nd Infantry and 6th Cavalry Divisions were located. At Lemberg, which lies to the east, were the 11th Army Corps, the 11th and 30th Infantry and the 4th Cavalry Divisions. At Stanislaw, which lies to the south of Lemberg, Austria had a Cavalry Division, the 8th. Further inside she had the 6th Army Corps and the 27th Infantry Division at Kassa, the 15th Infantry Division at Miskolc to the south of Kassa and the 5th Army Corps and the 14th Infantry and 6th Cavalry Divisions at Pozsony (Pressburg) and the 33rd Infantry Division at the fortress of Komaru. (Komaru lies to the west of Kassa and the east of Vienna where the 2nd Army Corps, the 25th and 49th Infantry Divisions and the 3rd Cavalry Division were located.) Besides these there are the 4th, 5th and 10th Infantry Divisions located at Brunn, Olmütz and Josefstadt respectively. Against these Russia had a Cavalry Division, the 14th, at Czenstochowa, the 22nd Infantry Brigade at Radom, the 14th Army Corps and 18th Infantry Division at Lublin, the 1st Cossack Division at Zauras fortress, the 17th Infantry Division at Cholm, the 7th Cavalry Division at Valadimir-Volinsk, the 11th Infantry Division at the fortress of Lutsk, the 11th Cavalry Division at Dubno, the 11th Army Corps and 32nd Infantry Division at Rovno, the 12th Infantry and 12th Cavalry Divisions at Proskuro, three Infantry Brigades at Schmirinka, the 12th Army Corps at Vinnitza and two Cossack Divisions at Kamenetz, besides other troops in the north particularly three Army Corps the 16th, the 19th and the 28rd and two Infantry Divisions the 8th and the 3rd and a Cavalry Brigade at Warsaw and 38th Infantry Division at Brestlitovsk. Considering that Russia is likely to try to ease the German pressure on the north and east of France by pressing Germany on her eastern frontier, Austria may be expected to attempt to ease the Russian pressure against her ally by bringing pressure to bear on Russia's southern frontier.

Austria did not declare war against Russia till the 7th August when Russia had already been responsible for several acts of war on Austria. A cable of the 9th from Russian sources announced that the Russians had entered Austrian territory by the valley of Stry which flows on the extreme north west of Galicia, driving the enemy's advance guard before them. A telegram of the 11th stated that a line drawn north and south through Brestlitovsk fairly represented the line on which the Russians had assembled and that the movements reported on the two flanks are doubtless only those of advanced guards, but that they suggested that the armies on the rear may be nearly ready to support them and that issue would be joined before the end of the month. This prophecy was obviously safe enough, though there is little indication as yet that Russia would move in force against Austria before she has had a decisive engagement with Germany in eastern Prussia. The Austrians were reported on the same day to have advanced from Cracow towards Kielce which is some 60 miles to the north-east of Cracow and gives the name to the Polish Government or province of Kielce. The Russians on the other hand were reported to be moving from Rovno in the government of Volhynia toward Lemberg, which lie at a distance of about 100 miles from each other. It was also officially announced in St. Petersburg that in consequence of the Russian successes in minor engagements the Austrians were evacuating Rasiviloff close to the Galician frontier near Lemberg. On the 13th August a telegram stated that after inflicting heavy losses on the Austrians, the Russians had captured Sokal, some 4 miles inside the Galician frontier and some 50 miles to the north of Lemberg. A later telegram the next day added that the Russians had pursued the enemy across the river Bug on which Sokal is situated and had destroyed two bridges and a viaduct. On the 15th a French official despatch stated that the Russians had been victorious on the Dniester and that the 4th Austrian Cavalry had been annihilated. Considering that the Dniester flows both in Galicia and in Bessarabia it is not clear where this battle occurred. Another telegram of the 16th August stated that the Russians had compelled the Austrians to evacuate Kielce and the neighbourhood. This was, so far as we remember, the first intimation that Kielce towards which the Austrians were reported on the 11th August advancing from Cracow, had been occupied by them. At any rate we now know that the Austrians had not only taken the offensive but that they have been sufficiently enterprising to penetrate the Russian frontier to the extent of some 60 miles. In a telegram of the 19th August from London it was officially announced that the Austrian Cavalry Divisions which approached the Russians along the Corodott-Kuznia line were defeated in a Cavalry engagement which lasted five hours and that they inflicted heavy losses on the Austrians who retired pursued by Russian Cavalry. On the 21st it was stated that the attack delivered against Kravits by the Austrian Infantry Division supported by four battalions of

artillery, was repulsed by the Russians who captured six officers and 250 men. According to a St. Petersburg telegram of the 22nd August it was officially stated that the Russian troops had crossed the Zbrutch river on the 20th August and invaded Austrian territory. This was practically the beginning of the Russian offensive against Austria, and the same day another telegram announced that the Russians had been successful at Krasno which is some 35 miles on the Austrian side from the Russian frontier and some 30 miles to the east of Lemberg. In the light of this telegram, that of the 21st about an Austrian attack on Krasnik seems to have been the result of some confusion. More than this we have not heard about the fighting on the Austro-Russian frontier, nor is it likely that this theatre of war would attract attention for sometime to come when Serbia is likely to be on the offensive in the south of Austria, and Russia on the defensive on the Austrian frontier, while Germany is pressing the allies hard on the northern frontier of France without giving in on the eastern frontier of that country, and Russia is similarly pressing Germany on her eastern frontier. It seems, however, that a new Austrian mobilisation order has called out every man capable of bearing arms, including those engaged in harvesting, and, if we may believe the Russian *Novoye Vremya*, the Czech soldiers of Austria mutinied at Prague and held the city for a day after which the Austrians reinforced the garrison and entered the city. As for details of Austrian brutality, we propose to deal with the subject when discussing reports of atrocities from all belligerents against their enemies.

IV—RUSSIA AND GERMANY.

It is not an easy matter even in these days of extraordinary publicity to get accurate information about the armed forces of any country, and nowhere is this difficulty even half as great as in the case of Russia. What information is, however, available is as follows. The system of obligatory military service for all, introduced in 1874, has been maintained, but the six years' term of service has been reduced to five. During the reign of Alexander III efforts were mainly directed towards—(1) reducing the time required for the mobilisation of the army; (2) increasing the immediate readiness of the cavalry for war and its fitness for serving as mounted infantry (Dragoon regiments taking the places of Hussars and Lancers); (3) strengthening the western or German frontier by fortresses and railways; and (4) increasing the artillery, siege and train reserves. Further, the age releasing from service was raised from 40 to 43 years and the Militia (*landsturm*) was reorganised. The measures taken during the reign of Nicholas II have been chiefly directed towards increasing the fighting capacity and readiness for immediate service of the troops in Asia and towards the better reorganisation of the local irregular militia forces. Broadly speaking, the Army is divided into Regulars, Cossacks and Militia. The peace strength of the Army is estimated at 42,000 officers and 1,100,000 men (about 350,000 combatants), while the war strength is approximately 75,000 officers and 4,500,000 men. However, this latter figure is merely nominal, the available artillery and train service being much below the strength which would be required for such an army. Estimates which put the military forces of Russia in time of war at 2,750,000 seem to approach more nearly the strength of the forces which could actually be mustered. Out of the peace strength that we have mentioned only some 850,000 are quartered in Europe, while there are 250,000 in East Asia, 75,000 in the Caucasus and 30,000 in Turkestan. About 60,000 Cossacks must be added to this number. The active army in peace is distributed about 37 Army Corps and 24 Cavalry Divisions and certain independent brigades of foot and horse. The normal Army Corps, excluding reserve divisions, numbers 32 battalions, 5 squadrons and 14 batteries, with a total war strength of 44,000 men and 12,000 horses, and a combatant strength of 30,000 rifles, 64 machine-guns, 108 field guns and 1,000 sabres. The normal Cavalry Division has 2 cavalry brigades each of 2 regiments of six squadrons, 8 machine-guns and 2 batteries of horse artillery; in all 4,500 men and 4,800 horses with a combatant strength of 3,000 sabres, 12 guns and 8 machine-guns. We must also reckon that 10 Cossack Cavalry Divisions can eventually take the field. Cavalry is said to be to Russia what the Navy is to England, and the Cossacks alone can place 1,000 squadrons in the field. Everything included, the Russian first line army numbers approximately 2,000,000 with 5,000 guns. This is the army which is most immediately affected by the general mobilisation, and we must deduct from it such troops as Russia keeps on guard in east Asia, the Caucasus, and Turkestan which are not so much in love with Russia that they could be left like Ireland to look after the country without a single regular soldier to look after them. This army must take so long to present itself at either front that we need not now examine how the remaining 2,000,000 trained men will be distributed into second and third line formations and what part they would play in the war. It is not impossible that reserve divisions have already been given to the various Army Corps, but the concentration of the first line itself without reserve division will so completely occupy the Russian railways that it would be safer to count without the reserve divisions until we learn definitely, of

their presence at the front. How long would it take for this great army to concentrate and to begin to exercise serious pressure upon the Austrian and German fronts has been the question that had presented itself to every one interested in the war. Of course Russia has been talking in millions, and we have been assured that 8 million Russians will soon be in the field, and, subsequently, that the rush of soldiers was so great that only ten millions were accepted for the present and the rest sent back. But the most optimistic estimate ascribed to Russia the capacity of mobilising some 2 millions in the course of a month. Ordinarily it would take Russia not less than six weeks to bring that number together, in spite of the reforms of Alexander III and the terrible experiences of Russia in Manchuria during her last war. Let us suppose that the maximum number of available troops has just been mobilised. How many of these are in Europe, and out of them how many have been placed on the German frontier is a far more difficult question to answer. At the commencement of hostilities it was estimated that, besides the troops we have already mentioned as being near the Austrian frontier, there were the following on the German frontier:—The 1st Infantry Brigade at Lodz; the 15th Cavalry Division at Plotak; the 2nd Infantry Division at Novogeorgievski fortress; the 6th Infantry Division at Zichenanow; another infantry division at Ostrow; the 4th Infantry Division at the fortress of Lomja, the 6th Army Corps, the 16th Infantry and the 4th Cavalry Divisions at Bialystock; the 2nd Army Corps and the 26th Infantry Division at Grodno; the 2nd Cavalry Division and the 5th Infantry Brigade at Suwalki; the 3rd Cavalry and the 28th Infantry Divisions at the fortress of Kovno; the 3rd Army Corps and the 27th and the 43rd Infantry Division at Vilna, the 4th Army Corps and the 30th Infantry Division at Minsk; and the 40th Infantry Division at the fortress of Bobruisk. We have already reckoned the three Army Corps, one Cavalry Division and one independent Cavalry Brigade and two Infantry Divisions at Warsaw and an Infantry Division at the fort of Brest Litovsk when dealing with the Russian forces massed on the Austrian frontier.

Against these forces Germany has in this theatre of war the 2nd Division at Insterburg; the 1st Army Corps and 1st Division at Konigsburg; the 20th Army Corps and 37th Division at Allenstein; the 41st Division at Deutsch-Eylan; the 27th Army Corps and 36th Division at Dantzic; the 35th Division at the fortress of Thorn; the 3th Division at Bromberg; the 5th Army Corps and 10th Division at Posen; the 2nd Army Corps and 3rd Division at Stettin; the 5th Division at Frankfurt; the 9th Division at the fort of Glogau; the 6th Army Corps and 11th Division at Breslau; and the 12th Division at Neisse.

Thus we see that while Russia has in this region 10 Army Corps, 19 Infantry, 9 Cavalry and 21 Cossack Divisions, with 1 Cavalry and 4 Infantry Independent Brigades, Austria has 6 Army Corps and 14 Infantry and 6 Cavalry Divisions, and Germany has 6 Army Corps and 18 Divisions. In other words, the two allies can oppose 12 Army Corps against Russia's 10, and 33 Divisions of Cavalry and Infantry against Russia's 30 Division and 5 Independent Brigades. So far, therefore, as the ordinary distribution of troops is concerned, the allies were more than a match for Russia when war was declared. Russia, however, was expected to have all 24 Cavalry Divisions and 12 to 16 Army Corps in position by the end of August, though we doubt whether she could denude a far from contented country of so many regular troops even if they could be mobilised so soon. The German plan had evidently been to join issue with the French in the first great encounter about the 14th to the 21st day after mobilisation, hurling the greater portion of her forces on the more mobile of her two enemies, and after defeating him decisively in co-operation with the Austrians, to turn round safely upon Russia and meet her with equal or superior force when a couple of weeks later Russia was ready to fight. As we have shown in our previous articles, the German time-table has been upset by the gallant resistance offered by General Loeman at the Liège forts. But the delay has not exceeded a week at the utmost, for the great battle has commenced on the 22nd August or 21 days after the order of mobilization, and even if it be believed that Russian mobilisation has been more rapid than was expected, Germany has still a few days in which to carry out her plans against France and Russia or fail in the attempt. But to believe in the existence of a time-table which must be carried out to the hour and the minute if the nation is to escape complete annihilation is either to pay too high a compliment to German organisation, or to credit the German General Staff with a criminal and insane self-conceit that would persuade it to risk everything on a single throw of the dice.

How many Army Corps must Germany have left on her eastern frontier to oppose Russia? According to the first estimate of the *Times* Military Correspondent, the number would probably be not less than 8 nor more than 5 Army Corps, the residue of the German Army on this frontier being made up of reserve, *landwehr* and *landsturm* formations. He thought that the superior readiness of Germany and Austria on this frontier would enable the allies, if they wished to do so, to conduct an active campaign at first against Russia and still to have the bulk of the German Army available to fight France. But the *Times* published about a fortnight later the report of its Military Correspondent locating German forces, according

to which the 14th Austrian and the 15th German Army Corps were believed to be between Strassburg and Switzerland; the 21st between Metz and Saarbrück; the 7th, 9th and 10th about Liège; the 4th at Rochefort; the 19th at Bastogne; the 8th at Luxemburg, with the 12th and 3rd Bavarians echeloned behind it; the 15th and 2nd Bavarians from Thionville to Metz; the 3rd and 11th from Verviers to Malmédy; the 13th and 1st Bavarians at Saarbrück; the Guards and the 18th and 14th further east, and, as originally conjectured, the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, 17th, and 20th facing Russia. According to this estimate there were the Guards and 9 Army Corps between Switzerland and Thionville and 10 Army Corps operating against the allies in Belgium and on the northern frontier of France, while 6 were acting as wardens of East Prussia against Russia.

It must be remembered that Russia has recently been reorganising and planning the further expansion of her army, and had these plans been brought to fruition she could have advanced her line of concentration a good deal nearer to the frontiers of her enemies. As it is, she is evidently concentrating some distance away from Vilna and Warsaw. Obviously she is in a hurry and desires to take off the pressure from France. If she has been able to concentrate her forces much earlier than she was expected to do she would naturally be justified by results for rushing into East Prussia. But there is also the possibility of Germany luring her into the marshy country on her extreme north-eastern frontier and to persuade her to engage herself deeply before her men are up.

Before we deal with the advance of Russia into Prussia let us give a few details about German defences. The fixed defences maintained by the German Empire, apart from naval ports and coast defences, belong to two distinct epochs in the military policy of the State. In the first period, roughly between 1871 and 1899, which is characterised by the development of the offensive spirit, the fortresses, except on the French and Russian frontiers, were reduced to a minimum. In the interior only Spandau, Cüstrin, Magdeburg, Ingolstadt and Ulm were maintained as defensive supporting points, and similarly on the Rhine, which was formerly studded with fortresses from Basel to Emmerich, the defences were limited to New Breisach, Germersheim, Mainz, Coblenz, Cologne, and Wesel, all of a barrier character and not organised specially as centres of activity for field armies. The French frontier, and to a less extent the Russian, were organised offensively. Metz already surrounded by the French with a girdle of forts was extended and completed as a great entrenched camp, and Strassburg, which in 1870 possessed no outlying works, has similarly expanded, though the latter was regarded an instrument of defence more than of attack. On the Russian frontier Königsburg, Danzig, Thorn, Posen, Glogau (on a smaller scale Boyen in East Prussia and Graudenz on the Vistula) were modernised and improved.

From 1899, however, Germany began to pay more attention to her fixed defences, and in the next years a long line of fortifications came into existence on the French frontier, the position and strength of which were regulated with special regard to a new strategic disposition of the field armies and to the number and a lot of the "strategic railway stations" which were constructed about the same time. Thus, the erection of a new series of forts extending from Thionville (Diedenhofen) to Metz and thence south eastward was coupled with the construction of twelve strategic railway stations between Cologne and the Belgian frontier, and later—the so called "fundamental plan" of operations against France having apparently undergone modification in consequence of changes in the foreign relations of the German Government—an immense strategic railway station was undertaken at Saarburg, on the right rear of Thionville and well away from the French frontier, and many important new works both of fortification and of railway construction were begun in Upper Alsace, between Colmar and Basel.

The coast defences include, besides the great naval ports of Wilhelmshaven on the North Sea and Kiel on the Baltic, Danzig, Pillau, Memel, Friedrichshagen, Cuxhaven, Glesensmünde and Swinemünde.

Next in interest to the advance of Germany through Belgium into France has been the pressure exerted by Russia on the eastern frontier of Germany. But from a perusal of the foregoing paragraph, it will be clear that the Russians have not yet penetrated far enough into East Prussia to make the situation critical for Germany. All her fortifications have hitherto been untouched, and it is not unlikely that, apart from being on the defensive on this frontier, and trusting to the Austrian pressure on the southern frontier of Russia, Germany is purposely luring the Russians into her own territory a greater portion of which on this side is of a marshy character and intersected by numerous rivers, big and small, and that she is reserving a *coup de main* till such time as Russia fully commits herself and finds further advance in the enemy's country troublesome. Germany could then strike a severe blow at her flanks from Königsburg in the north and Graudenz and Thorn in the south. In case of a Russian reverse the retreat through the marshes and across the rivers would then be a most difficult operation, and it is not unlikely that having the command of the sea in the Baltic, Germany would land troops to the rear of the Russians, which would practically cut off her retreat towards Vilna at least. If such a force could ride astride the line Eydtkuhnen-Gumbinnen-Insterburg, one avenue of retreat at least would be easily closed.

If Russian telegrams can be believed the Russians have steadily and at times rapidly advanced into German territory since we reviewed the fighting on this frontier in the issue of 12th August. We regret that in the absence of a larger map since made available we could not then locate Prostken where the Germans and the Russians first encountered each other, nor were we accurate in locating Bialla where a strong Russian column had invaded Germany. Both these places lie to the east of Allenstein, Prostken lying absolutely on the frontier on the river Lyck and to the south of the town of Lyck, and Bialla some distance from the frontier and to the east of Jehanniburg. The Germans had advanced towards Wirballen and had inflicted severe losses on the Russians when they attacked the latter at Kibarty, which lies a little distance to the north of Wirballen. This is one of the lines which the Russians have chosen for their attack on Germany, namely, Vilna-Kovno-Königsburg, the others being Warsaw-Soldau-Allenstein-Königsburg and Warsaw-Thorn-Berlin. During the first week of the war it could not be clearly understood which side was taking the offensive. But subsequently it was noted that the Russians were pressing the Germans on the first named line of advance in spite of having suffered heavy losses at Kibarty. On the 9th August it was officially announced that the Germans had lost 100 men killed at Eydtkuhnen and the place seems to have been occupied after fighting for two days. The Germans after this tried to recapture Eydtkuhnen and themselves attacked Kalisz which lies on their frontier due east of Warsaw. In the case of the former they were reported to have been repulsed, but they entered the latter and threatened to decimate the Russian population in the event of further resistance.

Since then the Russian advance is the only thing that we hear of. A telegram of the 18th reported that the Russians had occupied five points in German territory with great success, taking hundreds of prisoners. On the 20th further Russian advance was reported in the shape of a considerable victory at Gumbinnen which lies due west of Eydtkuhnen. Twelve guns and many prisoners were reported to have been captured. Another telegram reported fighting on the Austrian and German frontiers denoting mostly Russian success, including the capture of 8 German guns and 2 quickfiring and the Russian advance along the whole line. On the 21st another line of Russian advance was reported, namely, along the Lyck, lying midway between the lines Vilna-Kovno-Eydtkuhnen and Warsaw-Soldau. The Russians had penetrated 20 miles into East Prussia and occupied Lyck. The Russian front was reported to be at least 70 miles, with right flank northward of the Insterburg-Kovno railway, and the *Morning Post's* St. Petersburg correspondent said that the Russians and Germans had been struggling for eight days for the possession of the line Gumbinnen-Lyck which was necessary to secure the flank prior to general advance and that the Russians had succeeded. They were reported to have been fighting at least 14 German infantry regiments with heavy guns and the Russian cavalry was stated to have captured 2 guns. Later it was reported that the Russians had captured a battery and many prisoners at Gumbinnen, and Russian aviators were said to have dropped bombs on military buildings. On the 23rd instant a *communiqué* issued in St. Petersburg stated that German troops engaged three Russian Army Corps near Gumbinnen on the 20th instant, and that after desperate fighting General Rennenkampf's Army occupied Insterburg. This success was indeed very important, for Insterburg is an important railway junction as well as the place of the confluence of the rivers Inster and Pregel and lies 60 miles to the east of Königsburg. The same day it was announced that Goldap was also captured by the Russians. This is a place lying due south of Gumbinnen and due north of Lyck on the line from Insterburg to Lyck and given its name to the river that runs parallel to it. On the 24th it was reported that the engagements in Prussia during the last six days were fought with the utmost desperation, the battle-front extending for thirty miles and that the retreat of the 20th German Army Corps near Lyck resembled a rout. The German population was stated to be abandoning the villages and fleeing northwards. The Russians reported that the Germans were in full retreat and were crossing the river Angerapp which runs north and south to the west of Goldap. The Russians occupied Jehanniburg, Ortelsburg, Willenberg and Soldau, which are all a short distance from the south-eastern frontier of East Prussia, the farthest inside being Ortelsburg which lies south-east of Allenstein on the line Lyck to Allenstein. The Germans were reported to have set fire, before leaving the place, to Neidenburg which lies on the river Neide, a little to the north-east of Soldau and due west of Willenberg. The same day came news of the Russian capture of Arys, 20 miles west of Lyck. Reuter, summing up the situation on the 24th August, stated that the Russians had already penetrated 40 miles into Prussian territory, and that their intention was said to be to cover the remaining 80 miles to Berlin by forced marches. (Evidently the Russians do not suffer from pessimism). Even, continued Reuter, if the official version of the Russian victory is only approximately correct, the Russians have done splendidly. By occupying Insterburg and commanding the railway to Danzig, they crushed the turning movement which was intended to

develop their right. But, added Reuter, it must be remembered that the Russians would now be impeded by a district covered with lakes and marshes through which they would have to pass; and he concluded with the remark: "Also on their right is the great fortress of Königsberg". In view of these obstacles the forced marches that would cover the 300 miles to Berlin seem to indicate that the Russian steam-roller has gathered extraordinary momentum, for were it not so, the simple Rule of Three, with the assistance of a little commonsense, would suggest that, if it has taken Russia more than three weeks to penetrate only 40 miles into unfortified Prussian territory without any pronounced physical features that could delay the march of an army, it would take about six months more to cover even by forced marches the remaining 300 miles to Berlin which are covered with lakes and marshes and a few such things as forts. It is evident that Russian exploits and expectations, like those of Serbia, do not lose anything in the telling thereof. But we have to deal with facts rather than fancies, and the idea of a few forced marches and the capture of Berlin may be dismissed along with the story of the Russian mobilisation being stopped because of the concentration of an army of 10 millions within a month of the order of mobilisation.

Later information is to the effect that the Russians have occupied Nordenburg which is to the south of Insterburg and the west of Goldap, forming with Goldap a triangle of which Insterburg is the apex. Senaberg and Bischofsburg, which lies to the north east of Allenstein and some 30 to 40 miles west of Arys, are also reported to have been captured. Evidently the objective of the Russians is Allenstein which is an important railway junction. The Russian General is also said to have stated that his troops attacked the fortifications of Ordau and Frankenau north of Neidenburg with hand grenades and bayonets, practically enveloping an army corps, and, later, news came of the Russian occupation of the railway junction of Rothliebs, 21 miles to the north-west of Allenstein. Without in any way minimising the Russian success and the rapidity of Russian mobilisation, we may state that Russia is far more formidable in defence in her own territory, as even Napoleon learnt to his cost, than in attack carried out beyond her own confines. Still Germany cannot ignore the Russian advance much further, and it would seem that reinforcements will soon have to be sent to the eastern theatre of war even if Germany has to weaken to a slight degree the forces on her western frontier.

V.—THE FIGHTING ON THE FRANCO-GERMAN FRONTIER.

We now turn to the fighting on the Franco-German frontier which forms the left wing of the German and the right wing of the French army. We had brought the review of the operations to the 18th instant when the French were reported to be making methodical progress in Alsace and Lorraine and to have gained a distance of from 10 to 20 kilometres all along the frontier from Chambery to Belfort, advancing strongly in some valleys, particularly on Strassburg. Swiss telegrams also said that the French had occupied Colmar amid great enthusiasm among the population. Colmar is the capital of the Alsace province and the seat of the highest judicial tribunal in Alsace-Lorraine. It is also an important station on the railway line from Basel to Strassburg. The French Commander-in-Chief had telegraphed that he occupied a greater part of the valley of the Vosges. On the Alsace slope south of Saarburg the enemy had established a fortified position with heavy artillery. On the 17th the French were reported to have routed them and the cavalry was still pursuing on the 18th. The German losses were stated to have proved heavier than was at first thought, and it was asserted that the Germans retired in disorder north and east before the French advance in Upper Alsace, a fact which was evidenced by the enormous quantities of war material captured. The French were stated to be continuing their advance in the valley of the Bruche. On the 20th it was officially announced that the French had again occupied Mulhausen at the point of the bayonet after very sharp fighting, capturing 6 guns and 6 ammunition wagons, and that they had also occupied Guebwiller which is some 12 miles north of Mulhausen. We have already referred in the last issue to the French advance on Moerchingen, south east of Metz on the important Metz Strassburg railway. On the 21st it was reported that there was no German in France except a small enclave near Nancy. The French troops were reported to have achieved a brilliant success in Alsace between Mulhausen and Altkich, capturing 24 guns, and the Germans were reported to be retreating on the Rhine. After this there comes a change on the scene which is startling. According to a cable dated August 21st, 12 p.m., a French official *communiqué* said: "Our operations were less successful in Lorraine yesterday than they had been on the preceding days. The French advance guard encountered very strong positions and was forced back by a counter-attack of the main body which had taken up a very strong position on the river Seille and a canal connecting the Warne and Rhine." On the 23rd August a telegram stated that official accounts from Paris of the fighting in Lorraine showed that several army corps attacked the French advance guard and then the main body of the Germans who outnumbered the French. The latter had been fighting uninterruptedly for 6 days, and the official accounts explained that in consequence the French left wing had fallen back on the advance works at

Nancy, while the right was strongly established in the Donon range. Although it was stated that in retaking Mulhausen the Frenchmen took 24 guns and a thousand prisoners and that by fierce bayonet charges they had driven the Germans on the Rhine, the French were really not making the great progress in Alsace which they claimed. On the 24th instant a Paris telegram stated that an official *communiqué* announced that it had been decided to withdraw the French troops from Donon and Saales as these points were no longer important seeing that the French occupied the fortified line beginning at Nancy. Considering that only a week ago the occupation of Saales Pass after five days' fighting was declared to be important and it was stated that the Pass commands the valley and is on the flank of any operation from or against Lorraine, the above telegram is a piece of reasoning which does not show much respect for the intelligence of the world at large. It is clear that the French were compelled to give up these positions, and a cable of the 25th announced that according to an official Paris despatch, the French troops had made four counter-attacks from Nancy and had wrought havoc among the Germans. The very fact that it was the French that made the counter-attacks showed that the offensive had passed from the French to the Germans. As we shall see presently, this change was due to the fact that the entire German army on the French and Belgian frontiers was engaged in the big battle for which the world had been waiting for over a week. On the 26th it was stated that both armies had taken the offensive in Lorraine, and that the 15th French Army Corps had executed a brilliant counter-attack in the valley of Venouse. According to the Press Bureau it was officially announced that on the 25th the German attack on the French southern frontier was repulsed and the enemy had retired all along the line. But a more candid confession came from the French Senator, M. Gervais, who, writing to the *Matin*, ascribed "the retreat" in Lorraine to the failure of the 15th Corps drawn from Antilly, Toulon, Marseilles and Aix. He was of opinion that the warlike soldiers of the south would feel bound to "wipe out the dishonour which some of their members had done to French valour." Surely it is at least an exaggeration to describe such action on the part of 15th Corps as the execution of "a brilliant counter-attack." After this it becomes somewhat difficult to believe the French *communiqué* which states that "generally speaking" a French offensive action is progressing between Nancy and the Vosges, that the enemy seem to have sustained considerable losses and that in Lorraine the German offensive has been wholly repulsed.

VI.—LIEGE AND ITS BUILDERS.

In reviewing the campaign in and through Belgium next week we shall have to take leave of the fort of Liège on which most of the interest has been centred up to this time. Although we in India heard nothing about it at the time, the *Times* published a message of the 6th from Paris announcing the fall of two of the Liège forts; and now that General Laeman has been found lying unconscious near one of the forts and has become a German prisoner after a most heroic struggle, we may take it that even if "all the forts are still intact," for all practical purposes Liège has ceased to be an obstacle on the path of the Germans. In the wars of the 18th century Liège played but a small part. It was then defended only by the citadel and a detached fort on the right side of the Meuse, but at a short distance from the river, called the Chartreuse. Marlborough captured these forts in 1703 in preparation for his advance in the following year into Germany which resulted in the victory of Blenheim. The citadel and the Chartreuse were still the only defences of Liège in 1793 when, after long discussions, the Belgian authorities decided on adequately fortifying the two important passages of the Meuse at Liège and Namur. A similar plan was adopted at each place, viz., the construction of a number of detached forts along a perimeter drawn at a distance varying from 4 to 6 miles of the town, so as to shelter it so far as possible from bombardment. The twelve forts constructed at Liège are, beginning with those on the right bank, from the north and following an eastern curve, Barchon, Evregnée, Fleron, Chaudfontaine, Embourg and Borchelles, and on the left bank, continuing from the south and following a western curve, Flenelle, Hollogne, Lavaine, Lantun, Liars, and Pontins or Pontisse. The old fortress of Chartreuse lies midway between Fleron and Chaudfontaine, but a good deal to the west, while the old citadel is on the opposite bank midway between Loncine and Hollogne, but a good deal to the east and in fact in the town itself. These forts were constructed under the personal direction of General Brialmont. He was a Belgian General and military engineer. He was born in Limbourg in 1821, was educated at the Brussels Military School and entered the army as a Sub-Lieutenant of Engineers in 1843. When in 1874 he rose to the position of Major General he was given the post of Director of Fortifications in Antwerp District, and subsequently became Inspector-General of Fortifications. It is interesting to note that his far-reaching schemes for the fortification of Belgian places met with no little opposition, and he seems to have felt much disappointment at this. At any rate he went in 1885 to Roumania to advise as to the fortification works required for the defence of the country and presided over the elaboration of the scheme by which Bucharest was to be made a first class fortress. Partly at the suggestion of Austria which regarded the Bucharest works as a menace to herself, Brialmont was placed on *disponibilité* (unattached) in his

own service, as having undertaken the Bucharest works without the authorisation of his sovereign. His services were, however, too valuable to be lost, and on his return to Belgium he resumed his command of the Antwerp military district. While in eastern Europe he had also prepared a scheme for the defence of Greece. He retired in 1886, but continued to supervise the Roumanian defences. The forts of Liège and Namur, as we stated in our first article on the Campaign, were finished in 1895. Brialmont died in 1903. In the first stage of his career as an engineer Brialmont's plans followed with but slight modification the ideas of Vauban, Marshal of France, and the most celebrated military engineer who lived in the 17th century. Brialmont's original scheme for fortifying Antwerp, therefore, provided for both casemates and forts being on a bastioned trace. But in 1869 when the great entrenched camp at Antwerp was taken in hand he had already gone over to the school of polygonal fortification, and the ideas of Montalembert, the French military engineer and writer who lived in 18th century and has been called the father of modern fortification. About 20 years later Brialmont's own types and plans began to stand out amidst the general confusion of ideas on fortification which naturally resulted from the introduction of long range guns and from the events of 1871. The extreme detached forts of the Antwerp region and the fortifications on the Meuse at Liège and Namur were constructed in accordance with Brialmont's final principles, viz., the lavish use of armour to protect the artillery inside the forts, the suppression of all artillery positions open to overhead fire, and the multiplication of intermediate batteries. At Liège all the forts are constructed in concrete with casemates or bomb-proof vaults or galleries loop-holed for the use of artillery. The heavy guns are raised and lowered automatically.

VII.—MODERN FORTIFICATIONS.

Modern fortification dates by universal consent from 1885. German experiments had been made earlier with long shells containing from 60 to 130 lbs. of high explosive. French experiments were made at fort Malmaison in 1886 with 8 in. shell of 5 calibres in length containing large charges of melinite. Holland, Belgium and Austria also made experiments and found that magazine casemates were destroyed by a single shell, and revetment walls were overturned and practicable breaches made by two or three shells falling behind them. The fact was the casemates had not till then been made to resist the explosion of the big charge, there being not enough earth over them nor thick enough masonry beneath it. The result was that engineers now set about to adopt their works to meet the new projectiles. Revetments were enormously strengthened and concrete roofs were made much thicker, while the idea of cupolas and shielded guns gained ground. Controversy, however, ranged round the subject, and while some declared that with the use of heavy guns and armour, fortresses could be made stronger than ever, others held that modern fortresses were far too expensive, that their use led to strategic mistakes and, arguing from certain well-known examples such as Plevna and Kara, they held that extemporized field defences could offer as good resistance as permanent works. General Brialmont was the most thorough of all the advocates of strategic fortifications, and he advised as follows:—(a) Fortify the capital; (b) fortify the points where main lines of communication pass a strategic barrier; (c) make an entrenched camp at the most important centre of communication in each zone of invasion, and support it by one or two places arranged so as to make a fortified district; (d) close with barrier forts the lines necessary to an enemy across mountain or marshes; (e) make a central place behind the mountain chain as a pivot for the army watching it; (f) defend mountain roads by provisional fortifications; (g) make a large place in each theatre of war which is far from the principal theatre and where the enemy might wish to establish himself; and (h) fortify coasts and harbours. Lieut-Colonel Jackson, R. E., C. M. G., Assistant Director of Fortifications and Works, War Office, naively remarks about these proposals that objections to them will be readily supplied by the officials of the national treasuries and the commander-in-chief of active armies. In England opinion has been led by Lord Sydenham, the last Governor of Bombay, who is, however, a greater military engineer than statesman or administrator. He brought out his well known book in 1890. Having witnessed officially the experiments in Bucharest in 1885, he expressed himself very strongly against the whole system. Besides pointing out very clearly the theoretical objections to it and the weak points of the constructions under experiment, the turrets and the cupolas, he added: "The cost of the French turret was about £10,000 exclusive of its armament, and for this sum about six moveable overbank guns of greater power could be provided." In view of the weight that belongs of right to his criticisms it is as well to point out that while this remark is quite true, yet the six guns would require also six detachments, with arrangements for supplies, etc.,—a consideration which alters the working of this apparently elementary sum. The whole object of protection is to enable few men and guns successfully to oppose a larger number. Lord Sydenham's study of fortifications, as he tells us began with a history of the defence of Plevna. He wanted to compare the resistance made behind extemporized defences at such places as Suvastopol, Kara, and Plevna, with those at other places fortified in the most complete manner known to science. From this comparison he drew the conclusion that the true strength of

fortification does not depend on great masonry works intricately placed together at vast expense, but on organisation, communications and invisibility. In his 1907 edition he says:—

Future defences will divide themselves naturally into the following categories (1) Permanent works wholly constructed in peace time and forming the key points of the position. (2) Gun emplacement, magazines and shelters for men in rear of the main line, all concrete structures and platforms to be completed, though some earth work may be left until the position is placed in a state of defence. (3) Field works (trenches, etc.), guarding the interval between the permanent defences in the main line, or providing rear positions. These should be deliberately planned in time of peace ready to be put in hand at short notice. The essence of a well-fortified position is that the weapons of the defender shall obtain the utmost possible scope of action, and that those of the attacker shall have the minimum chance of effecting injury.

Since Lord Sydenham published his first edition in 1890, continental ideas have expanded a good deal. The foregoing statement as to the three categories of defences would be accepted anywhere now: the differences of opinion come in when we reach the stage of classifying under the first head the permanent works to be constructed in peace time. In most countries these would include forts with guns for the artillery duel, forts with safety armaments, fixed batteries with or without armour, and forts for infantry only. Lord Sydenham will have no armour for guns except in certain special cases of barrier forts. Heavy guns and howitzers requiring permanent emplacement (concrete platforms, etc.) must either be well concealed or be provided with alternative positions. The only permanent works which he admits are for infantry. They are redoubts of simple form intended for 850 or 400 men, with casemate accommodation for three-fourths of that number. Lord Sydenham writes:

The intervals between the infantry redoubts may be about 2,500 yards; but this will necessarily depend upon the conformation of the ground. Where there are good artillery positions falling within the sphere of protection of the redoubts, large redoubts will be permissible. Thus, in the case of an extended line of defence where the ground offers marked tactical features, the idea of a continuous chain of permanent works may be abandoned in favour of groups of redoubts guarding the artillery positions. In this case the redoubts in a group might be distributed on a curve bent back in approximately horse-shoe-form.

The keystone of the close defence of the fighting in future will undoubtedly be these infantry redoubts. It is agreed that the main line of defence must consist of a more or less continuous line of field defences and obstacles, and that at some points in the line there should be infantry supporting points with bomb proof protection capable of resisting shells. The open question is, what additional works, if any, are required for the artillery, whether for the medium and heavy guns that will take part in the "artillery duel", or for the lighter natured that will help in the close fight and defence of the interval. Is it best for the defenders to rely on armoured protection or on concealment for his guns. Official opinion outside England has certainly sanctioned armour, since all over the Continent it is to some extent adopted in practice. National practice is usually based on the advice of the most distinguished officers of the day, and therefore it is unsafe to condemn it lightly. Lord Sydenham and those who are with him—and they are many, both in Great Britain and abroad—object entirely to armour. He says: "The great advantage possessed by the attack in all ages has been the employment of a mobile artillery against armaments cribbed, cabined and confined by fortification. Is it necessary to perpetuate this advantage? Of course the effect of long range weapons, in increasing the length of front that can be held by a given force, has given much greater freedom of action to the defence, and this should be taken full advantage of." The teaching of history is all against immobile mechanical defences. Initiative, surprise, unforeseen offensive action, keeping the besieger in ignorance of the dispositions of the garrison, and of what progress he is making: all these, with their influence on the morale of both sides, tend towards successful defences and do not point towards the use of armour. It may further be said that the use of armour as a general rule is unnecessary, because a concealed battery is a protected one; and with the long ranges now usual for heavy guns and howitzers, there is not generally much difficulty about concealment. In our next issue we shall apply these conclusions to the Sieges of Liège and Namur and also deal with the fighting in for the most important theatre of war, constituted by the Belgo-German and the Franco-Belgian frontiers.



[On the following pages the telegrams of the week are given.]

London, Aug. 17 (12-35 p.m.)

The Press Bureau announces that the Expeditionary Forces, as detailed for foreign service have been safely landed on French soil. The embarkation, transportation, and disembarkation of men and stores were alike carried through with the greatest precision and without a single casualty. The Press Bureau adds that Earl Kitchener desired to state that he and the country were under the greatest obligation to the press for the loyalty with which all references to the movement of the expeditionary force had been suppressed.

Part of German atrocities in frontier villages, such as setting fire to a house where women had taken refuge, killing of wounded French soldiers, and so forth.

The Russians have entered Austria by the upper course of the Bug and Styra. The Russians have also taken the offensive against Thorn and Grandona. The Germans are hurrying forward reserves to support their five army corps on this frontier.

Reuter's Nairobi correspondent says that Germans numbering a hundred have occupied Taveta.

The Dutch troops on the German frontiers show evidence of discontent against the Germans.

While military experts utter warnings against unhesitating acceptance of stories regarding insufficient German food supplies, they point out that the supplies are distributed to troops by mechanical transport for which an unfailing supply of petrol is necessary. Now that the Germans' ocean transport has been interrupted, their supply of petrol ceases, and moreover there is reason to believe that the German stock is already running short.

The *Morning Post* expert says there are indications that the Germans are determined to adopt the defensive on the east side of the Meuse while making a decisive effort to crush the allied armies in Belgium. But the main objection to this policy is the delay entailed.

Mr. Redmond, speaking at Marlborough, said that he had received assurances from every part of Ireland that Irish volunteers would defend Ireland against any foreign force. The Government are about to arm and equip and drill large numbers of Irish volunteers.

The Government's war insurance rates are 8 per cent.

Columbo, Aug. 17, 8-15 p. m.

The *Times of Ceylon's* London correspondent cables:—

The London *Times'* military correspondent publishes an article dealing with Lord Kitchener's plans and states that in all probability the war may be a long one in view of the German resources. Therefore Lord Kitchener's plans embody the creation of a new Arm to replace the regulars, who may be called elsewhere.

The Territorials, as distinct from any units specially raised with a view to possible foreign service, can only be sent when properly trained.

Lahore, Aug. 17.

The following are special cablegrams to the *Civil and Military Gazette*:—

While the main German fleet is currently believed to be bottled up at awaiting orders to attack, the British ships are ready outside. It is recognised that it would be in accordance with the German principle of throwing all their weight into the scale at once if an attack were delivered simultaneously on land and sea. A big engagement on land can scarcely be deferred beyond the end of the week.

London, Aug. 17.

The *Times'* military correspondent considers it inadvisable that the allies should early take the offensive. It would be preferable to allow the Germans to repeat their experiences at Liege before other fortifications. We have plenty of time, as there is no Russian steam-roller thundering in our rear.

The *Daily Mail* calculates that Russia having taken the first step in mobilisation on the 28th July should be ready to move the first army of 180,000 men into Poland by August 17th or 18th.

The *Morning Post's* St. Petersburg correspondent reports that stories told of the activity of the German fleet in the Baltic are baseless and declare that German factories of false news are now engaged in winning victories for Germany.

The Tsar and the Tsarina have gone to Moscow to attend a solemn invocation for Russian arms. The Tsar will walk to the church among the people unattended, and will return similarly to the Kremlin. From Moscow, he will proceed to join the army.

The German harvest is good, and it is stated that Germany has a year's food supply.

Japan announces that she will respect in principle the integrity of China, and limit any eventual action to Kiaochau. Japan's ultimatum has caused a sensation in Chinese Government circles. It is stated that China intends eventually to regain Kiaochau by her own resources.

The French continue to advance in the neighbourhood of the Heights of Donau. They have occupied Schirneck, twelve miles below Siles.

The Cavalry pushed on to Melbach and Lutzelshausen.

The French in Alsace occupy a line from Thann and Cernay to Dornumers.

The occupation of Taveta is regarded as being of no military importance. That frontier is well guarded, and the natives are quiet.

Recruiting continues brisk.

Lord Kitchener's new army amounts to almost fifty thousand men. Stirring scenes have been witnessed in the parks and fields where drilling of Regulars and Territorials has been taking place.

Otherwise, however, London presents an almost normal appearance in great contrast to Paris.

A telegram just received, dated August 3rd, says that the Italian Foreign Minister, in the course of a communication to the German and the Austrian Ambassadors, declared that the spirit and letter of the Triple Alliance dictated Italy's neutrality. Italy would never participate in a war against England, being bound to her by ties of history and tradition.

The First Fleet, under the orders of Admiral Sir G. Callaghan, left Portland on the morning of July 29th with sealed orders.

The bands of all the ships played as they went out "Three Cheers for the Red, White, and Blue", "Trafalgar's Bay," and "Hearts of Oak." As each ship passed the entrance the crew broke into cheers.

All the men on leave had rejoined by eight in the morning, and the fleet weighed anchor in separate divisions, the Iron Duke, the flagship, bringing up the rear.

When outside the harbour the fleet formed up and was rapidly lost to view.

The ships of the First Fleet at Portland are the most powerful in the world. They were seen at Spithead on the occasion of the recent inspection by his Majesty, and the fleet is now in all respects at the height of its efficiency. According to the list of vessels issued by the Admiralty, it consists of the following men-of-war.

IRON DUKE (Commander-in-Chief's Flag).

Attached Ships: Oak, Sappho.

BATTLESHIPS.

FIRST BATTLE SQUADRON.

Marlborough
(Flag)

Collingwood
Colossus
Hercules

Neptune
Vanguard.
Superb.

St. Vincent
(Second Flag)

Light Cruiser—Bellona.
Repair Ship—Cyclops.

SECOND BATTLE SQUADRON.

King George V.
(Flag)

Ajax
Audacious
Centurion

Conqueror
Monarch.
Thunderer

Orion
(Second Flag)

Light Cruiser—Boadicea.
THIRD BATTLE SQUADRON.

King Edward
VII. (Flag)

Africa
Britannia
Commonwealth

Dominion.
Hindustan.
Zealandia

Hibernia
(Second Flag)

Light Cruiser—Blanche.

FOURTH BATTLE SQUADRON.

Dreadnought
(Flag)

Agamemnon

Temeraire

Light Cruiser—Blonde
FIRST BATTLE CRUISER SQUADRON.

Queen Mary

Lion (Flag).
Princess Royal

New Zealand.

Shannon (Flag)

SECOND CRUISER SQUADRON.

Achilles
Cochrane

Natal

Antrim (Flag)

THIRD CRUISER SQUADRON.

Argyll.

Devonshire.

FIRST LIGHT CRUISER SQUADRON.

Southampton

Birmingham.

The Admiralty statement shows that the ships of the Second and Third Fleets are distributed between the North, Portsmouth, and Devonport. The vessels of the Second Fleet are being kept manned with full crews, as the Admiralty have already announced.

The position to date is cleverly summarised by the French War Office which says: "Germany's original plan of a sudden double attack on the North Sea and the Bagin frontier has failed and consequently French mobilisation and concentration have been completed perfectly. We are working in splendid co-operation with the allied armies. The Russians have hastened their mobilisation and the Serbians are masters of Herzegovina and will cause Austria to hesitate to send troops to Alsace."

It is officially announced that the French began the offensive in force on Friday night along the line from Saarburg to Lunerville and that the movement was successfully continued yesterday.

Two French aeroplanes flew over Metz and dropped shells on the Zeppelin sheds. The aeroplanes returned unscathed to Verdun, despite the fact that over two hundred shots were fired at them from German aeroplane guns.

An artillery duel has occurred at Dinant (Belgium) and the French drove the Germans from the town.

Tokio: Japan has sent an ultimatum to Germany, saying that in order to prevent a disturbance in the Far East, as contemplated by the British Alliance, Japan advises Germany to withdraw all armed vessels from Japanese and Chinese waters or disarm them and to

deliver Kian-shau to Japan with a view to its eventual restoration to China.

Japan requires an answer by the noon of August 23rd. If the advice is not accepted unconditionally, Japan will take the necessary steps.

An official despatch from Paris says that the French drove a German Army Corps from the heights commanding Crecy la Camp after a hot engagement.

The Germans suffered serious losses, the French also taking a number of prisoners.

Paris: A number of Germans fleeing before the French attack failed to reach a bridge across the river Meuse and fell down the steep banks and were drowned.

The French Chasseur Regiment pursued the enemy for several kilometres.

In the fighting in the Vosges yesterday and the day before the French took 1,500 prisoners and captured several big guns.

A telegram from Berne says that a message received from Berlin timed 4-30 a.m. announces that the Emperor left this morning for Mainz (French: Mayence) accompanied by the Head Quarters Staff.

The Press Bureau states that the Germans are greatly inconvenienced by the scarcity of horses. Thousands of their horses have been killed or captured by the Belgians and Germany cannot obtain any more.

The British also sank a floating dock at Dar es Salaam.

The latest telegram from Brussels to date says "There is no change in the general situation since Saturday evening. The Germans do not appear to be in great force before us. Our army is not in direct contact with the enemy at any point and generally there seems to be a temporary lull."

The commander of one of the Liege forts who has been twice wounded is continuing to direct operations from an invalid's chair.

The Russians have compelled the Austrians to evacuate Kilege and neighbourhood. Russian cavalry is pressing forward to the German frontier.

The Austrian Ambassador has left London. He is returning to Austria from Falmouth by sea.

An Austrian official despatch confirms that heavy losses were sustained on both sides in the recent battle between Austrian and Serbian troops.

A Serbian semi-official statement says that the French Fleet attacked the Austrian Fleet off Bulina yesterday morning, and sank two Austrian ironclads and set another on fire, while the fourth fled northwards.

The fight lasted over an hour.

A Paris telegram says that the allies will demand that Turkey shall disarm the *Goeben* and *Breslau* and it is anticipated that Turkey will agree.

Greece is demanding explanations of Turkey's mobilization. Greece will withhold the reply as unsatisfactory.

A state of siege has been officially proclaimed in Bulgaria.

London, Aug. 18

Algerian sharpshooters distinguished themselves in the recent fighting at Moulouzen. The French troops wrought terrible havoc with their bayonets in the German ranks.

The French Government lately at Skutari has been ordered to proceed to Gemp, where it will, if necessary, cooperate in the defence of Montereau-Fortify.

The ex-Emperor of Annam, who is residing in Algeria, and also the son of the Bey of Tunis have offered their services to the French army.

Two hundred soldiers were killed in the sinking of the Austrian cruiser and 161 were saved.

The French Commander in Chief telegraphs that the victory of the greater part of the valleys of the Vosges. On the Alsace-Lorraine front the enemy established a fortified position with artillery. The French yesterday at once routed them. The cavalry to-day is still pursuing them. In every action of the last few days the French artillery had a demoralising and overwhelming effect.

London, Aug. 18 (7-10 p.m.)

It is semi-officially stated in Paris that the mobilization of the Austro-Hungarian Army lacks the patriotic enthusiasm which characterised the French. It is claimed that many Czecho-Slovak commanders and soldiers have been shot at Prague.

Telegrams from Rome say that the unrest in Bosnia and Herzegovina is assuming the character of a formidable rising.

London, Aug. 18 (4.30 p.m.)

It is officially stated that the Liege forts are still intact.

It is stated that the Bulgarian Government has told Bulgarian officers in Belgium, of whom there are a fairly large number that they are authorised to take service in the Belgian army if they desire.

France is making methodical progress in Alsace and Lorraine and has gained a distance of from ten to twenty kilometres all along the frontier from Chateauvillain to Belfort. French troops have advanced strongly in some valleys, particularly on Strassburg.

Swiss telegrams say that the French have occupied Colmar amid great enthusiasm among the population.

The Belgian Royal family, with the exception of the King who is with the army, and part of the Government, together with the Legations, have moved to Brussels.

Hasty measures, such as the erection of barricades, are being taken to defend Brussels against a sudden cavalry raid.

One Brussels newspaper publishes a message, confirmed by the Ministry of War, saying that the French and Belgian troops yesterday brilliantly repulsed the German attack, but no place is given and most accounts seem to indicate that things are fairly quiet, though the rumours of the great battle having really begun are, as usual, not lacking.

The Germans have for the last few days been entrenching themselves along the Belgian battle front.

Little authentic information is obtainable from the war area, and now that the correspondents are leaving Belgium it is anticipated that silence will descend like a pall over the scene of operations until some results of the great encounter definitely manifest themselves.

Another period of tension probably has to be faced similar to that before the declaration of war. Hitherto engagements have been practically only affairs between the two screens, and it is easy to exaggerate their value. Nevertheless one bright spot is the incontrovertible fact that gallant Belgium has completely upset the schemes of the German General Staff.

The German Minister at the Hague only two days ago asked Holland to assure Belgium that all would still be well if Belgium desisted from opposing the German advance. This effort proved futile. The Allies now enter the fight fully concentrated, and in a chosen position which undoubtedly was not originally intended by the German General Staff. Moreover, every day furnishes indications that the Russian avalanche is gathering momentum.

Official French despatches state that all the Liege forts are holding out.

There is no fresh official news regarding the actual position at Liege, but it is pointed out that Namur, which is even stronger than Liege, has yet to be faced.

Belgian officials say that the removal of the Government to Antwerp is for strategic reasons and in no sense does it imply success on the part of the enemy.

In spite of constant reverses, the Germans are evidently pushing masses of troops forward north and south of Liege. The main armies are not yet in contact but the allies are in strong positions ready for battle.

It is officially announced in Belgium that it appears that every raid on Brussels has been frustrated. The German movement in the north of Belgium is apparently a feint.

All messages from the Franco-Belgian frontier are full of stories tending to show that the morale of the Germans is bad and that their forts are not in the war. However much these should be discounted on the principle of the wish being father to the thought, the persistent tales of German prisoners saying that they do not know why they went to war, that this is not a people's war but an officers' war, that nobody wanted war, and so forth, seem to indicate that there is a certain amount of truth in the reports.

A report has reached Paris that the German Crown Prince, who is attached to the first cavalry division, has been wounded and placed in hospital at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that the Emperor William has proceeded thither.

A telegram from Rio de Janeiro says that Brazil has asked Germany for explanations and justification of the guilty parties in the treatment of Simon Campos, ex-President of Sao Paulo, who with his wife is alleged to have been brutally beaten with the butts of rifles by German soldiers and then thrown over the Swiss frontier.

The Serbians have routed the Austrians near Slabava. The Serbians annihilated three Austrian regiments and captured fourteen guns and great quantities of war material. The Serbians are pursuing the enemy.

The *Morning Post* publishes a telegram from Rome saying that the Governor of Trieste has ordered bank deposits to be removed to Vienna, fearing a British attack. The regiment stationed at Trieste which is composed of Italians has been sent to Galicia and the surrender of the city is contemplated.

The Russians have occupied five points in German territory with the greatest success, taking hundreds of prisoners.

London, Aug. 18, (11.20 a.m.)

The despatch of the expeditionary force to the Continent in absolute secrecy is regarded as one of the most extraordinary feats of modern history. It was only rendered possible by a patriotic conspiracy of silence throughout the United Kingdom. Every one knew something from his own personal experience, yet not a hint appeared in the Press, and there was also very little talk on the subject. The arrival of the troops at Boulogne created a deep impression. Columns of khaki-clad men of magnificent physique

marched through the town shouting in unison the well known war cry "Are we down-hearted—No!" "Do we win—Rather."

Field Marshal Sir John French arrived standing on the quarter-deck of H. M. light cruiser *Sentinel* surrounded by his war staff. He was received by the Governor of Boulogne. It was a historic meeting, and enormously impressive, being the first occasion for many centuries that a British commander has arrived at Boulogne other than as a foe.

General French proceeded to Paris to pay his respects to President Poincaré and the Minister of War, and left again to rejoin the army.

The King in a message to the troops, says: "You are leaving home to fight for the safety and honour of my Empire. Belgium, whose country we are pledged to defend, has been attacked, and France is about to be invaded by the same powerful foe.

"I have implicit confidence in you, my soldiers. Duty is your watchword. I know your duty will be nobly done. I shall follow your every movement with the deepest interest, and mark with eager satisfaction your daily progress. Indeed your welfare will never be absent from my thoughts. I pray to God to bless you and guard you and bring you home victorious."

Lord Kitchener has issued instructions to every expeditionary soldier to be kept in his pay-book.

The instructions says: "You are ordered abroad as a soldier of the King to help our French comrades against the invasion of the common enemy. You have to perform the task, needing your courage, your energy, your patience.

"Remember that the honour of the British Army depends upon your individual conduct. It will be your duty not only to set an example of discipline, but also to maintain friendly relations with those whom you are helping in this struggle. The operations in which you are engaged will, for the most part, take place in friendly country. You can do your country no better service than in showing yourself in France and Belgium in the true character of British soldiers. Be invariably courteous, considerate, and kind. Never do anything likely to destroy property. Always look upon looting as a disgraceful act. You are sure to meet with a welcome and be trusted. Your conduct must justify that welcome and that trust. Your duty cannot be done unless you are healthy and sound. So keep constantly on your guard against any excesses. In this new experience, you may find temptation both in wine and women. You must entirely resist both temptations, and while treating all women with perfect courtesy, you should avoid any intimacy. Do your duty bravely. Fiat Deus and Honour the King."

It is officially announced that General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien will command an Army Corps of the Expeditionary Force in succession to Lieutenant General Sir James Grierson.

A message says that Polish political and social representatives have sent to Grand Duke Nicholas a telegram expressing their loyalty and longing for a Russian victory in the fight against the common enemy.

The Senate has accepted the Bill extending American registry to foreign built vessels.

The *Sind Gazette* publishes the following notice from the British High Commissioner in Turkey: "The Turkish Government has declared a moratorium for one month."

It is noted that telegrams for Switzerland can only be accepted in plain French.

The Russian General Staff intimates that mobilisation has been brilliantly completed and that the chief forward movement was stopped on August 11.

Rumours have been in circulation that the Liège forts have fallen but they lack confirmation.

The Official Press Bureau announces that the Germans are retreating in disorder, north and east, before the French advance in Upper Alsace. This is shown by the enormous quantity of war material captured. The German losses prove heavier than was at first thought. The French continue to advance in the valley of Bruche.

In the absence of news experts continue to speculate as to whether Germany will strike her main deadly blow in Belgium or Lorraine.

It is confirmed that Germany has repeatedly made fresh overtures to secure a free passage of her troops through Belgium intimating that Germany has cherished no resentment against Belgium for resisting hitherto, and that Germany was still ready to guarantee the absolute integrity of Belgium at the end of the war. King Albert has rejected the overtures peremptorily. It is stated that Germany has made similar unsuccessful attempts elsewhere in Europe. It is thought that Germany feels keenly the difficulty of her position created by her troops being held up for seventeen days.

The P. and O. "Arabia," which arrived at Port Said on Sunday from Home, brings on mails except from such places on route as Gibraltar, Egypt and the boat which left Enghien. The next Home mails come by on the 7th instant, and is expected at week after next.

Since the mail service between India on the one hand and the Far East on the other, will now be continued between Danaskodi and Talimannar. The at Danaskodi is under construction and before 1915, but temporary arrangements at the Department, which Department will with this mail service, which is usually very heavy.

His Excellency the Viceroy that he will contribute a the Viceroy says the viceable. Any acceptable, and it will be handed over ready.

The Press Bureau having been in contact to take action as contemplated in view of the independence of Japan will not in so far as the Asiatic waters except the territory.

There is a feeling of satisfaction at the splendid organization by which the British troops were safely sent without the loss of men, horse, or material which favoured the transportation, but not to the admirable co-operation of the War Office and the fact that they had had the days after the department.

Interest in the first of the war vice Corps for perpetual success. The first of the war vice Corps for perpetual success. The first of the war vice Corps for perpetual success.

The British is inviting information regarding articles which have been supplied from Germany. It is pointed out that the British is inviting information regarding articles which have been supplied from Germany.

Confidence in the British is inviting information regarding articles which have been supplied from Germany.

In a letter to Mr. Girdle the Marquis of Crewe warmly thanks the Government for the offer made by a large number of Indians of un-conditional service during the war. Lord Crewe says he is disposed to think that it is not advisable for Indian students to volunteer for military duties, as such action might mean that they would be detached for three years from the purpose for which they came here. Nor is it possible to advise them to join the Territorials, as establishments are now complete and a long waiting list already exists. Lord Crewe points out that there is another sphere of public duty not less important, consisting of red cross aid to the sick and wounded, which is largely carried out by voluntary assistance. He suggests that a Committee should be formed to raise an Indian voluntary aid contingent. Many Indians who are offering their assistance are qualified medical men and Lord Crewe says there is reason to hope that the contingent would be one of the most efficient in the Kingdom.

A fierce battle is proceeding between Belgians and Germans along an extended front. Many refugees are arriving in London.

The Belgians at Asterbeek brought down a German aeroplane driven by an officer, who though both legs were broken drew his revolver and endeavoured to fire on the Belgians. Military information was founded on him.

It is officially announced that the Austrian Cavalry Division, which approached the Russians along the Corodott-Karmin line, were defeated in a Cavalry engagement which lasted five hours. The

Russians inflicted heavy losses on the Austrians, who retired pursued by the Russian Cavalry.

A German monoplane flying French colours dropped three bombs on Lunville. The damage done was insignificant.

Correspondence found on German prisoners shows that they are labouring under the strangest delusions. One writes:—"Here we are in Southern France" and another says "We have already penetrated sixty kilometres into France."

The situation north of the Meuse is unchanged. The German cavalry is entrenching itself.

A German military and diplomatic mission has arrived at Trieste in a motor-car en route for Rome.

Washington, Aug. 19.

Japan has asked the United States to take over the Japanese Embassy in Berlin in case of emergency.

London, Aug. 19, (3 30 p.m.)

An official Paris despatch confirms the Serbian victory at Shabatz. The Austrians numbered eighty thousand.

The Japanese Ambassador to-day visited Sir Edward Grey.

Telegrams have reached Tokio that the Japanese residents in Germany have been ill-treated and insulted. The reports are causing public uneasiness in view of the present strained relation between Japan and Germany.

London, Aug. 19.

The Germans are again attempting to cross the Meuse near Dinant. They have been repulsed by French artillery with considerable loss.

The Times' military expert says that the fight at Dinant appears to have been particularly severe. The German cavalry has not been very lucky. The troops are too thick on the ground itself and acres of barbed wire in front of defended positions give horseman a poor chance.

Up to present 110 German and Austrian vessels have been entered on Lloyd's capture book.

Brussels, Aug. 19.

Despatches confirm the advance of the Belgians and Frenchmen all along the line. Two divisions of French Cavalry have been covering a hundred kilometres daily.

The Daily Mail has received the following telegram from its correspondent in Brussels:—August 18th 7-0 p.m.—Regarding rumoured fall of Liège forts I learn that yesterday they were still holding out, though out of from the Franco-Belgian forces.

London, Aug. 19 (1 30 a.m.)

The Press Bureau announces that there was desultory fighting during yesterday between the British patrolling squadron and flotillas reconnoitring cruisers. No losses were reported or claimed. A certain liveliness is apparent in the southern area of the North Sea.

London, Aug. 19.

Mr. Harcourt has been making enquiries regarding German and Austrian trade with the Colonies in order to all but loss of business and secure that business for Great Britain and the Colonies. Trade Commissioners have already secured samples of goods in which British manufacturers might compete. Sir Edward Grey is obtaining similar information from British Consuls in neutral countries. Mr. Harcourt intends that samples, etc., shall be exhibited in London as soon as possible.

Turkey has again assured Great Britain of her strict neutrality.

Grand Duke Nicholas, in an appeal to the Russian inhabitants of Galicia, says "Rise, fraternal Galician Russians, who has suffered so much, and meet the Russian army, for you and your brethren will be delivered and room will be found for you in the bosom of Mother Russia. Raise your sword against the enemy with a prayer for Russia and the East."

The Tsar's arrival in Moscow was greeted by the firing of bells. The Imperial carriages passed slowly through the thronged streets. The clergy of every church came out carrying ikons and banners. The public enthusiasm was immense.

President Wilson, in an address to the American people, has warned them against "that deepest, subtlest breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship and out of passionately taking sides." It is known that the President disapproves of attempts to embroil the United States with Japan.

The Daily Mail's Harwich correspondent says that the destroyer flotilla encountered a German cruiser off the German coast yesterday morning. Shots were exchanged but the destroyers drew out of range. It is believed that no damage was done. The cruiser eventually disappeared. The Press Bureau has no confirmation of this report.

The Gold Coast troops have defeated a German contingent, taking a number of prisoners and capturing two trains.

The authorities are killing all pigeons belonging to alien enemies in England. It is believed that Germans have for years been training pigeons to fly across the North Sea.

The Standard's Vienna correspondent, who has arrived at Zurich, says that embassies have been despatched to Egypt, India, Central Asia, Algeria, and Morocco to stir up trouble. It is also

considered probable that efforts will be made to foment a labour agitation on the Rand. It is interesting to note that one of the South African labour leaders has been in Berlin since the war began.

The military authorities requisitioned three elephants from the White City for draught purposes.

The Duke of Connaught, in a speech from the Throne at the convening of Canadian Parliament, laid emphasis on the splendid response to the call of duty from every province. The same spirit had inspired the whole Empire to united action to repel the common danger. It would not fail to strengthen the ties binding the dominions.

Great interest and enthusiasm have been aroused by the Government's initiative in the direction of developing industries in England which have hitherto been in German hands. It is regarded as a war within a war which in conjunction with the complete stoppage of Germany's overseas trade may eventually inflict a greater blow on Germany than would a defeat of her arms.

Croatians in New Zealand have contributed £600 to the British War Fund.

Fifteen million sterling of six months Treasury Bills for war purpose have been offered to the public and have met with a hearty response. Over forty-two millions worth was applied for. Tenders at £98 1-8 will receive about 48 per cent. of the amount applied for. Tenders above that will be allotted in full. The average rate per cent is £8 18s.

The Japanese Premier reiterates that warlike operations will not extend beyond the limits necessary for the defence of Japan's legitimate interests. Japan will take no action likely to give a third party uneasiness as to the safety of territories in their possession. It is Japan's intention to eliminate from China the root of German influence.

Signor Bissolati, Italian Socialist leader, has requested to be allowed to serve in the event of war.

President Wilson has signed the Bill admitting foreign ships to the American registry.

An Admiralty statement describes the sinking of the cruiser Amphion on August 5th. It appears that the Amphion proceeded with a flotilla of destroyers on a certain prearranged plan of search. She was informed by a trawler that she had seen a suspicious ship throwing things overboard. Shortly afterwards the Koenigin Luise was sighted. Four destroyers gave chase, and in about an hour she was rounded up and sunk. The Amphion continued her search and was returning to the scene of the Koenigin Luise's operations when she was struck by a mine. A sheet of flame instantly enveloped the bridge. The Captain fell and was momentarily insensible. When he recovered he ran to stop the engines which were still working at twenty knots. As all the forepart was on fire it was impossible to reach the bridge or to flood the fore magazine. The ship's bow appeared to be broken, and she was already settling at the bow. By the time the destroyers reached her it was clearly time to abandon the ship. Men fell in, with the same composure which had marked their behaviour throughout. All was done without hurry or confusion. Twenty minutes after the mine had been struck men, officers and captain left the ship. Three minutes after transhipment the Amphion was apparently struck by a second mine. Another explosion enveloped and blew up the fore part of the ship. Debris falling from a great height struck a rescue boat and the destroyers and one of the Amphion's shells burst on the deck of a destroyer killing two men and one German in the Koenigin Luise. The stern now began to settle down the Amphion disappeared fifteen minutes later. The Captain's high tribute to the behaviour of the officers and men throughout.

Saria, Aug. 19.

Manifestoes issued by the Socialist parties of Germany, Austria, France and England have now reached India. The German one reports twenty-seven simultaneous meetings in Berlin with others all over Germany in favour of peace, and puts the blame for the war upon the ruling classes. The Austrian one declares war unnecessary as the Serbians are ready to grant all that Austria can reasonably demand, and it lays the responsibility upon "those who throughout supported and encouraged the fatal step." The French one, on the other hand, while also protesting against war admits that French Government was "most sincerely anxious to avert or diminish the risks of conflict." The British one supports the protest against war, but denounces "the provocative Note of Austria-Hungary to Serbia sent before fuller inquiry was made into the responsibility of the Serbian Government for the assassinations at Sarajevo."

London, Aug. 20. (1-50 a.m.)

The Quebec Government is presenting 4,000,000 pounds of Canadian cheese for the British Army.

Paris, Aug. 20.

It is officially announced that the French advanced rapidly yesterday afternoon, and reached Moerschingen, south-east of Metz, by the Strasbourg railway.

Very large German forces are crossing the Meuse between Liège and Namur.

The *Temps* publishes a despatch from Copenhagen saying that a "Zeppelin" airship is reported to have passed over Orhbjerg on the west coast of Denmark at a height of thousand feet going northward.

Brussels, Aug. 20.

The Germans reattacked Diest yesterday afternoon in force. They pillaged the railway station and bombarded the town. The terrified inhabitants are fleeing. It is also reported that the Germans bombarded Tirlemont yesterday. The German advanced guard was quietly pushed forward in the neighbourhood of the Belgian position. An aviator, however, detected the movement and averted a possible surprise by warning headquarters who sent forward the cavalry. The enemy fell back after some marching and counter-marching.

London, Aug. 20

Stirring speeches expressing loyalty to Great Britain against Germany's insensate military despotism were made in the Canadian Parliament.

Sir Wilfred Laurier and Borden both made magnificent speeches, which were loudly cheered. They affirmed that the dominions would stand shoulder to shoulder for the honour of the Empire. Sir W. Laurier said that he was convinced that Britain would emerge from the conflict stronger than ever and the Irish trouble would be washed away.

Prince Arthur of Connaught is anxious to serve his country. It is understood, unofficially, that he has been given a military appointment.

The Marquis of Crewe has decided that candidates for the Indian Civil Service, Police, Public Works Department, Railways, Finance Department and Customs Department will be allowed to deduct from their age at the time of the examination any period of service in the Regular Army from August 5th or in the Special Reserve or the Territorials during mobilisation.

The concession only applies to those eligible by age to compete in 1915, and who would be over age in the next and the following years.

A "Times of Ceylon" special cable says—

Nottingham miners are subscribing one penny daily, each, to the war fund. Food prices are coming down.

Birmingham is busy with Government contracts.

Transport horses are being collected in open spaces.

Lord Kitchener has accepted the offer of Kandy Planters' Association of a substantial amount of tea for the use of the Army.

The *Daily Chronicle's* Brussels correspondent sums up the situation as follows.—"The Allies have given ground and are slowly evacuating the advanced positions occupied as the result of yesterday's great cavalry drive. Louvain is occupied. We are now faced by a large army. The next twenty-four hours should witness an important development."

An official Paris despatch says that the Germans have reached a line from Dinant to Neufchâteau. Important forces continue to cross the Meuse between Liège and Namur. The advanced guards have reached the River Dyle.

Neufchâteau is in the heart of the Ardennes, to the south-east of Dinant. The latter town is due south of Namur.

The river Dyle is that on which Louvain is situated.

A long Belgian *communiqué* has been issued describing, in necessarily vague terms, the nature of the great battle, which is now beginning along the line from Bale to Diest. The *communiqué* says that after losing much time, men, and material the Prussian right wing has managed to gain ground both on banks of the Meuse up to line where it is in contact with the allied armies. The Germans by means of their cavalry have managed to make a great dash. They collided southward of the Meuse with the French and Belgians and were repulsed but northward they had found an open road and succeeded in making bold dashes far ahead with small parties. The *communiqué* warns the public that the Belgian Army now forms part of a re-organised whole and the public must not be anxious about strategic movements to the rear which form part of a concerted scheme of operations.

Colombo, Aug. 20.

The following are Australian telegrams from London of August 10th:—

In a cable message from Brussels to the *Daily Telegraph*, Dr Dillon stated that during Thursday night, the entire German 7th Army Corps made a tremendous assault upon Liège, but the Belgians manfully held the positions. The whole country around was illuminated with search-lights and the ground quaked like an earthquake. Daylight revealed hundreds of German corpses strewn over the battle-field. The Germans stood a few minutes awaiting the onset, then fled in panic. The Seventh Army Corps was broken and a few hours later, 5,000 fugitives passed Maastricht in Holland. The morale of the 7th and 10th German Army Corps was seriously

shaken by withering Belgian fire, which crowded the men down like corn. Many German shells burst in the streets of Liège, setting fire to buildings. A number of guns were captured. When shells fell in Liège, thousands of inhabitants became panic stricken and fled to Brussels and Tongres. The rest of the inhabitants took refuge in cellars. The burgomasters desired the Belgians to surrender, but General Leiman refused.

London, Aug. 20. (4-50 p.m.).

The Press Bureau announces that the Belgian army, confronted by superior numbers, has fallen back. Communication with Brussels has been difficult since early this morning.

The Belgian troops admirably performed their duty of delaying the hostile advance, enabling their Allies to complete their concentration without interference.

The Belgian retirement had been anticipated for some days. It has been dictated by the strategical situation.

An official announcement issued in Paris says that the position of the Allies is excellent along the whole front.

It is officially announced that the French have occupied Mulhausen at the point of the bayonet after very sharp fighting. They captured six guns and six ammunition wagons.

It is officially announced that the French have occupied Guebwiller.

The rate of discount of the Bank of France has been reduced to 5 per cent.

Berlin news filters through furnishing many indications of the people's craze for baiting foreigners. The newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* admits that hundreds of innocent persons have been suffering daily at the hands of the Berlin mob, but deprecates restraining the zeal of the population.

According to Berlin news published in a Copenhagen message to the *Daily Mail*, the Japanese Ambassador's departure is imminent. A strong police force is guarding the Embassy.

The Russians have occupied Gumbinnen in East Prussia.

London, Aug. 20 (1.45 p.m.).

The Russians gained a considerable victory at Gumbinnen, capturing twelve guns and many prisoners.

Russian official despatches describe fighting on the Austrian and German frontiers, denoting mostly Russian successes, including the capture of eight German guns and two quick-firers.

The Russians are advancing along the whole line.

The *Norvøge Vrengt* gives account of scenes in Prague. Czech soldiers mutined and held the city for a day. Then the Austrians reinforced the garrison and entered the city. There were fearful reprisals. Women and children were shot down and every Czech caught in the streets was killed. Meanwhile a German semi-official news agency is deluging neutral countries with stories of "Belgian atrocities."

Telegrams from Rome say that the majority of the Italian Cabinet is in favour of intervention in the war on the side of the Triple Entente.

London, Aug. 21.

After three days fighting, the Russians have penetrated twenty miles into East Prussia and have occupied Lyck.

One hundred Japanese students have arrived in England from Germany. They make no complaints of ill-treatment, but they had heard of many instances of Frenchmen and Russians being ill used and feared that the Japanese might be treated in a similar manner also, if diplomatic relations between Tokio and Berlin were broken off.

France is taking measures similar to England to gain possession of German trade.

The wounded are arriving at Nish from Shabatz. The battle there lasted three days. The Austrians numbered about 100,000. The Serbians are still pursuing their enemies. The latter lost 36 quick-firers, vast quantities of rifles and ammunition, and a large number of horses. The last batch of prisoners has arrived at Nish.

The *London Gazette* contains a proclamation placing the Royal Indian Marine steamer *Dalhousie* under the command of the senior naval officer of the station where she lies.

French troops have achieved brilliant successes in Alsace between Mulhausen and Altkirch, capturing 24 guns. The Germans are retreating on the Rhine.

The King telegraphed birthday congratulations to President Poincaré, expressing the firm conviction that success would attend the arms of the Allies in the great struggle against a common enemy.

President Poincaré replied that he shared the confidence of the King as to the outcome of the war which would be pursued until right and civilisation had achieved a definite victory.

At the request of the Canadian Government the Duke of Connaught will remain Governor-General of the Dominion during the war.

The India Office has received many letters from retired Indian civilians and officers offering their services to the State.

With a view to using these valuable offers as far as possible, an information bureau has been constituted at the India Office to communicate with the other Government departments and voluntary organisations.

The India Office further says that officers on leave from India will, of course, understand that they must be prepared to return to India at any time, if required.

The papers are quoting Napoleon's message to Murat: "There is no glory in entering an undefended capital in the enemy's country." No strategic advantage in going so far north is recognized here. It is pointed out that French military writers have always held that Germans would not attempt the offensive *Der Lille (sic)*, considering such a movement too disadvantageous to the invading force. There are no indications what forces lie in front of the German advance beyond Brussels.

There is practically no news from between Namur and Metz. Some writers hint at the possibility of a French advance in that region.

The *Daily Chronicle* publishes a statement by an English engineer, who left St. Petersburg seven days after the declaration of war, that German ships were then bombarding Kronstadt, Viborg and Revel.—*C. & M. Gazette*.—Special

London, Aug. 21, (6-10 p. m.)

The Germans have occupied Alost and Wetteren, and are expected any moment at Ghent. The people have fled to Ostend.

The Press Bureau announces that the Germans have imposed a war contribution of eight millions sterling upon the City of Brussels.

London, Aug. 21.

France has protested to the Hague Powers that the Germans are using Dum-Dum bullets.

German prisoners numbering 18 officers and 432 men, have left Bruges for Dunkirk, escorted by gendarmes with fixed bayonets. Their destination is said to be England.

A *communiqué*, issued in Paris, says: "We are suffering from a veritable invasion of barbarians. It is impossible to show them that chivalrous generosity which until now has been the rule between soldiers. Now we have before us unbridled savages. We owe them only the strict observation of the rules of humanity and the laws of war."

The Minister of War has issued instruction regarding the treatment of German prisoners. He says: "Their life is to be assured to them materially, that is all we owe them."

France and England have informed Turkey that they have no designs against the integrity of Turkey. It is believed that Russia has given similar assurances.

London, Aug. 22.

It is officially announced that as France and Russia intend to observe the provisions of the Declaration of London, Great Britain will act in conformity therewith, subject to slight modifications.

The United States Senate has passed the Government War Risks Insurance Bill.

A message to the *Times* from Constantinople says: "Merchants' men arriving here say that the British's gunboats were severely damaged. The 'Guelion' had a considerable hole in her apparently deep hit on the water line."

The Duke of Abruzzi has been appointed Commander in Chief of the Italian Navy.

The French fleet surprised Austrian warships. A French shell hit the battleship *Zamby*, bursting in her magazine. The vessel sank immediately.

The French fleet and the Montenegrins are attacking Cattaro.

The Italian papers declare that there has been a further naval battle in the Adriatic.

Reuter's Malta correspondent telegraphs that the Mediterranean is free from hostile ships.

London, Aug. 22, 7.40 a.m.

Despatches from Nish, dated yesterday, to newspapers in Rome, say that the Serbian Headquarters announce the complete victory of the Serbians in a battle lasting four days near Loznitz. Each side of the Austrian army which had crossed the River Drina was overthrown. The losses on both sides were enormous. The victors took several thousand prisoners.

German prisoners, numbering 18 officers and 432 men, have left Bruges for Dunkirk escorted by gendarmes with fixed bayonets. Their destination is said to be England.

Everyday witnesses further acts of loyalty on the part of British subjects in the Colonies. Nova Scotia has offered 100,000 tons of coal; Ontario will present 500,000 dollars, and a Toronto millionaire has expressed his intention of giving a battery of quick-firers and a patrol yacht.

Increased attention is now being directed to the Eastern Theatre. Russians are advancing in Eastern Prussia on a front of at least 70 miles, with the right flank northward of the Insterburg, Kovno Railway.

The *Morning Post's* St. Petersburg correspondent says the Russians and Germans have been struggling for eight days for the

possession of the line Gumbinnen-Lyck which is necessary to secure the flank prior to general advance. The Russians succeeded.

An Exchange Company's telegram from St. Petersburg says it is now officially announced that the Russians are advancing along the entire Austro-German frontier.—*C. & M. G. Special*.

The Press Bureau desires the public to remember that almost all news comes from our own side. The enemy, however, from the meagre news filtering through, claims successes in the Western and Eastern theatres. As the campaign is on such an enormous scale, however, anything that has already happened can only be of minor importance. Nothing hitherto deserves to be called a victory. France has had gratifying successes in Alsace. The Germans have obliged the Belgians to retire on Antwerp. The Russians in the East have gained ground, but the campaign there can scarcely be said to have begun. To exaggerate minor episodes into triumphs for the Allies is misleading. It may be said, however, that there has been one real and noteworthy success, namely, Germany at the end of three weeks has not yet attempted to attack France. Even a partially successful attack a week ago might have interfered with the concentration of the French armies, and proved prejudicial to subsequent operations. The apprehension that the enemy would be ready first is incorrect. The situation of the Allies to-day is, in a military sense, satisfactory.

Reports are coming in of the movements of the bigger aircraft of both sides. So far Zeppelins do not appear to have done anything very remarkable. One of them was sighted over Holland, following the course of the Rhine. Dutch soldiers opened fire, and the dirigible disappeared over the German frontier. Another was sighted over Maestricht. A French dirigible made a successful flight by night. The airship passed over a German cavalry encampment in Belgium and dropped several projectiles in its midst. The explosion caused great disorder. Lights were immediately extinguished, and the Germans fired many shots after the airship, which, however, returned safely to the French lines.

The Germans occupying Brussels are followed by strong columns. The Germans have occupied Alost and Wetteren, and are expected any moment at Ghent. The people have fled to Ostend.

The Press Bureau announces that the Germans have imposed a war contribution of eight millions sterling upon the City of Brussels.

It is reported that the Germans have occupied Ghent and Ostend.

The Germans have imposed a war contribution of two millions sterling upon the province of Liège.

The Germans have extracted another half million sterling from Liège.

Aug. 22, 11.30 a.m.

The Germans have started bombarding Namur. Columns of the enemy continue to cross the Meuse outside the range of the guns.

It is officially stated that an artillery attack on Namur is in progress.

An official *communiqué* issued in Paris expresses the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of Belgium, and says that France and Belgium are indissolubly bound together by blood. France is resolved to liberate the territory of her ally, until a single German remains in Belgium.

London, Aug. 22.

It is reported that popular enthusiasm is growing in Italy as well as beside the Triple Entente.

London, Aug. 22, 7.40 a.m.

Despatches from Nish, dated yesterday, to newspapers in Rome, say that Serbian Headquarters announce the complete victory of the Serbians in a battle lasting four days near Loznitz. Each side of the Austrian Army, which had crossed the River Drina, was overthrown. The losses on both sides were enormous. The victors took several thousand prisoners.

A St. Petersburg telegram says:—The Austrians in the recent fighting fled towards the Din bridge pursued by Serbians all along the line. The Serbians captured forty guns, a quantity of horses and ammunition, etc.

The Serbians are following up the victory of Loznitz and attacking bridges and cut off the Austrians, who abandoned a rich booty. The guns captured were highly important; they were mostly howitzers.

It is officially stated in St. Petersburg that the Russian troops crossed the Zabratch River on the 20th August and invaded Austrian territory.

In East Prussia Russian aviators have dropped bombs on military buildings.

The Russians continue to be on the offensive in Gumbinnen district. They are now fighting at least fourteen German regiments of infantry with heavy guns. The Russian cavalry captured two guns.

The Russians captured a battery and many prisoners near Gumbinnen. The Russians have also been successful at Krasno in Galicia inflicting heavy losses and capturing six officers and 1,350 men.

A new Austrian mobilisation order calls out every man capable of bearing arms, including those engaged in harvesting.

Boats are still running between Ostend and Oostend.

A message to the *Daily News* from Ostend says that the Germans entered Brussels with an Army Corps 40,000 men. They seized all available motor cars and loaded them with troops, and the bulk of the corps pushed on, their objective being apparently to seize Ostend and Zeebrugge. The British Consul has told British residents to leave Ostend.

The Burgomasters of rural communities in Belgium have disarmed the civil guards in order to prevent reprisals on peaceful citizens.

Accounts of Tuesday's fierce battle near Tullefont show the heroic resistance of the Belgians when faced by the superior strength of the German forces. In one instance 240 men withstood for a long time the onslaught of 2,000 Germans. The Belgians were compelled to retire slowly from their lines.

The Germans stormed Diest, bombarding the town. The inhabitants fled panic stricken.

The battle has resumed on Wednesday along the line. German aeroplanes were particularly audacious in reconnoitring Belgian positions. The Belgian artillery fired continuously for hours near Aerschott where the battle was hottest.

The carnage was simply murderous. After a desperate struggle the Belgians retired in good order.

There is little news this morning that German cavalry is apparently over-running Flanders as far as Ostend, though their object is not yet apparent. Possibly the Germans are making a flank march from the Meuse towards Ghent, with the object of ultimately turning south and attacking the French. The distribution of the allied forces is naturally kept secret. In the rear there are the fortresses of Lille and Mauberge. The German attack meets this barrier, but the Germans must detach troops to check the Belgians at Antwerp. So long as the Belgian Army is able to take the field the Germans must carefully watch their rear and communications.

The Germans have imposed a war contribution of two million sterling upon the Province of Liege.

The Germans have started bombarding Namur. Columns of the enemy continue to cross the Meuse outside the range of the Namur guns.

Wednesday next, August 26th, will be the anniversary of the capture of Namur from the French by the British and Dutch. Namur among other fortified towns in Flanders had fallen into the possession of the French towards the end of the 17th century. In 1695 William III., Prince of Orange, moved to its recovery at the head of the British and Dutch Allies. The siege began on the 3rd July, 1695. Three days later the outworks were carried by assault. This was followed in a few days by an assault on the breach of the walls, opened by the fire of the batteries.

The final assault on the citadel was successful and on the 26th August, the French Commander capitulated.

During the siege, under the various assaults, the King's Own lost seven officers and 16 other ranks killed and wounded.

It is officially stated that an armistice is in progress.

France has protested to the Hague Powers that the Germans are using Dum Dum bullets.

With reference to the situation of Brussels practically the only direct railway communication between this centre and the north is via Liège. So long as this fortress holds out, therefore, the enemy is reduced to the alternative of their Brussels line of communication of either road transport or violation of the neutrality of the Maestricht Railway, thereby bringing Holland into the arena.

German prisoners, numbering eighteen officers and 482 men, have left Bruges, for Munkers escorted by gas-bombers with fixed bayonets. Their destination said to be England.

Colombo, Aug 22

The *Times of Ceylon* special cables state that German spies are still being caught in England. Those in London are interned at Olympia. The existence of a quarter of a million Germans in England is a puzzle and registration by the police is not considered sufficient precaution.

Eighteen of the biggest steamers of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-America Companies have been held up in New York. An American Syndicate proposes to purchase them and run under the American flag, thus recovering the sea trade.

Paris, Aug. 22.

An official communiqué expresses the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of Belgium, and says that France and Belgium are indissolubly bound together by blood. France is resolved to liberate the territory of her Ally until not a single German remains in Belgium.

London, Aug 22 (4-45 p. m.)

The Japanese Charge de Affaires has received instructions to leave Berlin at four o'clock to-morrow morning if Germany has not replied to the Japanese ultimatum.

London, Aug. 22, (5 40 p. m.).

The Press Bureau desires the public to remember that almost all the news comes from our own side. The enemy, however, from the meagre news filtering through claims successes in the western and eastern theatres. As the campaign is on such an enormous scale, however, anything that has already happened can only be of minor importance. Nothing hitherto deserves to be called a victory. France has had gratifying successes in Alsace. The Germans have obliged the Belgians to retire on Antwerp. The Russians in the east have gained ground, but the campaign there can scarcely be said to have begun. To exaggerate minor episodes into triumphs for the Allies is misleading. It may be said, however, that there has been one real and noteworthy success, namely, Germany at the end of three weeks has not yet attempted to attack France. Even a partially successful attack a week ago might have interfered with the concentration of the French armies and proved prejudicial to subsequent operations. The apprehension that the enemy would be ready first is incorrect. The situation of the Allies to day is, in a military sense, satisfactory.

In view of the possibility of war being declared between Germany and Japan we give the following table of the strength of the rival fleets in the Far East. —

GERMAN.

Armoured Cruisers.

Guersmann	... 11,420
Scharnhorst	... 11,420

Light Cruisers.

Leipzig	.. 3,200
Kunden	... 3,544
Nurnberg	... 3,396

JAPANESE.

The first and second Japanese squadrons that have put out to sea under the command of Admiral Dewa consist of the following ships: —

1st Squadron

Battleships —	
Shinkishima	... 14,850*†
Kawachi	.. 20,800
Settsu	... 20,800
Kashima	... 16,400*

Armoured Cruiser

Kasuga	... 14,620
Isuzu	... 14,620

2nd Squadron.

Idzumi (9,770)*† and 3 light cruisers

* British built

† Took part in Russo Japanese Naval action

St. Petersburg, Aug 22.

It is officially stated that the Russian fleet crossed the Zornton River on August 20th and invaded Austrian territory. In East Prussia Russian aviators have dropped bombs on military buildings.

The Russians continue to be on the offensive in the Gumbinnen district. They are now fighting at least fourteen German regiments of infantry with heavy guns. The Russians cavalry captured two guns.

St. Petersburg, Aug. 22 (9 0 a. m.).

The Austrians routed in the recent fight fled towards the Drina pursued by Servians all along the line. The Servians captured forty guns, a quantity of horses and ammunition, etc.

House shooting has been abandoned. The moors are deserted. South coast resorts are full of East coast frequenters now, owing to fear of raids.

London Aug 22 (6-10 a. m.)

France and England have informed Turkey that they have no designs against the integrity of Turkey. It is believed that Russia has given similar assurances.

The United States Senate has passed the Government War Risks Insurance Bill.

The Canadian House of Commons has passed a war appropriation of fifty million dollars. The Premier promised to consider the suggestion that Canada should recognise the Belgians' heroism by giving them a hospital.

The Prince of Wales' Fund has reached a million and a half sterling.

There is little news this morning. German cavalry is apparently over-running Flanders as far as Ostend, though their object is not yet apparent. Possibly the Germans are making a flank march from the Meuse towards Ghent with the object of ultimately turning south and attacking the French.

The distribution of the Allied forces is naturally kept secret. In the rear there are fortresses of Lille and Mauberge. The German attack meets this barrier, but the Germans must detach troops to check the Belgians at Antwerp. So long as the Belgian army is able to take the field the Germans must carefully watch their rear and communications.

The Serbians are following up the victory of Litztan and attacking bridges and cutting off the Austrians who abandoned rich booty. The guns captured were highly important. They were mostly Howitzers.

A new Austrian mobilisation order calls out every man capable of bearing arms including those engaged in harvesting.

The Duke of the Abruzzi has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Navy.

The French fleet surprised Austrian warships. The French shell hit the battleship *Zrinyi* bursting in her magazine. The vessel sank immediately.

It is reported that popular enthusiasm is growing in Italy to fight beside the Triple Entente.

His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to accept the patriotic offer of the Maharaj Kumar Hitendra Narayan of Cooh Behar to place his personal services at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. The Maharaj Kumar has been selected to serve on the personal staff of the General Officer Commanding one of Brigades of the Indian Expeditionary Force.

London, Aug. 23.

The Admiralty states that the Germans are continuing the practice of scattering mines indiscriminately upon ordinary trade routes. Consequently neutral ships traversing the North Sea, no matter what their destination, are exposed to considerable dangers. The Admiralty, therefore, desires to impress on British and neutral shipping the vital importance of touching at British ports before entering the North Sea, in order to ascertain the routes and channels which the Admiralty is keeping swept, along which the dangers have been reduced as far as possible.

While reserving to itself the utmost liberty of retaliatory action against this new form of warfare the Admiralty announces that it has so far laid no mines during the present war, and is endeavouring to keep the sea routes open for peaceful commerce.

Official Press Bureau announces that the Danish steamship *Maryland* struck a mine in the North Sea and foundered. The Danish steamship *Broberg* witnessed the accident and her boats were launched, but they were unable to find the *Maryland's* crew. During the search the *Broberg* struck a mine and foundered. Her crew were saved and have been landed at Lowestoft. The accident happened on the main trade route, 85 miles from land.

The British steamships *Hyades*, of 3,352 tons, and the *City of Winchester* have been caught and sunk by Germans.

The Japanese Charge d'Affaires has received instructions to leave Berlin at four o'clock to-morrow morning if Germany has not replied to the Japanese ultimatum.

Hitherto the Japanese Embassy has received no information indicative of Germany's reply to the Japanese ultimatum.

America's reply to Japan (China) says that she understands that Japan is not seeking territorial aggrandisement, but promises to return Kiao-chau to China, and to maintain the integrity of China, and to act in accordance with the Angli-Japanese Alliance. Also that Japan will consult the United States before taking steps beyond the boundaries of Kiao-chau.

The Japanese are prepared to attack Kiao-chau which is defended by several thousand Germans. It is feared that the harbour and outskirts are mined.

The Japanese Ambassador in London expects that Japan will declare war against Germany in the course of the day.

Japan has declared war on Germany.

Reuter's agent learns from the Japanese Ambassador that the Emperor of Japan has issued the following Imperial rescript: "We declare war on Germany. We commit our army and navy to carry on hostilities against the German Empire with all their strength."

The Rescript points out that while Japan had hoped to preserve peace in the Far East by maintaining strict neutrality the action of Germany compelled Great Britain, "Our Ally," to open hostilities. "Germany," says the Rescript, "is busy with warlike preparations at Kiao-chau while her armed vessels threaten our and our Ally's commerce."

The Japanese Emperor's rescript concludes: "Peace in the Far East has been thus jeopardised. Accordingly Japan and Great Britain, after full and frank communication, have agreed to take measures in protection of their general interest in accordance with the Alliance. Japan desired to obtain that object by peaceful means,

but Germany failed to answer accepting Japan's advice. It is with profound regret that we are compelled to declare war. It is our earnest wish that by the loyalty and valour of our subjects peace may soon be restored, and the glory of the Empire enhanced.

Aug. 23, 4-10 a. m.

It transpires that the small rearguard which covered Belgian retirement to Antwerp was attacked at Lourrain, where it suffered heavily.

A Belgian *communiqué* which has been issued says: "The army has been able to carry out in entirety the first role devolving upon it, namely, that of gaining time. Not having to fight alone it merges its own object, the defence of Belgium, in the general strategic aim of the Allies to crush the enemy. As a whole, the Allies are not yet in a position to co-operate entirely with the Belgians, but in a few days this will no longer be the case."

The Germans in Belgium are said to be marching towards France, *via* Oudenarde.

London, Aug. 23.

Paris telegrams confirm the reports that the French have assumed the offensive in Charleroi district. There have been several engagements.

Following a bloody engagement at Luttre a battle is proceeding in the Belgium province of Namur.

Ostend, Aug. 23.

The Minister of Justice states that the Belgian army is in excellent condition. All the Belgian forts at Liège and Namur are still resisting.

Official accounts from Paris of the fighting in Lorraine show that several Army Corps attacked the French advance guards, and then came the main body of the Germans, who outnumbered the French. The latter had been fighting uninterruptedly for six days, and consequently the French left wing fell back on the advanced works at Nancy while the right was strongly established in the Donon range.

In retaking Mulhausen the Frenchmen took 24 guns and a thousand prisoners. By fierce bayonet charges they drove the Germans to the Rhine, which was the original object of the operations in Upper Alsace.

The French are making great progress in Alsace.

Reuter's Malta correspondent learns from influential Italian quarters that Italy's intervention in favour of the Triple Entente is only a question of days.

Aug. 23. 3-10 p. m.

The tension between Austria and Italy has been greatly increased. Austria accuses Italy of giving the Allies' fleet facilities in the Adriatic. It is reported that a declaration of war is imminent.

A *communiqué*, issued in St. Petersburg says that the German troops engaged three Russian Army Corps near Gumbinnen on the 20th instant. Desperate fighting occurred, and the Russians who suffered enormous losses, fell back pursued.

The Russians after an engagement have occupied Insterburg. The Grand Duke Nicholas, in an official despatch, says that the successes at Gumbinnen were achieved by General Rennenkampf's army, and that they are of great strategic value.

It is officially announced that the Russians have captured Goldap.

Bombay, Aug. 23 (1-50 a. m.)

No messages have been received from London since six o'clock yesterday evening.

London, Aug. 23. 4-45 p. m.

The Pope is dead.

Aug. 23, 11-35 a. m.

The Pope died at one o'clock in the morning. In a moment of lucidity he said, "The end is approaching. The Almighty, in His inexhaustible goodness, wishes to spare me the horrors Europe is undergoing."

The Pope is a victim of the war. When his peace efforts failed his strength departed. Crowds of papal dignitaries remained all night in the Throne Room receiving bulletins. The King and Queen of Italy learned of the illness with deep concern. The Pope roused himself at intervals, and talked mostly of the war. He remarked pathetically: "In ancient times Popes could have stayed the slaughter; now I am powerless. The Pope's sisters and nieces and Cardinals Merry del Val and Miccasetelli were present at his death. Cardinal Volpe directs the Holy See *ad interim*."

An official announcement issued in Paris says that the position of the Allies is excellent along the whole front.

The Official Press Bureau announces that the Belgian Army confronted by superior numbers, has fallen back. Communication with Brussels has been difficult since early this morning. The Belgian troops admirably performed their duty of delaying the hostile advance, enabling their allies to complete their concentration without interference. The Belgian retirement had been anticipated for some days. It has been dictated by the strategical situation.

London, Aug. 23, 10-30 p. m.

An official statement, issued in Berlin, says that Germany informed the Japanese representative in Berlin that she had no reply to make to the Japanese demand.

London, Aug. 24, 12-15 p.m.

Reuter's Tokio correspondent says that the Japanese are bombarding Tsingtau.

The *Times*, welcoming Japan as a combatant in honorable fulfilment of treaty obligations, says that this war will form one more tie uniting the two island Empires in a common purpose in Eastern Asia.

The *Daily Telegraph* says that the automatic effect of Japan's declaration of war against Germany will be the total ruin of the latter's cherished ambition in the Far East.

The official Press Bureau announces that the Austrian Government has ordered the disarmament of the cruiser Kaiser Elizabeth now at Kiao-chau, and the transfer of her crew to Tientsin.

The crew of the Danish steamship *Maryland*, which foundered in the North Sea after striking a mine, have been landed at Ostend.

The War Office in Paris announces that Zepelin No. 8, coming from Strasburg, has been shot down at Badenweiler.

A German aeroplane, containing officers, which was flying over Arhe, near Termonde, caught fire and crashed to the earth. The officers were killed.

One hundred thousand men have volunteered for active service in Canada, and 27,000 are already mobilising.

Owing to the shortage of change the Mint in Paris is actively coining silver, and has issued £18,000 worth during the past ten days. It is expected that the figure will reach £500,000 by the end of the month.

Official telegrams from Albania to Italy describe the position of the country as desperate, especially economically.

All Europe is expectantly waiting news of the struggle in South West Belgium, where between Mons and Namur the Germans are supposed to be making a formidable effort to break through into France. Experts think that at least seven Army Corps, the flower of the German Army, are engaged, opposed by a solid wall of French. The battle is expected to last some days. In the meanwhile only three thousand troops remain in Brussels. The rest are in Central and Northern Belgium. They are covered by small and rapidly moving cavalry patrols, which are screening the main operations, but are carefully avoiding Antwerp, which has become a veritable military porcupine.

An Official Press Bureau announces that the British forces were engaged all day Sunday and after dark, in the neighborhood of Mons, and held their ground.

The Bureau also says that news has been received that the first line of defence of Namur has been taken, and this necessitates the withdrawal of a position of the allied troops from the Sambre line to their original position on the French frontier.

The Bureau states that no information has been received regarding casualties, which will be published as soon as they are known.

The Press Bureau announces that Namur has fallen.

A French official despatch issued this morning said that the Germans were making most desperate efforts to take Namur. The Frenchmen had taken offensive everywhere from Mons to the frontier of the Duchy of Luxembourg. The battle was raging. Nearly the whole German Army and reserves were engaged. Field operations, the despatch continues, especially on the night, which is sooted, are difficult. The battle will presumably last several days. The huge extension of the front and the numbers engaged render it impossible to follow the battle step by step, and a definite result must be awaited. Otherwise there is a risk of supplying the enemy with information.

An official communiqué, issued in Paris, announces that it has been decided to withdraw the French troops from Doben and Saules as these points are no longer important, seeing that the French occupy a fortified line beginning at Nancy.

The Press Bureau says that the Earl of Leven was dangerously wounded on August 22nd.

Charleroi has been taken and re-taken.

From Brussels it is stated that 300,000 Germans have marched southward on Charleroi.

It is announced by the Belgian Minister of War that the total Belgian casualties amount to ten thousand.

There has been great activity in England to-day. Mr Asquith returned to Downing Street in the morning, and saw Earl Kitchener at 8 this morning. Afterwards the Cabinet met.

Mr. Harcourt has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Baron Liffington to render advice and assistance to the Committee of the Dominion Contingents. The members of the Committee are Viscount Bryce, Baron Deuman, Sir Edward Ward, Sir Owen Philips, Sir Gilbert Parker, Sir Herbert Murray, and Mr. Richard Burbridge.

Army Orders announce that during the war competitive examinations from the special Reserve of Officers, Militia, Territorials and the ranks for commissions in the Regular Army will be suspended.

In continuance of the campaign against trade of Germany and Austria the Board of Trade is issuing pamphlets giving details

and statistics. The London Chamber of Commerce will hold an important meeting to-morrow to consider the question.

The Canadian House of Commons have passed a war appropriation of fifty million dollars. The Premier promised to consider a suggestion that Canada should recognise the Belgians' heroism by giving them a hospital.

France has also advanced Belgium £10,000,000, sterling to meet the necessities of the war.

Now that the Germans are in undisputed possession of Brussels they seem to be showing some consideration for the feelings of the inhabitants, since they refrain from housing the German legation on the Palace or the Town Hall. The Belgians are so anxious to avoid any pretext for German reprisals that even the Boy Scouts have been stripped of their uniforms.

The German commander in the city has posted proclamations announcing that forced by circumstances to make levies, he requests the population to acquiesce, and not to adopt an aggressive attitude; otherwise he will be compelled to take the severest measures.

The German troops are on the outskirts of Brussels and the adjoining villages, but they are not quartered on the city itself.

Antwerp was quiet on Saturday, but the entire city was filled with clouds of powder smoke after midnight.

The Germans disappeared from North Belgium yesterday. Railway communication has been resumed from Antwerp to Ghent and westward, and also from Antwerp to Dutch Limburg.

A Belgian official announcement says that flying columns have cleared the country around Antwerp and all Germans have been repulsed or captured.

The Germans, who had encamped at Marche in Luxemburg, have proceeded south.

A telegram from Ostend says that the Germans have not penetrated further west than Melle, five kilometres east of Ghent. The Germans are apparently wheeling southwards.

The French Foreign Minister telegraphs to-day that contact has been established between the forces all along the line without advantage to either side at present.

While both French and Germans have large forces in other parts of the theatre of war, experts think it likely that the bulk of both armies will be engaged in the forthcoming battle, which will at least settle which army shall in future pursue the offensive. The number of lines on which the Germans are advancing is uncertain, but it appears certain that they will have to confront an immense concentration on a triangle having its apex at Namur, and its base running from Mauberge to Givet, due south of Namur.

The *Daily Mail* gives a graphic story of the entry of the Germans into Brussels. Shortly after the booming of cannon the sounds of military music intimated that the enemy's triumphal march had begun. First came a scouting party of Uhlans, and then horse and foot, artillery and sappers, with the siege train. A special feature was a hundred motor cars with quick firers. Every regiment was headed by its band, the soldiers singing "Die Watch am Rhein" and "Deutschland Ueber Alles." Arriving at the great square before the Gate du Nord, the infantry broke into the famous goose-step, while the people gazed open-mouthed. The troops, estimated at 50,000, passed through the Boulevard to their camp on the heights near Rochefort. The populace, ten deep, watched the march past in stony silence. Their self-control was admirable. The troops seem to have behaved discreetly, though some were overbearing and tactless. A deep groan of anger was evoked by the spectacle of two Belgian officers manacled and attached to an Uhlan's stirrup leather, and of a bear dressed in the uniform of a Belgian General.

The engagements in East Prussia during the last six days were fought with the utmost desperation. The battle front extended for thirty miles. The retreat of the 20th German Army Corps near Lyck resembled a rout. The German population is abandoning the villages and fleeing northwards.

The Russians report that the Germans, in full retreat, are crossing the River Angerapp. The Russians have occupied Johannesburg, Ottersburg, Willenberg, and Soldan. The Germans set fire to Nendenburg before evacuating it. The Russians are threatening the German communications.

The Russians have occupied Arys, 20 miles west of Lyck.

The Austrian Government admits the defeat on the Drina.

The Servians have cleared the country round Loznitza, Leshnitsa, and Shabatz. The Servian cavalry defeated an Austrian column capturing four howitzers and ten field guns. A French official despatch, evidently referring to this engagement, says that the Austrians in attempting a counter-attack towards Shabatz were repulsed. The Servians now are ready to cross the Save River and invade Hungary.

It is officially announced that the Servian spoils hitherto collected at Loznitza comprise 4,000 prisoners, 53 guns, 8 howitzers, 114 caissons, 11 field kitchens, a great number of wagons, and vast quantities of rifles and ammunition.

Following the Austrian defeat in Servia the Austrian Government has issued a curious announcement that it has been

obliged to gather all its forces against Serbia is henceforth to be regarded as a punitive expedition, not as definite war. This is regarded as meaning that Austria will abandon offensive action against the Serbians.



The Madness of Men.

By Clement J. Bundock

I was looking for life, and I found death
I was looking for things beautiful, and I found things sinister
I was looking for the wonders of creation, and I found the horrors of civilisation.
I was looking for freedom, and I found bondage.
I was looking for peace, and I found the evidences of war.

In Tor Bay I saw them, dark and fearful agents of destruction, quiet enough as they lay still on the untroubled waters, and pretty enough in the evening when they were transformed into belts of twinkling lights encircling the mouth of the harbour, but potential hounds of fury who, when loosened from the leash, will rush madly across the ocean spitting fire and confusion and disaster on all sides.

We were walking—I and a friend—from Babbacombe to Torquay, by the fascinating footpath that winds over the cliffs high above the sea. The charm of that walk I cannot describe in writing, it is known, and can be known, only by those who have experienced it. One can talk of the towering heights, rich in trees and shrubs, of the wide patches of fresh green, of the peculiar delights of the woods, of the descents into and ascents out of the occasional coves, of the tranquillity and seclusion of the coves, of the beach of large shingles, of the great sea itself stretching away in an immense semi-circle of blue and green and grey, silent and mysterious, of the serenity and repose which touch it all. One can talk, but it does not convey the grandeur of it.

And on this day the scene was surely at its brightest. Nature, on every hand, invited rest and composure, with all her voices she spoke of beauty and life. Free life, she offered, the life of sunshine and open fields, of rain and keen-bracing winds, of pure food and healthy pursuits. She gave promise of strong robust men and women with powerful limbs and tanned faces and the colour of health in their cheeks. She spoke unceasingly of life, abounding life, of energy, vitality, and cleanliness. She displayed herself and hinted at the powers she has to offer man when he is ready. She suggested unlimited possibilities of achievement when man at last emerges from the chaos of his making and sets his face to the sun.

Of all things it was eloquent as she showed us life on every hand and in the midst of her appeal for the awakening of man, while we were yet listening to her promises and prophecies, we saw a sudden flash on the sea at a great distance, an angry boom raced over the water to us and, almost level with the spot on which we stood, a spout of foam raised itself from the sea.

The war hounds were barking!

And in an instant all was changed. Death monopolised our thoughts. Out there, riding grimly on the vast ocean, borne by the very power which a moment before had promised us a richer life, were the sinister messengers of death—floating monuments to the insanity of statesmen, the iniquity of financiers, the childishness of nations, and the stupidity of men.

That scene, the lurking presence of death amidst abounding life, the fearful nearness of disaster to that land of exquisite leisure, the grey creeping horror before the gaiety and colour of that wonderful coast, was but a dramatic setting of the enormous contradiction of twentieth century life.

Civilisation, being defaced, is that state of society in which men live to kill.

In the world as it is success, and ease and comfort are achieved at the cost of failure and anxiety and suffering. Riches are amassed out of poverty, and the power of invention is welded to add misery to misery, and to accentuate the gain of an unhappy people. Morality and Religion constitute the thin covering to a detestable mass of loathsome practices and blasphemies, and disease and impurity are encouraged in their attack upon health and virtue by insanitary dwellings, sickening courts, overcrowded streets, and horribly congested cities. A dazling aristocracy dances upon the mutilated bodies of man and women—and children too—who have starved and died to contribute the gilt and glitter to the dancers' revelries. All is madness. All is confusion. All is distraction. None is guilty—all are guilty.

And the presiding Spirit is Profit—for the worship of whom those evils of the sea, those hounds of war, were built.

Later we strolled along the harbour side to get a closer view of the submarines fastened there. They looked more terrible than the glowering monsters outside. These queer things, half concealed beneath the water, seemed to hold within their long, sinewy bodies more concentrated power to harm. As we watched, one slunk away from its fellows, making for the open sea, with a silent gliding movement like a venomous snake. Long, thin, half submerged, it was the very incarnation of all malignant forces of disruption.

It was impossible to look upon these creatures, so intricately and yet so compactly constructed, and to note their superb motion, without marvelling at the extent of human genius. But it was impossible not to realise at the same moment the colossal height of human folly. Here was a work of magnificent completeness, a triumph of inventive power and engineering skill, a wonderful machine capable of wonderful performances. Man has struggled and laboured, pondered and worried to perfect it. And now he has accomplished his end he sends the machine of his creation to sink and to destroy, to cause havoc on the seas, to strike terror, and to bring calamity to the human race. It is for this man searches his brains. It is for this man toils. It is for this man pays.

In the smoke room of a Torquay hotel that evening many of the men from these ships and submarines were gathered. These particular men were not of the naval rank and file. Knowing little of naval matters, I am unable to say just what degree of responsibility they assumed in the nation's murderous exploits, but their dress was distinctive, and, obviously, they were well treated. Finely-proportioned, physically superb young fellows they appeared to be, and their's were not the pale, bloodless faces of the men of the town. And this army of young men, in the years of vigour and activity, that might have been an incalculable asset to a nation more famous for its reason than for its brutal senselessness is maintained in idleness by Britain to await the day when it shall have the opportunity of sending to the bottom of the sea a similar army of young men from Germany, or of going to the bottom of the sea itself if Germany gets the blow in first! In those terms is stated the intelligence of Britain.

The waste of life and wealth must go on because Profit reigns undisturbed, and the trade of armaments most loyally ministers to its pleasure.

And while the work of demolition goes on, while statesmen vote millions of pounds for the pursuance of it, while ministers of religion bless and sanction it, while lords and ladies break bottles of champagne over every new monster which is let loose, while new-papers shriek and howl their war cries, while men offer themselves for the service of death, while the populace yells its delight at naval reviews, people starve, children die, agony and distress invade the towns, ugliness climbs into the seat of beauty, and progress stumbles blindly.

How mad is man.



The War Must be Stopped.

And We Must Stop it.

The next few days will be critical for the peace of Europe, and Socialists of all countries should be up and acting. When Germany, France, and Britain were on the verge of war in 1911, one of the most potent factors in preventing the outbreak of hostilities was the simultaneous campaign for peace conducted by the Labour and Socialist movement in the principal cities of the three countries. A similar campaign should now be arranged. Or it may be too late.

There is still some hope that the war may be localised, but Russia proclaims that she will assist Serbia should Austria occupy any of her territory, and Germany proclaims that she will assist Austria should Russia attack her. And were Russia and Germany to intervene, a general European conflagration would be well-nigh inevitable.

Europe is at the present divided into two armed camps. On the one side is the Triple Alliance, composed of Germany, Austria, and Italy; on the other, the Triple Entente, composed of Britain, France, and Russia. By a treaty signed between Germany and Austria in 1879, each Power pledged itself to support the other if attacked by Russia. Five years later Italy joined the alliance. The terms of the treaties between Austria and Italy and Italy and Germany have never been made public, but their purport is well known. If France should attack either Germany or Italy, it is understood that both Powers are pledged to co-operate against her. Should Russia and France together attack any one of the three allies, all three are pledged to unite against them.

On the side of the Triple Entente, France and Russia were the first to come together; Britain for a long time steadily refused to be drawn into the dangerous vortex of European quarrels. The terms of the treaty between these Powers were made known in 1897; by it France is entitled to the support of Russia in a Franco-German war, provided France is not the aggressor. In 1904 Britain entered into an *Entente Cordiale* with France, and in 1911 into an alliance with Russia.

It will be seen, therefore, that the danger of a great European War is very real. Should this terrible possibility become an actual fact, it is beyond human imagination to conceive the horror of the events that would ensue. Death, disease, starvation would reign over the entire Continent, and, unless the war were stopped in its early stage, the whole fabric of civilization in Europe would fall to the ground. The armies which would engage in conflict would number seven million men. On the North Sea, in the English Channel, on the Baltic Sea, in the Mediterranean, the naval fleets of the two groups would meet with unthinkable disaster. Cities would be destroyed, the countryside would be devastated, food supplies would be cut off, the people would starve in thousands and rise in hungry rebellion. Every man's hand would be against his brother's.

A very grave responsibility rests upon the Socialist and Labour movement of Europe at this moment. Our movement is the guardian of peace. It is fifty million strong, and if it will only act unitedly it can make war impossible.

If the organised workers will demonstrate with sufficient force, a European war can be made absolutely impossible. No nation which is divided against itself can expect to wage war successfully with another nation. On the Continent, where the armies are Conscriptivist, this is particularly true, and it is an open secret that thousands of the soldiers serving the German, French, and Austrian Governments by compulsion are Socialists and view their task with loathing and abhorrence. Victories cannot be won with armies of that nature.

Unless we are thought to be exaggerating the influence of the Labour and Socialist movement, we will quote from the Liberal weekly review, *The Nation*. In its issue of May 17, of this year, it said:

"We believe that the influence of Socialism is now so widespread 'as to be a check upon any war for any end save a defence so legitimate and inevitable that even a Socialist conscience would regretfully approve it.'"

No Socialist conscience would approve the war which is looming before us if it came upon us. We have the power to stop it. We must do so. How? By demonstrating in such numbers and with such fervour all over Europe that the various Governments will be made to realise and fear the strength of the anti-war party. The International Socialist Bureau should act immediately. In Austria, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain, the workers should gather in their thousands and declare that they will not have war. Now is the time to strike this blow for peace. The delay of even a few days would be fatal.

The International Socialist Bureau is at the present time meeting in special session in Brussels. It will, no doubt, call upon its affiliated organisations to conduct an unprecedented campaign of protest. What is the national executive of the Labour Party doing to bring the British movement into line with the movement on the Continent? Let it get to work at once and let the protest of the British Labour and Socialist movement be so strong, in volume and in passion, that the Government will not be able to withstand its demand for peace.

THE EDITOR of *Labour Leader*.



The Ruling Turk.

TRAITS OF THE GOVERNING CLASS

ALL foreign observers of Turkish life in Constantinople have been struck by the growth and persistence, since the overthrow of Abdul Hamid, of a strong Nationalist spirit among the educated classes. Whether this "new Nationalism" bodes well or ill for the tranquillity of the Near East is (says the *Times*' Constantinople correspondent) a question that cannot easily be answered. To estimate its possibilities for good or evil, it is first of all essential to understand the state of mind of the Turkish educated class, or *Intelligentsia*, of Constantinople and Smyrna. The Anatolian peasant, whose homely virtues have been deservedly praised, has never played a part in the government of his country. His ignorance and lack of civic courage have conspired with his obedience and unassertiveness to prevent him from being more than an uncomplaining tax-payer in peace and an equally uncomplaining food for powder in war. Town life and Levantine surroundings are apt to sap his natural virtues when he has abandoned the soil for the Government office to which the educated son of the prosperous farmer so often aspires.

THE MOSLEM LEVANTINE.

"Turkish" in name, the educated class, especially in the capital, is not always Turkish in blood. It is really a "Moslem Levantine" bureaucratic and military caste, often divided by the quarrels of political cliques but united by Islam and by the determination to maintain the claim of the Turk, in whose name it governs, to rule as undisputed master over the subject races. The centralisation of power in Constantinople which followed Mahmud the Reformer's destruction of the dynasties and abolition of the great Pashaliks, enormously increased its influence. The primitive Turk was a soldier, inferior to his neighbours in mental gifts, but superior in discipline and manliness. Persians and Byzantine influences were long neutralized by the military tradition and by the greater relative importance of the provincial capitals. Mahmud's success drove to the capital the able provincial in search of a career. It strengthened the "Stambuli" by an infusion of fresh blood, but it also tended to "Levantineize" the provincial.

Since the Revolution of 1908 the ultimate control of affairs has seemed to be vested in a mainly Rumeliot (European Turkish) party, sometimes inspired by Jews and crypto-Jews. But whatever the ruling clique, the moral and mental atmosphere of Constantinople, credulous, excitable, and unstable, forms a screen through which it is difficult to discern the lineaments of the protagonists of the Turkish drama. The Moslem Levantine, usually braver, prouder, and less intelligent than the Levantine Christian, but with the same "brain-gloriousness" the same instability, the same curious inability to see more than one side of a question, and the same tendency to "smatter" rather than learn a subject thoroughly, is the material with which the leaders of the *Intelligentsia* must work. But the word "Levantine" must not be taken in its least favourable sense. The majority of Turkish officials are honest; many are hard workers and the idle are often so because they have not been taught how to work. The success of Sir R. Crawford in the Customs Administration and of Oskien Effendi in the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs proves that Ottoman officials can do good work under proper direction. The majority of the minor provincial officials are little affected by Levantine influence and would render excellent service and their chiefs cease to treat them as pawns in the party game.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

Yet the influence of the capital is enervating nor is it sufficiently counteracted by education. Religion, if still potent among the masses, seems a political rather than a moral force among the educated men of the younger generation. Just as Orthodox Christianity is viewed by most Ottoman Greeks from a merely national standpoint, so Islamism appeals to the natural desire of the educated Turk, who has lost belief in its dogmas, to enjoy material advantages over the non-Moslem in this world, whatever he may believe as regards the next. The moral teaching of Islam concerning abstinence from gambling, drunkenness, and sexual immorality is ignored by too large a proportion of the free-thinking youth of Constantinople. If local conditions are not calculated to prevent the conversion of good provincial stock into Levantines, education abroad often produces deplorable results. In some cases Circe rather than Pallas Athens claims the interest of the expatriated Turk; in others the Erinyes of Revolution are the goddesses to whom all is sacrificed and in the company of whose votaries the exile or student fits himself to govern an ancient Empire.

But the Turkish governing class still possesses moral assets of value—abundant charity to its poorer members, much good nature and urbanity, more idealism than foreigners suspect, and among the young a genuine ardour for the benefits of administrative progress.

In the new leaders of the governing class are found men of a type different from that of the majority of their followers. Most of the chief "Ittihadis" (Unionists) are Rumeliot. Some are of Jewish or crypto-Jewish origin; others have been influenced by Jewish Salonika, the Mecca of the Turkish revolutionary, now in infidel hands. Their chief weaknesses are their lack of experience, their Oriental warship of force, the traditional Ottoman arbitrariness, supplemented by revolutionary intolerance, which leads them to regard opposition as a form of rebellion and criticism unsweetened by flattery as a proof of hostility. The national fear of responsibility clung to them during their first experiments in government and led them to adopt singular and often transparent disguises which they have not altogether ditched. Their friends have done them a disservice by insisting too emphatically on the nobility of their ideals. Their enemies have insisted too strongly on the "strange" contrast between their libertarian precepts and their often arbitrary practice. Avid of power rather than wealth, capable of a high degree of patriotic idealism combined with what Parisians may regard as very materialistic political methods, they surpass most of their compatriots in courage and persistence.

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Annas 4.

Delhi: Saturday, 12th September, 1914.

Annual Subscription

Indian Rs. 12. Foreign Rs. 41

CONTENTS

THE WAR IN EUROPE—

News of the Week .. 165

Explanatory Notes .. 177

OUR LONDON LETTER .. 182

THE HOLY WAR ... 184

THE BLUE-BOOK ... 184

VERSE—

To Our Indian Troops Going

to War ... 186

THEN A TALK—

Germany's Explanation .. 186

Russia's Reply .. 186

Feeling in Berlin .. 187

Feeling in Paris .. 187

The Japanese Intervention .. 187

How Germany came to

Kiao-Chau .. 188

A German Statement for

Abroad ... 188

The Fall of Jüdo ... 188

General Joffre .. 188

A German View of the

Naval War .. 189

The Grant to the Islamic

College, Lahore .. 189

Week's News in the "Comrade" 189

LEADING ARTICLES—

British Opinion and the WAR .. 190

The Campaign.—IV ... 192

WAR AND PEACE .. 194

THE EDITOR'S APOLOGY A

"LAME" EXCUSE ... 197

ADVERTISEMENTS .. 198—200

his position in the Government involved his adherence to neither party. Like those who were now so willingly joining the colours, his terms of office was for the duration of the war, or three years if the war lasted longer; others would then be able to take their places and see the matter through. Serious conflicts were ahead and considerable sacrifices would be willingly borne for our honour and our position in the world. They would be willingly shared by the Dominions, who were sending contingents and giving every assistance to the Mother Country.

Our troops had already been for thirty-six hours in contact with superior forces and had maintained the best traditions of the British soldier. They had behaved with the utmost gallantry. The movements they had been called upon to execute demanded the greatest steadiness of soldiery and skill in their commanders. Earl Kitchener said he had telegraphed to Field Marshal French to congratulate the troops on their splendid work. "Britain was proud of them."

Earl Kitchener pointed out the heavy casualties which a European war entailed. He emphasised the smoothness with which the mobilisation and the transportation of the Expeditionary Force had been carried out and paid a warm tribute to the readiness of civilians to assist the military.

Earl Kitchener continued. "We know deeply France has appreciated the value of Great Britain's prompt assistance; it must also prove of high military significance in restricting the sphere of operations and determining their duration. Every one would have rejoiced if the contributions of strategy had permitted the British to be ranged alongside of the gallant Belgian army. Belgium, however, knows our sympathy and our resolution to make sure that none of her sacrifices will have been in vain."

Earl Kitchener continued. "While other countries have under compulsory service, brought their full resources into the field, we have still a vast reserve to draw from the resources of the Mother Country and the Dominions. The response of the Dominions has already shown that we have not looked to them in vain. India, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are sending powerful contingents, and the Territorials of Great Britain have loyally responded to the stern call of duty. Over seventy battalions of Territorials with fine patriotism have already volunteered for service abroad. Also the hundred thousand recruits already asked for have been practically secured. Behind that we have the reserves." Earl Kitchener affirmed that he desired to have constantly in the field an army not unworthy of the power and the responsibilities of the Empire. He could not, at this stage, say the limit of the force required. The scale of the field army was not being raised and it might attain, in the course of the next six months a total of thirty divisions, which would be gradually maintained in the field, but if the war was protracted and our fortunes varied or were adverse, then he was confident that further exertions and sacrifices on the part of the Empire would not be denied. (Loud cheers).

A small German raiding party from Windhoek has entered British Namaland. On their way they came into conflict with some Boer farmers settled in German territory who killed a sergeant and a few others. Owing to the waterless nature of the region, the invaders are unable to move far from the Orange River and the raid is unimportant.

The War in Europe.

News of the Week.

London, Aug. 25.

The fall of Namur is regarded as a lately unexpected event, as it was expected to hold out for at least a fortnight, working hard in hand with Antwerp.

The result of their withdrawal seems to be that the Allies have abandoned, at least temporarily, a position from which an offensive movement was possible. The Allies are now encamped on the main position, probably extending along Lill, Valenciennes, Marbais and Metziers. It is pointed out that even if no defence quibbles is possible there are prepared defences through Liege and Rheims while in the rear are the immense girdle of forts round Paris. With the aid of this succession of obstacles the Allies should be able to make every advance of the enemy as costly as possible until pressure is automatically relieved from the East.

1.35 P.M.: A meeting of the Cabinet Ministers and Generals was held at Earl Kitchener's residence from midnight until two o'clock this morning. Earl Kitchener visited Mr. Asquith to-day.

3.45 P.M.: The House of Commons re-assembled to-day in an atmosphere of tense expectancy. Many members were military uniformed.

Mr. Asquith said: "We have heard to-day from Field Marshal Sir John French that the withdrawal of his troops to a new position has been successfully effected. It is undesirable to say more at present except that General French reports that despite hard marching and hard fighting, the British forces are in the best of spirits. General French estimates our casualties at something over two thousand, but we have not yet received any names."

4.30 P.M.: In the House of Lords to-day, Earl Kitchener made his first speech as Secretary of State for War. He emphasised that

The Canadian patriotic fund is rapidly mounting up. Toronto alone contributed 297,000 dollars in one day, and expects to raise half a million in the next four days.

4-20. A.M. All boys of from sixteen to nineteen years of age in Germany have been ordered to be put through a course of gymnastics and military training. Retired officers will be employed as instructors.

Two houses were destroyed and several persons were killed. An airship was brought down by six guns six miles from Antwerp and her crew were captured.

The Germans have bombarded Malines, damaging the famous cathedral steeple and 200 houses. The Belgians vigorously retaliated and drove the enemy towards Vilvoorde. Considerable losses were sustained on both sides. The crew was captured.

The Belgian State railway are sending a thousand engines and the bulk of their rolling stock to France.

A telegram from Aix la Chapelle says that General Lecman was found among the ruins of a large fort recently captured. He was brought before General Frensch, who granted him his sword in recognition of his gallantry. General Lecman and other Belgian officers have been sent to Cologne.

The French Minister for Foreign Affairs telegraphs that the Germans have had great losses in Lorraine.

London, Aug. 26 4-20 p.m.

12.5 A.M. The Official Press Bureau announces to-night that there has been no further general engagement. The conduct of British troops is in every way satisfactory.

A French official announcement says that French movement begun yesterday is proceeding methodically, despite German opposition.

The German Guards Corps was roughly handled in a hand to hand fight with Algerian troops and lost heavily.

8-40. A.M. Austria has handed its passports to the Japanese Ambassador and the Austrian Ambassador in Tokyo has been recalled.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Asquith announced that he would to-morrow move a humble address to His Majesty praying him to convey to the King of the Belgians an expression of sympathy and admiration at the heroic resistance of the Belgians and the assurance of Great Britain's determination to support Belgium in every way to vindicate her independence and the public law of Europe (Cheers).

Mr. Harcourt announced that the enemy had demanded that they should capitulate on terms. The British commander replied that they must surrender unconditionally, adding that Britain always respected private property. Mr. Harcourt added that the commander had crossed the river Aisne and the German answer was expected to-night.

1-20 p.m.

The Colonial Office announces that Togoland has surrendered unconditionally. The Allies will enter Kamina to-morrow.

Mr. Hamersley asked whether in the present crisis some form of compulsory service should not be adopted. Mr. Asquith replied in the negative and referred Mr. Hamersley to Earl Kitchener's statement.

4-45 p.m.

Copenhagen: A German official telegram says that Prince Friedrich of Saxe-Meiningen was killed by a shell at Namur on August 28th.

5-10 p.m.

The Press Bureau states that it is officially announced that the Germans in force yesterday attacked the French on their southern frontier. The attack was repulsed and the enemy retired all along the line.

1-15 p.m.

The Russian troops in East Prussia have occupied Nardenburg, Rosenberg and Bischofsburg, the advance still continuing.

The Russian columns near Gabel have occupied Funopol and crossed the river Dniester. Only three Austrian army corps are opposing them.

The women of Canada have offered through the Duchess of Connaught, to build, equip and maintain a Naval Hospital. The Admiralty has gratefully accepted the gift which will be known as the Canadian Women's Hospital.

London, Aug. 26 6-40 p.m.

The Russian General says that his troops attacked the fortification of Ordeu and Frankau north of Nauenburg with hand grenades, and bayonets practically enveloping an Army Corps.

A Dutch war correspondent who has returned to Amsterdam after traversing East Prussia, was thunderstruck when he learned that

the Russians had taken Gumbinnen. He said that it seemed to him to be improbable that the town could be taken as the German trenches were of tremendous strength. He says that the Germans are not strong enough on the east to fight a big battle as all available troops are required in the west.

Count Zeppelin has volunteered for active service. He will command an airship.

Another airship attempted a raid on Antwerp last night, but the authorities were too watchful and the airship abandoned the attempt.

1.50 A.M. An official communiqué issued in Antwerp, says that the recent Belgian operation have succeeded in drawing the Germans on to the Malines-Brussels line, the object being to relieve the French position. In consequence the Fourth German Division which was marching southwards, has been obliged to march back. The Fourth Belgian Division at Namur accomplished its task in holding up a German column and they retired on the French line. The communiqué adds that certain Namur forts are still holding out.

3.30 A.M. According to a censored Paris message to the "Daily Mail" and "Daily Telegraph," a German cavalry corps in three columns made a threatening raid against the English lines of communication, but has been successfully repulsed. One column was held in position by the British before it got to Orléans and fell back, being finally destroyed. The second column, which was ambushed in a wood by French artillery and almost completely destroyed. It is not known whether the third column has been encountered yet. This is probably what has given rise to the report from Ostend that Lille and other towns had been occupied. In any case it seems probable that the French have decided to regard Lille and other towns as not defended.

From a new received from Belgium, it appears that the Germans are a vain and headlong regardless of their lines of communication. It is stated that non-combatants have been ordered to leave Dunkirk.

7.15 P.M. The recent war news has resulted in a rush in recruiting. Monday and Tuesday were the best days since the beginning. Tests are strictly enforced. It is stated that as many as thirty per cent are rejected. The result is that a magnificent body of picked men is being formed. Mr. Asquith emphasised in the Commons that Earl Kitchener wanted as many recruits as possible.

The German Government has issued a circular recommending economy in use of petrol and paraffin.

8 P.M. The papers frankly discuss the position in the Western theatre of war. They rely on the Allies to hold out pending the Russian advance which is coming like a flood.

Treasury bills for fifteen millions sterling have been allotted. The Government will face and they quote the percentage. The total application and need to face will be.

A Paris telegram says that the German submarines are in Kiel Canal and the cruiser and destroyers are at Heligoland and protecting the coasts.

London, Aug. 26 6.50 a.m.

Details which have been received of the great battle, leave no doubt that enormous losses were sustained on both sides. All reports are unanimous in praising the admirable behaviour of the British troops who only fell back at the express command of their Commander in Chief and not under pressure from the enemy. British troops and the African troops inflicted severe losses on the German Imperial Guard.

It is reported on good authority that Prince Frederik Leopold, Commander in Chief of the Imperial Guards, was killed.

The Algerian soldiers distinguished themselves by a magnificent bayonet charge. They advanced three kilometres, despite a deadly fire from machine-guns.

Field Marshal Von der Goltz has been appointed Military Governor of the occupied portion of Belgium, and a civil administrator has also been appointed.

6.15 p.m.

A St. Petersburg telegram says that the Russian casualties have, hitherto, been largely due to the inextinguishable determination of the rank and file to get at the enemy. The cavalry in the centre in the recent battle, suffered heavily. The cavalry encounter was followed by an infantry advance which was more than satisfactory.

A Serbian official statement says that the whole of Serbian territory is now clear of the enemy.

Ostend telegram reports fierce fighting on the outskirts between Uhlans and the Gendarmarie. The wounded are arriving in motor cars.

A Zeppelin threw eight bombs on Antwerp. Twelve persons were killed. One bomb dropped near the palace.

It is stated, despite denials, that Austria is mobilising on the Italian frontier and that already seventy thousand men have been concentrated at Innsbruck and Trent.

Thirteen emergency Bills have been introduced into the House of Commons including one for the control of the sale and consumption of intoxicants.

Prayers on behalf of Great Britain have been offered by the Mahomedan residents of Melbourne.

London, Aug. 26
The wireless operator on board H. M. light cruiser "Gloucester", describes the pursuit of the German cruisers "Goeben" and "Breslau". The "Gloucester" continued the chase for two days and nights. Her second shot took off half of the "Breslau's" foremost funnel. The next put her aft gun out of action. The "Breslau" fired thirty shots, but only two took effect smashing two of the "Gloucester's" boats.

12-45 p. m.

Both armies have taken the offensive in Lorraine. Fighting is proceeding. The Fifteenth French Army Corps executed a brilliant counter-attack in the valley of Vezouze. A battle is raging north of the Verdun.

London, Aug. 27

The Russians have driven back the Austrians beyond the river Slotalpa.

The Russians have, also, in East Prussia, occupied the railway junction of Bethlies, twenty-one miles from Allenstein.

A French official statement says that the general impression from the engagements which occurred in the course of the afternoon and which are not yet completed on the Cambrai-le Chateau front, is favourable. In Lorraine the German offensive has been wholly repulsed. The French brought down a German aeroplane in Le Quesnay District. The aeroplane caught fire and fell into the British lines. Two pilots perished.

11-35 a. m.

The reports which have been in circulation to the effect that Lille, Roubaix and other towns have been occupied, are not true.

A French official *communiqué* announces that in the north, the French and British forces have been slightly drawn back.

The French Cabinet has resigned and the Ministry has been re-constructed as a Cabinet of National Defence, with the addition of M. Millerand as Minister of War, Delcasse, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Briand, Minister of Justice; Ribot, Minister of Finance, and the Socialist, Jules Guesde, Minister without portfolio. M. Viviani remains Premier. M. Messimy, hitherto Minister of War, is not included in the combination which embraces all parties.

12-25 p. m.

It is stated that the British losses at the battle of Mons amounted only to three per cent. of the total number of troops engaged. With regard to this, it is pointed out that the percentage is far lower than that of the losses of the important battles of the South African campaign, where the losses ranged from six to twenty-four per cent.

The second Chamber of the Dutch States General has passed an extraordinary credit of 5,000,000 florins to maintain Dutch neutrality.

A French *communiqué* says: "Generally speaking, the French offensive action is progressing between Nancy and the Vosges. The enemy seem to have sustained considerable losses. Over 1,500 bodies were found in a very small area. In one trench a whole section has been mown down by shells, the bodies remaining in the attitude of firing."

General Gallieni has been appointed Military Governor of Paris.

A new French decree suspends the seniority rules and enables appointment on the spot to important commands of officers who have proved their worth.

Accounts which have appeared in the papers of the fighting round Mons, indicate that the British troops were stationed on the French left. The Prussians seem to have fought with reckless bravery, hurling themselves again and again at British lines which repelled them every time with frightful slaughter. The finest troops of the German Army appear to have been selected for the attack against the British lines, but regiment after regiment was thrown back with appalling losses. The Germans were never able to stand up against the British bayonet charges. From Saturday morning to Monday night the British maintained their grounds never receding an inch despite tremendous onslaughts.

4-45 p. m.

It is officially stated that British marines have occupied Ostend and its environs.

It is stated that one body of Uhlans who were captured at Courtrai, was commanded by Count Schwerin, a nephew of the Kaiser.

The Cossacks in Prussia showed extraordinary fierceness. They charged across a burning railway cutting and fell upon a body of German cavalry with such fury that a number of Germans were cut clean in two by sword strokes.

The following are special cablegrams to the "I. D. N":

The Prussians have shot the Burgomaster of Aerschot.

The Press Bureau advises receiving the report of the sinking of the "Zrinyi" with caution.

Italy has asked Austria to explain the landing of arms in Albania.

Special cables to the "C and M. Gazette" state: The report of the sinking of the Austrian battleship "Zrinyi" is unconfirmed. It is thought she may have been confused with the small cruiser "Zenta."

The 14th Austrian Army Corps, which was sent to aid in the attack upon France, is now reported to have returned. Nevertheless 7,000 Austrians, with a siege train are reported to be at Strassburg.

It is stated that Baron Lovat has accepted the command of the Highland Mounted Brigade, including Lovat's Scouts raised for service in the South African War. Practically the whole brigade has volunteered for service at the front. The Brigade will undergo a course of training as part of the territorial army.

London, Aug. 27.

Though there is no fresh news from the front there are indications that the combat is proceeding. The exact significance of the announcement that the Allied forces have moved back is not yet clear, but it appears that a terrific onslaught is being made in the region where the British forces have been disposed during the past few days. The Germans have evidently attempted to cut the British lines of communication.

A British soldier, in a letter home, giving a description of the fighting at Mons, said:—"The Germans are atrocious devils. They were furious but their firing was inaccurate; ours was good. We piled up their dead, but they came for us in thousands. It was a magnificent but awful sight. Shrapnel made the night hideous, but our chaps were calm and aimed deliberately. Our captain was a fine fellow. He had his leg smashed by a shell, he knelt on one knee and kept cheerfully calling out 'My bonnie boys make sure of your aim.' The letter concludes that Germans were more like mad Zulus than human beings."

Paris. An official statement says that yesterday's events in the northern area in no way prejudiced the latest measures with a view to the later development of the operations. The French between the Vosges and Nancy continue to advance.

In the Vosges the French troops have resumed the offensive and repulsed the German forces which forced them to retire yesterday. In the region between the Vosges and Nancy our offensive has continued uninterrupted. For the last five days the German losses have been considerable. South-east of Nancy over a front of seven kilometres 7,000 German dead were found. On the Meuse our troops repulsed several German attacks with great vigour. The Belgian mobile defence troops from Namur, with the French regiment supporting them have joined our lines.

Crowds of destitute and starving Belgians are arriving in Paris. They present a tragic spectacle. The women are haggard and dazed with misery, and many of them tell pathetic stories of children lost in the stampede from the Germans. Many refugees are obviously well-to-do but they look like tramps. The majority have been accommodated in the Cirque de Paris, which is full of straw beds, and looks like a human stable. The refugees will be sent to the centre or west, where they will find employment in helping the farmers.

Servia is preparing to pour an expeditionary force into Austria. The Servians have already taken a number of strategic points in South Bosnia.

Eyewitnesses say that the Austrian defeat in Servia was due to the lack of endurance on the part of the Austrian troops. The Austrian artillery and the cavalry are first class, but the infantry is weaker.

The Admiralty has telegraphed to the cruiser Highflyer, "Bravo! You have rendered a service not only to Great Britain but to the peaceful commerce of the world."

Aug. 28.—The Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse was painted black. She stopped the Union Castle liner Galician and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's steamer Arlanza, destroying the wireless installations on both vessels. She also took two British reservists who were on board the Galician. Otherwise no harm was done.

A Danish trawler has been sunk by a mine in the North Sea. Also a Norwegian steamer has been sunk, eight lives being lost.

London, Aug. 27, 8-25 p. m.—Amsterdam. A German official announcement published here says the cruiser Magdeburg went ashore at the Isle of Euselo in a fog. Her position was hopeless as Russian war-ships were in the neighbourhood. The German torpedo boat V 26, under heavy fire, rescued some of the crew. The captain blew up the Magdeburg, Seventeen men are dead, 21 wounded, 85 missing, including the captain.

London, Aug. 27

The Japanese movement in the Far East is being kept as secret as possible, and no information is being issued even to Embassies.

Earl Kitchener has extended the age of enlistment to 35.

In the fighting in Togoland three officers were killed and five wounded, and 28 men of the native troops were killed and 46 wounded. The casualties were equally divided between French and English.

The German Government is issuing casualty lists every few days. Each is heavier than the last. This eight, which has just been published, totals 841, but it is doubtful how far these lists are complete.

German newspapers state that unemployment is causing such misery in Berlin that it is becoming an internal danger.

The Indians in the Transvaal have offered their services to the Union Government, stating their readiness to be employed in any useful capacity. The Government has replied cordially appreciating their offer.

London, Aug. 28

The first batch of wounded from Mons have arrived at Folkestone. Many are wounded in the feet and leg. The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent conversed with one of them who, asked how the war around Mons was going on, replied, "Very nicely. The action in which I was appears to have been very much exaggerated."

A French official *communiqué* says the British army was attacked by greatly superior forces, and obliged after brilliant resistance to withdraw a short distance to the rear. On the right their armies maintained their position.

The correspondent of the *Daily Express*, telegraphing from Lille yesterday, says so far there is no evidence of the stemming of the flood of German soldiery, the advance of which is at Pont-a-Marcq and Marchiennes. They broke through the French lines and penetrated as far as Orchies, cutting the line from Valenciennes to Lille.

Heavy fighting is reported to have occurred at Marchiennes this morning, and it is believed that the Allies were able to push back the German advance on the main body. The French also repulsed the German advanced forces with great loss at Pont-a-Marcq, seven miles south of Lille.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Asquith stated that it appeared from a French official report that the fighting on Wednesday was in the neighbourhood of Cambrai to Le Cateau. Our troops were exposed to the attack of five German Army Corps, two Cavalry Divisions, and the reserve Corps of Cavalry of the Guard. Our Second Army Corp in the Fourth Division bore the brunt of the cavalry attack, our first Army Corps was attacked on the right, and inflicted very heavy loss on the enemy. Mr. Asquith announced with regret that our casualties had been heavy. Exact particulars, however, were not yet known. The behaviour of our troops had been in all respects admirable. General Joffre conveyed congratulations and sincere thanks for the protection so effectively given by our army to the French flank (Loud cheers).

The Press Bureau has issued the following:—The French operations, extending over 250 miles, necessitated changes in the position of our troops, who are now occupying a strong line to meet the German advances, supported by the French army on the left flank. The morale of both armies appears to be excellent.

The Press Bureau states that the Russians have occupied Tilsit.

London, Aug. 28, 2-35 a.m.

According to despatches printed in New York, and cabled by the *Daily Telegraph*, the Germans in East Prussia are running like hares before the Russians. The peasants and townspeople fled first, followed soon afterwards by the infantry and artillery, the men in many cases discarding their equipment. The appearance of the Russians in such strength was wholly unexpected by the Germans, and demoralisation commenced when it was seen that nothing could stop the Russian advance.

A St. Petersburg official *communiqué* says that the Russians are advancing on Königsberg, and have driven back the advance guards of the garrison. The Russians have occupied numerous passages over the River Alle. The Russian and Austrian armies are in contact between the Vistula and the Dnieper.

London, 29th August.

The Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse was coaling at Rio de Oro when the Hightyer sighted her. The cannonade set the Wilhelm on fire. The Hightyer ceased firing and proceeded to rescue the German survivors. On the Wilhelm there was Lieutenant Deane of the East Lancashire regiment, who had been taken from the Galician.

A collier has brought crews of the Kaipara and Nyanga and also of an English fishing-boat to Las Palmas. These ships were sunk by the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse.

Five thousand German cavalry attacked 600 British infantry, with two guns who were awaiting relief at Tournai. The Englishmen kept the enemy at bay for several hours, dealing death wholesale. Finally some 300 survivors, the majority of whom were wounded fell back in good order on Cambrai.

A section of the Baghdad Railway from Samirah to Istabulat has been opened.

Stories of soldiers are beginning to throw light on various phases of the conflict. They show how furiously at Charleroi the fight raged. To the right of the British, the French artillery worked tremendous havoc in the German ranks which were ever coming up. The numbers gradually told. The Frenchmen fell back slowly. The French, according to a British soldier, lost more heavily than the British. German prisoners told our soldiers that they did not know they were fighting the British. Their officers told them that their opponents were Russians.

The United Provinces Government has opened a Press Bureau under the management of the Criminal Investigation Department. A circular from Naini Tal to the Press, under the signature of Mr. C. E. W. Sands, Government Reporter on the Press in the Criminal Investigation Department, says:—"Government has considered the advisability of supplying editors of newspapers with telegraphic information about the war in order to assist the press in the efforts to keep the people informed of the course of the war, and to enable it by publishing the latest news to forestall incorrect reports and rumours which are bound to find currency at such a time. The Government has accordingly decided to establish a central news bureau in these provinces from which bulletins of news will be issued daily to all newspapers' editors who may care to have them. The news will be an authentic account of information we receive from recognised sources. The work of this bureau will be to issue translation and explanations of each item of news received. An effort will be made to make the notes clear and the officer in charge of the work will endeavour to send out this bulletin by the first post after receipt, as it will be the aim of the Provincial Press Bureau to correct or contradict any misleading rumours that may have gained currency. The Government will be glad if you will bring to the notice of that agency the existence of any rumour which in your opinion calls for explanation as being likely otherwise to cause disquietude or despondency."

The first bulletin the bureau has issued explains the military situation in Europe before the war, the causes of the war, the reasons that led the Britain to throw itself into it and the latest events to date.

The *Times* military correspondent estimates that not more than 430,000 Germans crossed the Meuse. Deducting losses, garrisons and a force watching the Belgian army 350 to 375 thousand remain, apart from some 600 Army Corps assigned to the Dinant-Thionville line and those in Lorraine and Alsace. Losses and Landwehr aside, there is no evidence that the whole outfit ever exceeded 1,300,000 and as the French first line army is nearly two million and there are also the Belgians and English there is no reason why the Allies should be in error at the decisive point. Therefore the writer still confidently hopes for news of a victory.

The decision to bring Indian troops has been enthusiastically received by the press and public as a magnificent outward proof of the unity of the Empire. References are everywhere made to the splendid fighting qualities of Indian regiments.

London, Aug. 30, 12-55 p.m.

The garrison fortresses of Thorn and Graudenz are participating in a battle in East Prussia, with many siege guns.

The Austrian forces concentrated in Kielce are hurriedly crossing the river Vistula to help the Austrian army at Lemberg.

The Russians have inflicted 3,000 losses on the enemy at Podgazy and have also had successes at Zolotaya Lipa and Tomashoff where they defeated the 15th Hungarian division. Desperate engagements continue, especially in Lublin.

Lahore, Aug. 30.

The *Civil & Military Gazette* special cable says:—Mr. W. G. Grace suggests the winding up of the country cricket season, urging all first class cricketers of recruiting age to set a good example by enlisting.

Prince Albert has been taken ashore from the Collingwood suffering from appendicitis.

Among the Hightyer's officers was Captain Trench, formerly imprisoned as a spy in Germany.

Five small vessels including two British trawlers and three neutral ships, were destroyed by mines in the North Sea. The trawlers were mine sweeping and had retrieved three. Warnings issued at Grimsby state that mines have been found thirty miles from the mouth of the Tyne.

Earl Kitchener's statement has completely disposed of the steadily growing crop of alarmist rumours regarding the situation in France.

The Allies now occupy a line extending from the mouth of the Somme inland along the river past the fortresses of La Fere and Laon eastwards towards Mezieres.

The *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent at Amiens says that the Allies' new line is infinitely stronger than any held before, while the disproportion in numbers has been reduced.

London, Aug. 30.

A special edition of the *Times* publishes a telegram from Harwich announcing that the British flotilla has brought an account of the action off Heligoland. The battle cruiser *Fearless*, with destroyers, crept into German lines between Heligoland and the coast at dawn. An aeroplane warned the enemy of their approach and German ships emerged. The destroyers lured them out to sea. The *Arctura* opened battle. *Liberty* and *Laertes* fought grandly. A shell shattered *Liberty's* mast and bridge, killing the Captain and a signaller. The British light cruiser and battle cruisers then appeared. The first shot from one of the latter sank a German cruiser. The Germans fled towards Cuxhaven pursued by destroyers, doing terrible damage with their 4-inch guns.

Impenetrable gloom still hangs over the battle line. Not a word is coming through indicating the trend of events. From all sides comes testimony of heroic resistance of British troops at Mons and Cambrai, eclipsing anything even in the history of the British army, not only in gallantry but in efficiency. Whatever may happen in future, it is generally admitted that they saved the allies left wing though at terrible cost. Yet German losses were colossal, even on conservative estimates.

Lord Kitchener announces that British losses from Aug. 23rd to Aug. 26th were from 5,000 to 6,000. German losses were infinitely greater.

The Press Bureau has issued a statement made by Lord Kitchener describing the share of the British troops in the four days' battle which started on August 23rd. During this period the Allies were occupied in resisting and checking German advance and withdrawing to new lines of defence. The battle began at Mons on Sunday. The German attack was stubbornly pressed home and repeated, but it was completely checked by the British front. On Monday the Germans made vigorous efforts with their superior numbers to prevent the safe withdrawal of the British troops and to drive them into the fortress of Mauberge. This was frustrated. The enemy's losses on both days far exceeded ours. The British retirement proceeded on the 25th with continuous fighting, though not on the scale of the two previous days. By the night of the 25th, the British occupied a line from Cambrai to Le Cateau and Landreies. It was intended to resume the retirement at day-break on the 26th but five German Army Corps attacked and the fighting was so close and fierce that it was impossible to carry out a retirement till the afternoon. This battle was most severe and desperate. Troops exhausted themselves magnificently under the heaviest artillery fire.

Since the 26th the British have been left unmolested and have rested and refitted after the exertions of their glorious achievement. They are now ready for the next great encounter with undaunted spirit. Frenchmen bore the brunt of an attack which was repulsed on the 28th. The British Cavalry brigade under Brigadier General Sir Philip Chetwode fought a brilliant action against German Cavalry.

The strategic position of ourselves and the allies is that whereas a decisive victory for us would be fatal to the enemy, a continuance of Anglo-French resistance which can keep at closest grips the enemy's best troops can, if prolonged, lead to only one conclusion. Lord Kitchener praises the steadiness and skill in the retirement of the troops. The Germans adopted a dense formation in enormous masses and marched forward again and yet again to storm the British lines. In the battle of the 26th, the British troops offered a superb and most stubborn resistance to tremendous odds and extricated themselves in good order under a terrific fire, without losing any guns except those whose horses were all killed or shattered by high explosive shells.

The Germans suffered heavily in their attempts across the open. Their losses owing to their dense formation were out of all proportion to ours. In Landreies alone on the 26th, for instance, a German infantry brigade advanced in close order into a narrow street. Our machine-guns found this target, and the head of the column was swept away. A frightful panic ensued. It is estimated that 800 or 900 dead or wounded Germans lay in the street alone.

Another incident may be chosen from many like it. A brigade of Cavalry of the Guards charged the 12th British Cavalry Brigade. The Germans were thrown back with great losses in absolute disorder. Such examples can be found practically along the whole front, and the Germans paid an extreme price for their advance.

Lord Kitchener's statement concludes by showing that the British Army is again ready for every emergency. Every gun has been replaced.

To-day the news is again favourable. British troops were not engaged, but French armies acting vigorously on their right and left have temporarily brought the German attack to a standstill. It must be remembered throughout that operations in France are vast and that British troops form only one wing of the whole battlefield.

A despatch passed by the censor states that fighting in northern France is very serious, as Germans, with immensely superior forces, are endeavouring to press the advance. British troops behaved splendidly and saved the situation, only retiring before weight of numbers.

London Aug. 30, 9-50 a. m.

The Russians captured nine cannons and sixty caissons (chests of ammunition) abandoned by the enemy making hasty crossing on the river Zaslavskiy.

The French Embassy states there has been severe fighting in Lorraine. Four Army Corps were engaged southwest of Mezieres. French progress is considerable.

11-55 a. m.

The official Press Bureau announces that the British casualties in the naval action off Heligoland were twenty-nine killed including two Lieutenants and thirty-five wounded.

London, Aug. 31st, 1-25. p. m.

The fugitives from Louvain give horrifying stories of the wholesale shooting of the inhabitants as they emerged from blazing houses, which they were afraid to leave till the last moment. They declare that hundreds were burned alive in this way, and several only escaped by instantly falling down in the street and pretending to be dead. Nothing is known of the fate of hundreds of women who were despatched in trains to an unknown destination.

The destruction of Louvain has aroused intense indignation in America. The Press compares German methods with those of Japan who gave notice of the blockade of Tsingtau.

1-25. p. m.

A Belgian official report says that Belgium north of Deter (River Demet) is completely clear of the enemy. The Germans have evacuated Dier.

Thousands of houses are being blown up in the vicinity of Paris to clear the way for the guns of the forts.

A Russian official report says that fresh German troops have appeared on the frontier and taken the offensive at some places.

The battle continues along the whole of Austrian front. The Austrians have assumed the offensive south of Lodi and are marching over country covered with Austrian corpses. Some of the Russian troops have been fighting for a week, but the vigour of Russian attacks has not abated. The Russians have captured numerous guns and quick-firers and are steadily advancing on Lemberg.

A correspondent describes a lively affair at Charleville near Mezieres. The French destroyed twenty-two bridges over the Meuse leaving three sufficiently intact but mined. The Germans crossed into the town, and the bridges were then blown up thereby entrapping Germans who were exposed to a withering fire from quick-firers and guns posted on the neighbouring heights. A sheer massacre ensued among flower gardens. Germans fought furiously until reinforcements arrived.

It was in Charleville that the French army was entrapped in 1870, being the result of a manoeuvre by Germans leading to the disaster at Sedan.

1-20 p. m.

A German aeroplane flew over Paris and dropped bombs. No damage was done.

6-0 a. m.

Count Schuerin, a nephew of Emperor William, was captured at Contrat by a French Lieutenant who seized his helmet and sword.

The Viceroy has received the following from the Secretary of State: "It is officially announced that Apia in German Samoa surrendered to the expeditionary force from New Zealand."

The German official accounts pay a handsome tribute to British gallantry at the Heligoland encounter in saving the wounded.

The statement says that the British, without attempting to consider their own safety, launched life-boats to save the Germans.

London, Aug. 31.

In spite of the truce of fighting in France, pleasing incidents are reported of co-operation of the British and German Medical Corps on battlefield. Both sides have exchanged drugs, and an instance is reported where a British Surgeon operated on a German soldier with the assistance of a German anaesthetist.

London, Aug. 31st, 5-40. p. m.

The Australian Premier has called for the second expeditionary contingent.

Three hundred wounded have arrived in London, the crowds giving them an enthusiastic reception.

Banking conditions in Manchester are normal but, there is a great decline in turnover.

All political leaders are co-operating energetically in the recruiting campaign.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received a most cordial letter from the Amir of Afghanistan in which His Majesty expressed his complete concurrence in His Excellency's advice that His Majesty

should preserve strict neutrality during the present European crisis, as the safety of Afghanistan is assured and her interests are in no way affected, and his firm intention of doing so.

6-40 p. m.

It is confirmed in Paris that the Frenchmen gained considerable success at Guise. Telegrams say that the Germans advanced a short distance further on Somme. The Allies' left wing subsequently took the offensive, the Frenchmen on the west wing offering strenuous and successful resistance.

Copenhagen: A German account of the naval engagement says that desperate isolated fights occurred between British and German ships. Small German cruisers went in a westerly direction and came into contact with several strong cruisers.

The Ariadne was hit by shots from two cruisers of the Lion class and sank after a glorious fight. Most of her crew of 250 was saved. V-187 was bombarded by a small cruiser and ten destroyers and sank after firing till the last moment.

11-15 p. m.

The Press Bureau's account of the action off Heligoland says that the Arethusa played the principal part in the battle. The Arethusa flying the flag of Commodore Tyrwhitt led the flotilla of the first fleet. The principle of the operations was a sweeping movement by a strong force of destroyers to cut the German light craft from their base and engage them at leisure in the open sea. The Arethusa heading the line was first attacked by two German cruisers and sharply engaged for 35 minutes at a range of 3,000 yards. She was somewhat damaged but repulsed the German cruisers, one of which was severely damaged by the Arethusa's 6-inch guns. Later the Arethusa engaged two other German cruisers and with the Fearless and a light cruiser squadron helped to sink the Mainz. In these encounters the Arethusa's speed was reduced to ten knots, and many of her guns were disabled. She was about to be again attacked by two other cruisers when the British battle cruisers opportunely arrived, and they pursued and sank her assailants. The Arethusa's performance was highly creditable, since she has only been in commission a few days. Although only two of the enemy's destroyers were seen to sink, most of the 18 or 20 boats rounded up were well punished and only saved themselves by scattered flight. The operations conclusively proved the superior gun power of individual British destroyers which unhesitatingly engaged the enemy's cruisers with both guns and torpedoes. Two were knocked about.

The British destroyers ran considerable risk in saving drowning Germans. British officers saw German officers firing at their own men in the water with pistols. The destroyer Defender was saving the wounded when she was driven off by a German cruiser and had to abandon two boats, but a British submarine appeared and rescued the occupants. The crews of five German ships are known to have sunk. They aggregated 1,200. All except about 300 prisoners perished. The losses of other German vessels must have been severe. The success of the operations was primarily due to the extraordinary daring and enterprise of the submarine scouts in penetrating the enemy's waters.

London, Aug. 31.

Narratives of bluejackets who have returned to Harwich show that the fighting occurred so near Heligoland that the forts on the island took part. The Germans put up a good fight. The crew of one of the British torpedo boats saw a German cruiser sink a mass of flames, but they could not say whether it was due to an explosion, because the fighting at the time was very fierce. The destruction wrought aboard the German ships was appalling. Steelwork was battered and twisted and the condition of the crews is best left to the imagination. The appearance of the destroyer Liberty shows the ordeal to which she was subjected. She has a hole in her forward funnel and the bridge is practically destroyed. The deck fittings have vanished. She has further fourteen ugly shot holes in her hull. An Engineer Lieutenant brought her to Harwich.

Commander Rise of the destroyer Laurel was seriously wounded in the left leg and his men urged him to go below, but he shifted his weight to the other leg and continued to direct the fire against two destroyers and a cruiser, giving as good as he received.

The Admiralty announces that H. M. cruiser Liverpool is returning with nine German officers and 81 men, many of whom are wounded. There is reason to believe that this is not a complete list of the German survivors of the naval engagement.

The bluejackets who took part in the naval fight have arrived at Harwich. They were loudly cheered. About a score of destroyers have arrived. Only one shows signs of damage. The bluejackets relate that in a thick haze they caught the Germans unawares. The scrap was very hot while it lasted. The movements took eight hours.

The wounded Germans were landed with the utmost care and expressed great gratitude to their rescuers.

A communiqué issued in Paris, summing up the situation, says:—On the right after partial checks, we have taken the offensive and the enemy is retreating before us. In the centre we had alternate success

and checks but a general battle is again in progress. The morale of the Allies continues to be extremely good in spite of losses, which have been made good from depôts.

The French troops resumed the attack two days ago in the Vosges and Lorraine. This attack continues to be pressed, although slowly. Every position occupied is immediately strengthened. That explains the slowness of our advance, which nevertheless is characterized each day by new local successes.

The troops operating in the region of Spincourt and Longwy have checked the Crown Prince's army in the neighbourhood of Neufchâteau and Paliseul, but on the other hand some of our troops have suffered partial checks, which have obliged them to retire on the Meuse.

During the last few days the enemy have been trying to cross the Meuse in considerable numbers, but by vigorous counter-attacks have been thrown back with very heavy losses. Nevertheless, the German forces advanced by Roore. A general action is taking place in this district, but at present it is impossible to foresee the final result.

The communiqué mentions that the falling back of the Allies from the original Dinant-Charleroi-Mons line was owing to the forcing of the Meuse by the Germans near Givet. It also reports a new withdrawing movement on the right German wing, where the Germans have concentrated their finest troops.

An exchange telegram says that an aeroplane dropped bombs in Paris on Sunday afternoon. Two women were wounded; there was no panic. The Times' military correspondent doubts the reported withdrawal of Germans to meet Russia and opines that the German attack on the west has not yet reached its maximum of violence.

A Bill is being passed exempting from death duties the first £5,000 of the estates of those killed in the war whose property goes to the widow or lineal descendants, and making further concessions where the estate exceeds £5,000.

Paris, Sept. 1, 12-10, p. m.

The French Embassy announces that the work of putting the entrenched camp of Paris in a state of defence has been completed.

An official communiqué says that on the Allies' left wing a series of circumstances have favoured the Germans, and despite fortunate counter attacks the Anglo-French force has had to give ground. Nowhere have our armies been broken. Their morale is excellent, and the losses have been made good.

London, Sept. 1, 4-55, a. m.

Four of the richest men in Belgium have guaranteed war levies in Brussels. The Germans have abandoned Aerschot.

The Russian capital has been re-named "Petrograd."

London, September 1.

German newspapers are now forbidden to publish lists of casualties.

Alberta has contributed half a million bushels of oats to the army. Quebec has offered four million pounds of cheese which will be devoted to relieving distress. Mauritius has given two million pounds of sugar to the army and navy.

A message from Rome says that Austrians endeavoured to capture Mount Lovchen, but were repulsed leaving 100 dead and 500 wounded.

Earl Kitchener has appealed to all retired non-commissioned officers to help in the training of the new army. He is sure that there must be many who were in service under him in the past. As far as possible they will be reinstated in their old rank. As a result of news from France four thousand men enlisted in Manchester. Military enthusiasm is likewise increasing in country districts.

Simla, Sept. 1.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received a telegram from His Majesty the King expressing His and Her Majesty the Queen's concern at his son being wounded, trusting, however, that he will hear soon that he is making satisfactory recovery. No further details are known. 2nd Lieutenant the Hon. E. C. Hardinge is serving in the 15th Hussars.

London, Sept. 1.

The official list of the casualties of the Expeditionary Force respecting one Cavalry Brigade and three Divisions less one Brigade, shows 36 officers killed, 57 wounded and 95 missing, and 127 men killed, 629 wounded and 4,183 missing. A considerable proportion of the missing men were wounded men who had been sent down the country and regarding whom particulars were not available. The missing may include unwounded prisoners and stragglers as well as casualties. Casualties are regarded as small considering the severity of the fighting and the nature of operations.

Mr. Donohoe, the Daily Chronicle's special correspondent, gives a vivid although severely censored account of the fierce fighting which took place on Sunday and Monday 30th and 31st August. He says the Germans regardless of enormous sacrifice of life flung their

whole weight against the British, who had been freshly reinforced by reserves, many of whom had had experience in South Africa.

The British troops advanced into the firing line cheering for France and groaning for "William the Weed," which is the Tommy's nickname for the Kaiser. An overwhelming German force spent itself in a vain effort to overcome the British resistance. Masses of Germans hurled themselves for hours against a British wall of steel, and after a day of most bloody fighting forced the Britishers to give ground slowly. The slight advantage obtained by the German hordes was dearly purchased.

Meanwhile the French right and centre continued to hold their own and repulsed the enemy along the front with very heavy loss. When Mr. Donohoe's message was dispatched the Germans were making a fresh onslaught on the British in a desperate endeavour to smash them. The "khaki line" is barring the road to Paris.

Sir John Hewitt in a letter to the *Times* says the employment of Indian troops side by side with the best troops in the world will do more to make British rule in India popular than any other step the Government could take. He hopes that the Maharaja of Mysore's contribution will be used to prevent hardship being experienced by Indian officers and men.

Patriotic war demonstrations were held before the Palace, the Russian, the French and the British Embassies in Tokio by a crowd of thousands carrying lanterns.

London, Sept. 1

The Russians continue to attack the whole of the Austrian front. They resumed the offensive south of Lublin. They reported that the country is strewn with bodies of Austrians killed in the latter's advance.

London, Sept. 1.

The sailors who took part in the fight near Heligoland confirm the experience of the soldiers that many German shells failed to burst. One destroyer has five shells in her boiler room. "We just shied them overboard," said a stoker commander of the destroyer. Addressing his men before action he said "Now, lads, we are all men together. There need be no saluting during this job."

London, Sept. 1

The German exactions in Brussels threaten to cause famine. Only one person in a hundred can afford meat or milk. One suburb has to supply four hundred bottles of wine and another forty thousand pounds of meat daily, and the bakers of Brussels contribute seventy thousand pounds of bread.

Evidence is accumulating that German brutality towards the population in the enemy's country is a factor in their military policy. This is especially indicated by the fact that this brutality is worst where the Germans are advancing and less marked once a district is thoroughly occupied.

A *communiqué* issued by the Official Press Bureau in Paris emphasises the morality of publishing facts regarding German brutalities as the pain among the inhabitants before the German advance is thus increased, the fugitives choking the roads and hampering the French armies on the march which is one of the objects of the German brutalities.

9-25 a.m.

Antwerp. Last night 120 trains filled with German troops passed through Belgium from south-west to north-east transporting one army corps and full equipment. This movement is evidently due to the rapid advance of the Russians. The German forces in Brussels has also been reduced to a minimum.

London, September 2

High tributes to British bravery are appearing in the French Press.

The South African Indians have expressed their undiminished loyalty and are praying for success of British arms. They say that although they have grievances they remember the liberty and freedom they have enjoyed under the Union Jack. A resolution approved of the formation of a corps of five thousand Indians, Malays, etc., for active service at home or abroad.

A *communiqué* issued in Paris says the general situation is unchanged except that the ranks of the Germans have gained some ground on French left, while Frenchmen have had fresh successes in Lorraine.

A French paper says that a German Battery was captured by the French Cavalry after the gunners had been killed by aviators. Numbers of aviators are proceeding to the front determined to avenge the dropping of bombs in Paris. The inhabitants of Paris refuse to be disturbed by bombs which are obviously intended to create panic.

London, September 2 (2-0 a.m.)

A German aeroplane appeared in Paris and dropped a bomb near Gare St. Lazare and another near the Opera. Guns on roofs fired on the aeroplane which disappeared in a north-easterly direction.

All indications point to the determination of the Germans to invest and bombard Antwerp. An extensive movement is reported at Lierre, north-west of Malines, while other bodies are moving upon Termonde and St. Nicholas from Brussels.

London, September 2.

According to a German socialist paper *Vorwärts*, Germans are recalling large numbers of troops, hoping to stem Russian advance. A Dutchman from Brussels says that comparatively a small force of Germans remains in the city. Batteries of field and siege guns are constantly galloping through streets. Public buildings are guarded.

German soldiers are behaving well and paying for all purchases, but there is a shortage in the food supply.

Brussels and its surroundings are being fortified. Britons have been ordered to leave within 24 hours.

Petrograd (St. Petersburg), Sept. 2. 10-55 p.m.

The following official statement is issued here. The Russians have met with a notable success at Gubalia near Lemberg, which was considered impregnable. We buried 4,700 Austrians and captured the bag, thirty-two guns and many prisoners including a General.

The Russians have also been successful in the Warsaw district, having captured three guns, ten mitrailleurs and over a thousand prisoners.

The *communiqué* adds. We continued the advance on Lemberg, and the enemy gradually retired. We captured some guns and quick-ficers of the enemy. The enemy attempted a desperate flanking attack in the direction of Halicz, but were repulsed. In the Warsaw region the Russian right wing took the offensive and drove back the Austrians with heavy losses.

London, Sept. 2.

Following the reductions of war risks on cargo to two guineas per cent, all risks on hulls have been reduced by half per cent. Reductions are already causing a fall in freights.

Considerable dissatisfaction prevails among the German business community in consequence of the failure of the fleet to protect merchantmen and prevent loss of rich markets, which are gradually falling into British and American hands.

London, Sept. 2.

General Samsonoff was killed in the Grandenz region in the attack by the Germans who concentrated against two Russian Corps. Official details are lacking, but it is stated that everything will be done to enable Russians to take the counter-offensive.

Official circles in Rome declare that Germany is continuing her efforts to persuade Italy to abandon her neutrality.

London, Sept. 2 11-25 p.m.

A French military aeroplane flying over the enemy's lines at the height of 1,800 metres was struck by a shell. The engine of the machine stopped and the aeroplane oscillated violently. But a successful voyage was made down to the French lines with valuable information regarding the positions of the Germans.

London, Sept. 2.

The American Ambassador in Paris has protested to his Government against the dropping of bombs which he declares to be an inhuman violation of the Hague Convention.

A dozen Dutch artists and authors have telegraphed to the Kaiser protesting against burning of Louvan and urging that the treasures should be protected. Similar protests have been made by other countries.

The Prince of Wales fund has reached two millions sterling.

The death is announced of the Russian General Samsonoff.

Mr. Churchill wired the American Ambassador at Berlin to inform Admiral von Tirpitz that his son was unhurt.

The *Arethusa* belongs to a new class once described by Mr. Churchill as destroyers of destroyers. A number of similar ships will be ready soon.

London, Sept. 2.

The Japanese have occupied seven islands of Kiao-chau and have already removed a thousand mines.

Petrograd, Sept. 2.

After a seven days' battle east of Lemberg, the Russians seized heavily fortified positions ten miles from town and advanced on main forts. A heavy battle ensued yesterday the Russians routing enemy's Third, Eleventh and Fourteenth Corps and other troops, making a total of two hundred thousand.

Petrograd, Sept. 2 5-10 p.m.

A further *communiqué* announces that the Russians defeated the 15th Austrian Division at Zloczow, east of Lemberg, capturing a hundred officers, 6,000 men, twenty guns and the standard of the 68th Austrian Regiment. The Austrian Commander was killed.

No news has been received of the result of the battle in France, and Germans are straining every nerve to effect a repetition of Sedan of which to day is the anniversary.

London, Sept. 2, 7-10 p.m.

An official *communiqué* issued in Paris yesterday says that a German cavalry corps marched on the Forest of Compiègne and were engaged by the British who captured ten guns.

Another German cavalry corps advanced on the line between Soissons and Amzy le Château. The enemy has shown no activity in the Meuse district.

Monday's official *communiqué* are coming through from Paris. Hitherto the only fresh news has been that the French army has defeated the Crown Prince's Army in the regions of Spincourt and Leugnyon.

An official statement issued in Petrograd says that a battle ten miles from Lemberg concluded yesterday. The Russians defeated three Austrian Corps on whom they inflicted enormous losses. The Russians captured 150 guns.

2nd September, 1-43 p. m.

A Zeppelin reappeared over Antwerp at three o'clock in the morning. It was received with a vigorous cannonade and fusillade. Details are lacking.

The principal Russian papers adopt a moderate tone. They declare that the country must not be over-elated or over-despondent. No one expected a triumphant procession to Berlin and Vienna. No one will now lose heart.

2nd Sept

Much anxiety prevails in Australia regarding the supply of jute bags from Calcutta owing to the reported detention in India of the usual freight steamers running between Calcutta and Australia.

Mr. Kipling has published a patriotic poem entitled "For all we have and are." The poem concludes with the words — "Who stands if Freedom fall? Who dies if England live?"

London, Sept. 3.

The *Temps* learns that a report has been disreputably circulated that Germany is prepared to make peace with France on excellent terms.

The *Chronicle* advocates the British operating from a base on the coast and being afforded the opportunity for independent operations and free play for its individual tactics.

The *Times*' military correspondent writes in the same strain.

London, Sept. 3 (4-25 a. m.)

The French Government has been transferred to Bordeaux.

An Amsterdam telegram says that German military headquarters at Coblenz has been removed to an unknown destination.

Bombs thrown from a Zeppelin destroyed ten houses at Antwerp yesterday. It appears that a shell hit the Zeppelin which dropped nine bombs simultaneously to facilitate its escape. The raid lasted ten minutes. The bombs, which were filled with special bullets calculated to inflict terrible wounds, were of a type used by the notorious Bonnot robber gang in France.

The Russian military authorities attribute the Russian reverse in East Prussia to the superiority of the latest Krupp siege-guns from Thorn and Graudenz over the horse artillery and the arrival of overwhelming German reinforcements. The affair occurred on the Soldau-Osterode line.

London, Sept. 3.

The Russians apparently routed four Austrian Army Corps near Lemberg. The Austrian Army totals sixteen Corps. The Serbians have already badly mauled two of these.

London, Sept. 3.

Field Marshall Sir John French, in a stirring address to his troops before battle, said: "We are called to fight beside our gallant allies of France and Belgium to uphold the national honour and freedom. Have confidence in yourselves and in the knowledge of your powers, trusting in the righteousness of our cause. We will do or die for God, our King and our country."

The Press Bureau, confirming the capture by the British of ten guns, says that the British have pushed back the enemy. Fighting is in progress along almost the whole line.

The Russian staff announces that the Germans in East Prussia were suddenly reinforced and inflicted a reverse on the Russians. The engagement was purely local, the Russians being outnumbered and defeat being due to the arrival of German siege guns. Russian reinforcements have arrived.

London, Sept. 3.

A patriotic meeting at Cork was attended by prominent persons of all parties. Even Extremists passed a resolution assuring the Government that Ireland would assist the Government to the utmost. The speakers urged every man to enlist.

The officers killed in recent fighting include Colonel Bond and Major Yate of the Yorkshire Light Infantry, Major Brooke, Ninth Lancers, Major of Pault, Royal Field Artillery, Major Pack, Beresford, West Kent Regiment, Major Strafford, West Riding; Major Swetenham, Second Devonshire, and Lieutenant Hastings, son of the Viceroy, has been wounded.

Bombay, Sept. 3.

The Germans, resident in Bombay, who belong to the second reserve of officers of Germany who are to be sent to the military camp at which magars have been entrained for that place. Only a few Germans have been left in Bombay. (These with the exception of one or two are not liable for military service in their mother country.)

London, Sept. 3.

The *Daily Mail*'s correspondent records the feat of the Ninth Lancers on the Belgian frontier which recalls the famous charge of Balaklava. The Regiment rode straight at a battery of eleven

guns hidden behind haystacks, which had been causing havoc among the British, cut down the gunners, disabled the guns and then rode back amid murderous fire from other batteries.

London, Sept. 3.

A proclamation has been issued in Paris in which the French Government explains that the decision to transfer the Government to Bordeaux is based on purely military reasons because Paris is becoming the pivot of operations, though the city will not necessarily be the immediate object of attack, and such attack, adds the proclamation, seems unlikely. Armies will be manoeuvring round it. The Government, therefore, deemed the transfer prudent in order to be free to exercise authority throughout the country.

London, Sept. 3.

The British exploit at Compiègne, which is described as brilliant, was a cavalry affair.

The Germans have recently been carefully avoiding coming into hand-to-hand conflicts with the British Cavalry and have limited attacks to long range rifle and artillery fire.

The military authorities in Paris feel no apprehension, since so long as German centre is held in check the right cannot continue to advance without risking separation from the main army. Germans are fighting with their eye on the hour-glass with odds against them increasing every moment.

Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh of Bikaner, with his staff, arrived in Bombay. His Highness has volunteered to proceed to the seat of war and the offer has been accepted. His Highness has seen active service in the Soudan.

London, Sept. 3 (10-50 a. m.)

A thrilling fight in air has occurred over Paris. Two French aeroplanes attacked a German aeroplane which had been dropping bombs. The latter, however, rose so high that it escaped. But later on French men hit another German aeroplane killing two Germans.

President Poincaré has left for Bordeaux.

The Government has accepted gift of sugar from Jamaica.

Two hundred and forty-four Jews have been given commissions in the Russian Army.

London, Sept. 3.

It is reported that Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador in London at the time of the declaration of war, is in disgrace because he led the Kaiser to believe that Britain would never resort to war.

The German Governor of Samoa has been sent to Fiji with other prisoners.

The insurgents have begun to bombard Durazzo. Two projectiles have fallen near the royal palace which is still guarded by Italian sailors.

London, Sept. 3.

A censored message says that the British India steamer "Palamcottah" has arrived at Mozambique with her Captain and most of the officers and European crew and two passengers of the "City of Winchester." The latter are Messrs. T. G. Cameron and Laird of Calcutta. The Captain reports that on the night of August 25th he was held up by steamer "Koenigsberg" from Dar es-Salam. An officer with seven men went aboard the "City of Winchester" and said the ship was under martial law. He ordered the Captain to follow "Koenigsberg." They reached the Arabian coast next day and steamed to Mocha.

London, 3 (1-45 p. m.)

A Paris proclamation adds that under the command of its eminent chief army will defend the capital, but war must be carried on at the same time in the rest of territory. The struggle must continue without peace truce cessation or faltering. None of our armies is impaired. Gaps have been immediately filled from reserves. Let us endure fight while at sea. British will aid us by cutting the enemy's communication with world, and the Russians will continue to advance. We shall gain a final victory by unflagging will, endurance and tenacity.

Recruiting rush is greater than ever.

The death is announced of Colonel Harding Mathias.

London, Sept. 3, 12-30 p. m.

It is announced that there are 5,218 additional British casualties.

10-45 p. m.

The Press Bureau states that the additional British casualties are—officers 18 killed, 78 wounded and 86 missing—men fifty-two killed, 512 wounded and 4,672 missing.

It is explained, however, that 2,682 men sent to base as unfit are included in missing which also includes prisoners and stragglers.

The departure of French Government from Paris is regarded in Britain as a sound step which will give freedom of movement to the Allies' armies and guarantee their eventual success.

Admiration is expressed at the peoples' calmness whether in remaining in or leaving city.

The American Ambassador remains in Paris.

Cardinal Della Chiesa has been elected Pope and has assumed the title of Benedict the Fifteenth. The new Pope was the Archbishop of Bologna.

London, Sept. 3.

Numbers of Indians in London are receiving Red Cross instruction with a view to forming a voluntary aid detachment to serve Indian troops.

Sir Edward Carson, addressing an Ulster Unionist Council at Belfast, to-day, in patriotic speech, urged that truce must be kept in the interests of the country and the Empire. His advice to volunteers was to go and help the country and the Empire, and win honour for Ulster and Ireland. He hoped Ulster volunteers would go under War Office as division with their own officers.

London, Sept. 3—3-45 p. m.

General Gallieni has issued a proclamation saying that Government have left Paris to give a fresh impulse to national defence. He concludes "I will defend Paris to the end."

London, Sept. 4.

The Paris forts will keep the Germans sixteen miles from the city. The Germans have no guns capable of reaching Paris without taking the forts.

The Trade Union Congress has issued a patriotic manifesto encouraging recruiting. It believes that Great Britain will rise to a supreme height of great sacrifice without whip of conscription.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg has resigned the Colonel-in-Chief of Seaforth Highlanders, because he says Great Britain has shamelessly fallen upon Germans.

London, Sept. 4—1 55.

A majority of Japanese parliament has decided not to oppose the Government's measures.

After a long exile in France Miss Christabel Pankhurst has returned to England to start suffragette patriotic campaign.

Earl Kitchener, in reply to deluge of offers of assistance from private individuals, says that the best way for those who are staying at home in safety can serve our men in France is by caring for their wives, children and dependants.

London, Sept. 4, 5—20 a. m.

A white paper has been published containing telegrams from the British Ambassador in Berlin to Sir Edward Grey prior to war reporting the establishment under the control of the German Government of a powerful secret association of manufacturers and ship-owners for the purpose of influencing the foreign press particularly in South America and the Far East in the interest of the German export trade and the spread of German influence generally.

The Ambassador described the movement as a preparation for a vast system of international blackmail.

London, Sept. 4.

According to the narratives of the wounded men of the Black Watch Regiment, the regiment travelled 245 miles in five and a half days before meeting the Germans at Mons. The enemy were "as thick as heather" and forced the Scots back by sheer weight, but nobody flinched in spite of all of twenty-five to one. They kept plugging away at Germans singing "The Lass of Killiecrankie."

The Germans are transporting thousands of Polish civilians to Germany to gather harvest by a forced labour.

Sept. 4.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received the following: "The Admiral reports his Majesty's ship the 'Speedy' and 'Lansdell', a steam tug, sunk yesterday by mines. Loss two injured and six missing."

London, Sept. 4.

Great exodus is in progress from Paris which is being encouraged by the authorities, since it solves the food question. Long queues wait for hours outside the Railway stations, others leaving by river. Roads leading out of Paris are full of motor-cars, farm-carts, bicycles and perambulators. Yet there is no panic among the people who seem convinced that there can be only one end to the war whatever temporary suffering may be entailed.

German patrols are momentarily expected near Paris. Keen rivalry exists among the cavalry leaders to be the first to view Paris which, for forty years, has been a glowing lure of the Teutonic imagination.

Dr. Ansari and the Editor of the *Comrade* had dispatched the following telegram to the Viceroy Secretary to the Viceroy immediately on the receipt of news that His Excellency had received a private message intimating that his eldest son had been wounded:—

"Please convey to His Excellency our respectful and cordial sympathy with his anxiety owing to the injury sustained by his 'eldest son'. But we feel sure that His Excellency is proud of his 'son's' wounds received in fighting for his country and his King. We pray for his speedy and complete recovery."

The following reply has been received to the above message:—

"The Viceroy sends you his grateful thanks for the message of sympathy from yourself and Dr. Ansari. He is naturally in great anxiety, but he cannot help feeling that it is in accordance with

"the fitness of things that when India is giving her sons to help the Empire his own feelings should occupy a second place."

"P. S. V."

This message is wholly characteristic of the great man who governs India in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and while his own feelings occupy a second place when Indians are going forth to fight the battle of the Empire, India's prayers must be first for the safety of the son of her great Viceroy and then for the safety of her own sons. We trust we shall hear of his speedy and complete recovery, and we shall be grateful to His Excellency if news received about him are supplied from time to time to the Press. Great anxiety is being felt everywhere.

London, Sept. 4.—1 a. m.

An unconfirmed report from Berne states that a German army under General Diemling has entered Switzerland to evade capture by the French.—*Grief* this.

The Russians repulsed and pursued the Austrian army at Lublin capturing a thousand prisoners and eight guns.

Fierce fighting continues along the whole front. The Russians in a seven-days' fighting have captured forty thousand prisoners.

7-15 a. m.

The Russians occupied Lemberg on Thursday.

The British Recruits total 360,000.

London, Sept. 4. 6-5 a. m.

A Paris *communiqué*, issued at eleven o'clock last night, says the allied forces have not been in contact with the enemy in Compiègne and the Senlis region since yesterday.

London, Sept. 4.

It is reported that two Czech Regiments in Vienna have mutinied, many of them being publicly shot.

London, Sept. 4.

The Austrian debacle on the Galician front appears to be complete. They have been utterly wisted in two directions, first eastward of Lemberg and then southward of Lublin. The total prisoners taken in these two engagements number seventy thousand. The Russian forces are now drawing round the Austrians in a semi-circle which is steadily tightening. The Austrians have no hope of receiving any considerable reinforcements, as the Serbians have almost destroyed their southern army, and the withdrawal of the remnants leave the road open to Serbian advance even upon Budapest. Moreover, this frees the Russian southern flank for the main advance on Berlin.

5 15 a. m.

Mr Lloyd George announces that after consultations with the leading traders and bankers arrangements have been made to promote foreign trade by assisting the acceptors of approved bills to meet their liabilities.

The Press Bureau says that the situation in the French theatre of war has not undergone any substantial change. The position of the allies is well maintained. There are indications that the German movement is developing in an eastward and south eastward direction.

2-40 a. m.

France has protested to the Powers against Germany's conduct of the war which she says constitutes a violation of human and international law.

Paris, Sept. 4.

It is officially stated here that the movements of opposing armies near Paris continued today without contact. The Germans in the district of Verdun sustained some checks. The French have won some fresh partial success in Lorraine and the Vosges.

London, Sept. 4.

Germans bombarded Malines for two hours. Fortunately the famous pictures were saved, having been sent to Antwerp. A large portion of the Cathedral was destroyed.

12-45 p. m.

The French Government is safely installed in Bordeaux where the gigantic gold reserves of the Bank of France have likewise arrived. The Spanish Ambassador also remains in Paris.

Among casualties are Colonel Brett and Colonel Dykes killed, and Brigadier General Scott-Kelley wounded.

London, Sept. 4.

A message from Paris states that the Duke of Westminster went to the rescue of Captain Grenfell of the 9th Lancers who was wounded and carried and safely back under heavy fire.

1-10 p. m.

The Press Bureau announces that according to information from a trustworthy source seven German destroyers and torpedo boats have arrived at Kiel in a damaged condition. It is understood that others have been sunk in the vicinity of the Canal.

The Press Bureau's announcement regarding the damaged German destroyers is most puzzling. While it may be the aftermath of the Heligoland operations, destroyers being sent to Kiel to Japan, some experts think that the fact that Kiel is mentioned indicates that other destroyers have bombed the mine-field in the Baltic or the Russian fleet is becoming active.

London, Sept 4, 12.5 p.m.

Military experts are not pessimistic. They regard the German advance on Paris as magnificently organised, but consider that it is largely spectacular. Unlike 1870, they will arrive there facing the unbroken allied forces who will pivot on the double ring of the powerful forts. It is pointed out that the Germans cannot invest the whole of Paris with the allies undefeated. Their long line of communication will be exposed on both flanks. Many individual observers of recent fighting allege that the Germans no longer display the same sting in attack.

London, Sept 4

The submarine's capture was a sea-plane piloted by a naval lieutenant. The Germans were clinging to the wings. The submarine removed bombs from the seaplane before sinking her.

London, 4th Sept

An account issued by the Russian staff in Petrograd of the battle near Lemberg state that in the offensive against the Lublin-Kholm front the main Austrian forces deployed on the Zavochoff, Janoff, Tomaschoff and Belge line. A second Austrian army composed of the third, eleventh and twelfth corps and five divisions of cavalry gathered east of Lemberg in order to cover this operation. The Russians took the offensive when the Austrian concentration was not yet completed. Topographical considerations compelled the enemy to reinforce this army still more with the seventh, thirteenth and fourteenth corps, making a total of twelve divisions and several brigades of the Landsturm. In the Loutsk district the Russians crossed the frontier on the 20th August and marched on Lemberg to thwart the Austrian covering movement acting against the flank and rear. This offensive was hampered by numerous affluents of the Dniester. Moreover, the enemy possessed the Dniester series of fortifications, defending the bridges. These menaced the Russian left and communications. The Austrians in a powerful position at Kamenka and Galitch were thoroughly defeated after desperate fighting. On the lower course of the Gnilypa alone where the enemy's line was broken the Austrians lost 20,000 killed and wounded. The retreat of the enemy after this defeat assumed the character of a panic. It is believed that the remnant of the second Austrian army has now no longer any military value. The Russians captured an enormous amount of war material at Lemberg, and the capture of the town will enable the Russian to push forward with still greater intensity.

[FROM THE "PIONEER'S" CORRESPONDENCE]

London 4th Sept

The Berlin papers report that on Wednesday last three quarters of a million men were in action between Rheims and Verdun.

The Military correspondent writes to the *Daily Telegraph* that casualties in the Coldstreamers were largely due to one company's being surrounded at night. Their position was revealed by a German officer's firing a revolver challenging them. The company's maxim immediately opened fire and mowed down many Germans, but the company suffered heavily in getting out.

Despite the situation at Paris, our War Office considers the position not unsatisfactory.

MR. ASQUITH AT THE GUILDHALL.

A Magnificent Oration and a Magnificent Ovation.

London, Sept 4, 1.45 p.m.

A great patriotic demonstration was held to-day in the Guildhall. Mr. Asquith received a magnificent ovation. The Lord Mayor presided, and Mr. Asquith was also supported by Mr. Chamberlain, who was loudly cheered, and other members of the Cabinet and the Opposition. Mr. Asquith said that three and a half years ago he addressed in Guildhall a gathering of citizens to celebrate and approve the joint declaration of the two great English speaking States, that in future any difficulties between them should be settled, if not by agreement, at any rate after a judicial enquiry and arbitration, but never by war. They were not sanguine enough then to think or hope that the era of war had been altogether brought to a close. Still less were they prepared to anticipate the terrible spectacle that now confronted them, a contest which for the number and importance of the Powers engaged, the scale of their armaments and armies, the width of the theatre of conflict, the outpouring of blood and loss of life, the incalculable toll of suffering levied upon non-combatants, the material and moral losses accumulating day by day, but in the highest interest of civilisation, a contest which in every one of these aspects was without precedent in the annals of the world. They were very confident three years ago in the rightness of their position. "We are equally confident in it to-day when reluctantly and against our will, but with clear judgment and a clean conscience, we find ourselves involved with our whole strength and power in a bloody arbitration between might and right (Loud Cheers). What would have been our position to-day as a nation if we had been lured enough through timidity, through perverted calculation of self-interest, or through paralysis of our sense of honour and duty, to be false to our word, faithless to our friends? The British people would have been standing by with folded arms and with such countenances as we

could command while a small and unprotected State in defence of her vital liberties made a heroic stand against an overweening and overwhelming force. We should have been admiring as detached spectators the siege of Louge and the steady manly resistance of the small Belgian army. We should have seen the occupation of their capital and the gradual forcing back of her patriotic defenders to the ramparts of Antwerp, countless outrages suffered, bloodsucking levies exacted from her unoffending civilian population and, finally, the greatest crime committed against civilisation and culture since the Thirty Years' War, the sack of Louvain—a shameless holocaust of the irreparable treasures lit up by a blind barbarian vengeance. (Loud Cheers). What account would the Government and people have been able to render to the tribunal of the national conscience and sense of honour in defiance of our pledged solemn obligations we had endured, if we had not done our best to prevent, aye, and to avenge, these intolerable wrongs. Sooner than be silent and witness this tragic triumph of force over law, of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the page of history. (Loud Cheers).

"The violation of Belgian neutrality was the first step in a deliberate policy of which the ultimate and not far distant aim was to crush the independence and the autonomy of the free States of Europe. First Belgium, then Holland and Switzerland countries like our own, imbued with and sustained by a spirit of liberty, one after another they were to be bent to the yoke. These ambitions were fed and fostered by a new philosophy, by professors and learned men. Free and full self development, which to these small States, to our selves, to our Dominions and to our kinsmen across the Atlantic, was the well spring and life breath of national existence was the one capital offence in the code of those who had made for their supremacy and upon its altars were prepared to sacrifice both the gathered fruits and political germs of that unfettered human spirit. This is not merely a material, this is also a spiritual conflict (Cheers). Continuing Mr. Asquith said that upon its issue everything that contained the promise and the hope that led to emancipation and a fuller liberty for millions who made up the mass of mankind would be found sooner or later to depend. The Prime Minister eulogised the exertions of Sir Edward Grey in the cause of peace. Had this proposal for a mediating conference between Germany, France, Italy and ourselves been settled with honour to everybody, the whole of this terrible welter would have been avoided. With whom does the responsibility rest for the refusal, for all the claimable suffering now confronting the world? With one Power and one Power only. That Power is Germany (Loud Hisses). That is the fountain and origin of this world wide catastrophe. In the hope of peace we had persevered to the end, straining almost to the breaking-point our most cherished friendships and obligations, but at last we reached the dividing line which made or marred a nation worthy of the name. Then and only then did we declare for war. Did any one in the whole empire blame or repent our decision?" (Loud Cries of "No").

Continuing his Guildhall speech Mr. Asquith said: "Now as regards the army, there was a call for new, continuous and united effort. We had not merely to replace the wastage caused by casualties, we had to enlarge the scale of the arm, increase its numbers and multiply many times its effectiveness as a fighting instrument. With spontaneousness and unanimity unparalleled in history the self-governing Dominions have affirmed their brotherhood with us and made our cause their own. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland have asserted their right to contribute money, material and lives of their best. India too with no less alacrity has claimed her share in the common task. Immediately after mobilisation Earl Kitchener issued his call for a hundred thousand recruits. This has been followed by a second call. The response up to to-day gave us between 250,000 and 300,000 men (Loud cheers). No fewer than 42,000 Londoners have been accepted. We want more men of the best fighting quality and prompt provision will be made for the incorporation of all willing and able men in the fighting forces of the King. Wherever possible men desiring to serve together will be allotted to the same Regiment or Corps. The raising of battalions by counties and municipalities will everywhere be encouraged. No less urgently we want larger supply of ex-non-commissioned officers, men who are asked to give up their regular employment and return to the work which they alone are competent to do. Employers may surely assure such men of reinstatement at the end of the war (cheers). Mr. Asquith appealed also to retired Commissioned Officers to come forward and take their places in training the new army. He would only say regarding the actual progress of the work that in every direction there was abundant ground for pride and confidence. "We were watching the fluctuation of the early stages of a protracted struggle. We must learn to take long views and cultivate patience, endurance and steadfastness. Let us realise that we are fighting as a united Empire in a cause worthy of the highest traditions of our race. Let us keep in mind the patient indomitable seamen never relaxing for a moment their stern vigil on the lonely seas. Let us keep in mind our gallant troops who to-day after a fortnight's continuous

fighting under conditions which try the mettle of the best army that ever took the field maintain not only an undefeated but an unbroken front. (Loud Cheers) Finally, let us recall the memories of our great men of great deeds of the past. Let us not forget the dying message of the younger Pitt in his last public utterance in the Guildhall itself. 'England has saved herself by her exertions and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.' The England of those days gave a noble answer to his appeal and did not sheathe the sword until after nearly twenty years fighting the freedom of Europe was secured. Let us go and do likewise." (Loud and prolonged cheering)

London, Sept. 5 10.50 p.m.

The following later telegram gives Mr. Asquith's eulogy of India's loyalty more fully. Referring to the Dominions, the Prime Minister said: "Our self-governing Dominions throughout the Empire without any solicitation on our part have demonstrated with a spontaneity and unanimity unparalleled in history their determination to affirm their brotherhood with us and to make our cause their own. (Cheers) Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, children of the Empire, assert not as an obligation but as a privilege their right and their willingness to contribute money, material and, what is better than all, the strength, sinews, fortunes, and lives of their best men. (Cheers) India, too, with no less alacrity, has claimed her share in the common task. (Cheers) Every class and creed British and Native, princes and people, Hindus and Mohammedans vie with one another in a noble and emulous rivalry. (Cheers) Two divisions of their magnificent army are already on the way. (Cheers) We welcome with appreciation and affection their proffered aid and in an Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and fortunes, we here hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with Home and Dominion troops under a flag which is the symbol to all of a unity that the world knows cannot be discovered or dissolved. (Loud cheer)"

Mr. Bonar Law, who was loudly cheered, said: "This war is one of the greatest crimes in history. The head of the German Government had but to whisper the word of peace and there would have been no war. He did not speak that word. He has drawn the sword and may the accursed system for which he stands perish by the sword. (Loud cheers). As Cromwell said to his Ironsides, we know what we are fighting for and we love what we know. The German nation had allowed itself to be organised as a military machine which recognised no law except the law of force. It was against that that we were fighting to-day. Mr. Bonar Law denounced Germany for breaking treaties and committing atrocities. The destruction of Louvain proclaimed in trumpet tones what German methods were like. But all people only required to realise the issue to make them fight in the spirit of their fathers. The Germans had called us a decadent nation but they did not say that today. (Loud cries of "No.") The battle of Marne gave the answer. (Loud Cheers) He appealed to the patriotism of those able to fight and those compelled to remain behind. Let us as a nation realise our obligations."

Mr. Balfour then rose in response to prolonged cries. He said the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law had symbolised the unity of the Empire. "I at any rate would produce an irresistible pressure on the course of the war. 'If, which is unthinkable, we should sink from the final issue before gaining our end, then slowly but with absolute certainty we shall have fallen from our high estate and then be little more than subservient vassals to a State which knows how to create power but is utterly ignorant how to use it.'" (Loud cheers)

The gathering demanded a few words from Mr. Churchill whose rising was greeted with great enthusiasm.

He said the country could rely on the strength and efficiency of the navy which enabled us to draw the means of life and power from the uttermost ends of the earth and would give us time to create powerful military forces. "You have only to go," he added, "right on, and at the end of the road, to it short of final victory and honour will be found." (Loud cheers) A resolution supporting Mr. Asquith's appeal was carried and enthusiastic cheering of the vast audience who sang the National Anthem and gave rousing cheers for the King, the Army and the Navy, the cheering never ceasing till the gathering had dispersed.

All papers welcomed Mr. Asquith's trumpet call to arms which demonstrated again the perfect unity of the British race in the face of unexampled dangers.

London, Sept. 5

A resolution is published notifying arrangements made by the Government of India in discussion with the Government of Union of South Africa to facilitate the admission into union of wives and minor children of Indians resident there. The scheme provides

for certificates to facilitate admission to be issued by a principal local magistrate in place in India on application of husband or father resident in South Africa.

London, Sept. 5. 1.10.

The *Times* in an article strongly complaining of the scantiness of war information allowed to be given to the public, declares that whereas public interest in the struggle requires stimulating and deepening, the Government's process is chilling enthusiasm for war. The journal adds that it is more important still that our overseas dominions upon which so much depends should be told all that is permissible.

London, Sept. 5.

Stirring stories have been received of the combined charge delivered by the Scots Greys and the Black Watch at St. Quentin. As at Waterloo, the Highlanders held the stirrup leathers of the Greys and troopers, each accompanied by Highlanders, plunged into the ranks of the enemy. The weight of the horses carried them into the midst of the Germans. When the Kurties got to work the Germans were completely taken by surprise and were routed.

Sir Philip Chetwode, commanding the fifth Cavalry Brigade, says in a letter: "We have been through the Uhlans like brown paper, but must have men."

Observers record the interesting fact that the German infantry when advancing fires from the ship.

London, Sept. 5 1-10 p.m.

The news of the German advance on Paris caused the general exodus of the population of Chantilly. A large proportion was composed of Englishmen attached to the famous racing stables. One trainer was warned by the British soldiers who advised him "to hop it." He left one end of village with fourteen thoroughbreds as the Germans entered at the other.

The Admiralty has taken the Crystal Palace for naval training.

An official French *communiqué* says: "The enemy on our left is apparently neglecting Paris and attempting to execute an outflanking movement. They are proceeding along the west side of the Argonne ridge. The manoeuvre was unsuccessful."

The Foreign Office announces that British, French and Russian Governments mutually engaged themselves not to conclude peace separately during the present war. The three Governments agree that when the terms of peace come to be discussed none of the allies will demand conditions of peace without previous agreement of other allies.

London, Sept. 5, 8.55 p.m.

A strong German army left Brussels towards Tormonde to cut off communications between Antwerp and Ostend. The Belgians opened the dykes southwest of Malines and flooded the district. The Germans were completely surprised. They, however, heroically stood in the water and tried to save their guns. The Germans suffered heavy losses from the fire from Antwerp forts.

The Admiralty announces that a German squadron of two cruisers and four destroyers has succeeded in sinking fifteen British fishing boats in the North Sea with a quantity of fish. They captured the crews and took them to Wilhelmshaven as prisoners of war.

London, Sept. 5

Public houses in London are closing at eleven o'clock during the war.

A message to the *Times* from Peking says that two thousand Japanese were landed at Kungchow, outside the leased territory of Kiaochow on Thursday.

Cardinal Della Chiesa's election was a surprise. He is of aristocratic descent and a friend of Cardinal Rampolla. The Pope exhibited great emotion when he performed his first benediction.

The Pope has appointed Cardinal Forratt as his Secretary of State.

London, Sept. 5, 5-15 a.m.

The Austrian territories conquered by Russia are being formed into a special province.

Simla, 5th Sept. 5.

A Press *communiqué* states:—In view of the outbreak of war the Governor-General in Council has considered the steps necessary to ensure that the public peace is not endangered by the action of any persons who might be tempted to use their powers to return to India with the object of continuing a disturbance or of ascertaining facts likely to be of assistance to our enemies. The fact that such persons in a few days do not permit of their being ignored. The situation of need of emergency and exceptional action is justified by the present state of war. The Governor-General has, therefore, decided to take certain general powers of control over all persons entering India after this date. These powers will only be exercised to protect the state from the prosecution of any purpose prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity and will be restricted to such measures as are necessary to safeguard the security of the Empire. They will not extend to the prohibition of entry. An ordinance on these lines is accordingly being issued to-day.

An ordinance on the lines of the above *communiqué* is published in a *Gazette Extraordinary*. It empowers imprisonment up to one year of persons entering British India by sea or land where the authority defined in ordinance 3 of 1914 is satisfied that this is desirable in order to protect the state from the prosecution of some purpose, prejudicial to its safety, interest or tranquillity.

London, 8 Sept. 3-5 a.m.

The latest news from the front, indicating decrease of German pressure on Paris, has produced a reassuring effect in Paris, although there has never been the slightest sign of panic.

The famous Paris paper *Le Temps* appears in Bordeaux on Monday. Other papers will continue to be published in Paris unless they are forced to leave.

Sept. 6, 5-55 a.m.

It is officially announced in Paris that the German enveloping movement on the left appears to have been definitely checked.

A fierce bombardment of Maubeuge continues. The place is resisting.

The Germans are evacuating Compiègne and Senlis districts.

London, Sept. 6, 7-20 p.m.

The Germans have demanded eight million sterling from Lille.

Despatches from Vienna admit that Russians after ten days fighting completely beat the Austrians and that two Generals were killed.

Sept. 6, 9-10 p.m.

The German Army which marched out of Brussels with the object of cutting off communications between Antwerp and Ostend first proceeded towards Termonde and then urged towards Malines via Merochem burning houses and a station at Bugenhout. They cut the telegraph wires as they went. An Uhlan patrol cut off the communications between Antwerp and Ghent. Then the Army was met by the approaching flood which came as a complete surprise as the Germans never expected Belgians to make such a sacrifice. Antwerp and its environs present a remarkable spectacle.

Sept. 6, 1-45 a.m.

The Admiralty announces that all aids to navigation on the east coast may be removed without further notice.

Sanguinary fighting continues on the Lublin Khokh front where the Austrians have made fruitless attempts to pierce the Russian lines losing five thousand prisoners.

Speaking at Broxburn, Earl Roseberry said: "We are fighting not for an acre of territory but for the sanctity of the public law. If we go under it will be for ever. But we are going to win because all are united in a just cause." Lord Roseberry paid an eloquent tribute to the generous emulation of the Dominion.

London, Sept. 6 (5-5 a.m.)

The American Navy has taken possession of the trans Atlantic wireless station at Tuckerton near New York owing to complaint of its use by the Germans. The station will henceforth be available to all nationalities on equal terms, but there will be a strict censorship on war matters.

H. E. the Viceroy has received a telegram from Earl Kitchener to inform him that his son is in hospital at Le Mans severely wounded, but progressing satisfactorily.

In the Japanese Parliament the Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that Japan willingly supported Great Britain in order to ensure permanent peace in the East which Germany's prowling warships and war like preparations at Kiaochau had endangered.

Writing to a meeting held at Berwick, Sir Edward Grey said: "The progress of the War has led the terrible immorality of Prussian militarism that will compensate for the awful sacrifices of the War."

6-10 p.m.

A German aeroplane has been found floating sixty miles from Harwich by a British submarine. The latter rescued the aeroplanist and his mechanic, and then sank the aeroplane. The Germans were lodged at Harwich.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received the following: "The Admiralty reports that yesterday about 20 miles from the east coast His Majesty's ship the 'Pathfinder' struck a mine. The loss of life was probably heavy, as she sank very rapidly."

The Quadrangular Cricket Tournament begins at noon today when Parsia will meet Mahomedans.

The following are respective teams:

The Parsis: J. S. Warden (Captain), B. H. Mirya, J. Clavin, Mr. D. Parekh, P. J. Chinoy, D. D. Driver, D. K. Kapadia, S. M. Chothia, and J. H. Flehidanai, H. Vajidar, P. D. Chothia. The Mahomedans: O. M. Ali (Captain), Feroze Khan (Cashmere), K. A. Tumbowalla (Bombay), Khan Mahomed Khan (Aligarh), Masleuddin Khan (Aligarh), P. B. Erfani (Bombay), Saleh Mahomed (Cashmere), S. A. Aziz (Bombay), S. H. Shah (Aligarh), Nazir Hasan (Amritsar), Usaf Big (Poona). This year's tournament commences with dead weight of legend of Parsi invincibility on the Bombay wicket broken last year by the plucky

Mahomedans who were considered fit to take part in the contest only a year previously. Of the two contending elevens today the Mahomedans appear to stand brighter chances. The strength of the Parsi attack is almost on a par with Mahomedans, but the latter have undoubtedly superior defence, their combination having been strengthened by the inclusion of Hasan Shah, Masleuddin and Khan Mohamed from Aligarh. On the other hand, the Parsis have been unfortunate in not being able to secure the services of Major K. M. Mistry of Patiala and Mr. Mulla, and of Dr. H. D. Kanga who is absent in England.

London, Sept. 6 4-40 p.m.

A comprehensive review of the recent fighting has been issued by the Press Bureau. It says that the British troops have been fighting continuously since the battle at Cambrai on August 26th, until the brilliant action at Compiègne on September 1st, when the First Cavalry Brigade and the Fourth Guards Brigade fought the Germans to a standstill and captured ten guns. Since then the British have not been molested. The total British casualties are 15,000, but many of the missing will rejoin the Columns safely. The British inflicted upon the Germans three times these losses. The British drafts of 19,000 troops have arrived to fill up the gaps. The troops are in the best of spirits. During the week no new main trial of strength has occurred. There have been, indeed, battles along an immense front which in other wars would have been considered of first magnitude, but in this war are merely incidents in the strategic withdrawal and contraction of the allied forces which have continued since the battle at Cambrai where the British successfully guarded the left flank of the entire allied armies from a deadly turning attack. We have been supported by the Seventh and Fifth French armies. The latter at Guise secured a solid success, driving back at a border with heavy loss three German corps. Nevertheless the general retirement has continued. The British army is now south of Marne in a line with the French forces on the right and left. The Germans appear to be marching towards Marne towards the left and centre of French lines. A French corps has repulsed the Seventh German Army near Deniville. It would appear that the enveloping movement on the Anglo-French left wing has been abandoned by the German either because it is no longer practicable to continue such a great extension or because they prefer a direct attack on the allied line. There can be no doubt that our men have established a personal ascendancy over the Germans. The shooting of the German Infantry is poor, while the British rifle fire has hitherto devastated every attacking column. Field Marshal Sir John French in a report dwells upon the marked superiority of the British troops of every arm. Our cavalry do as they like with the enemy until confronted by three times their number. The artillery have never been opposed by less than three or four times their number. The statement concludes: "The short war has hitherto given opportunities to add to the reputation of the British Army and to achieve notable successes, but we must have more men to operate on a scale proportionate to the strength and power of the Empire."

Petrograd, Sept. 6.

An official list has been issued in Petrograd giving the German cruelties committed on Russian people. It describes German conduct as being like that of the darkest period of the middle ages.

London 6 (6-5 p.m.)

The *Times* to night says that the Mayor of Boulogne is reported to have received news that General Joffre has succeeded in turning the German lines and that the British have outflanked the Germans.

6-25 p.m.

It is reported in Boulogne that the Germans have hurriedly left Lille, Valenciennes, Armentieres, Douai and Bailleul.

1-40 p.m.

The success of the French and the British at St. Quentin is officially confirmed. The allies brilliantly drove the Germans for twenty kilometres and inflicted considerable losses.

Petrograd, Sept. 6.

It is announced here that the official German accounts of the Russian reverse in East Prussia are greatly exaggerated.

The Russian Cavalry is advancing through Mazour lakes and is still in touch with the enemy.

A German armoured train has been operating on the left bank of the Vistula near Nestar.

London, Sept. 6.

The Admiralty announces that the Wilson Liner "Ruho" was sunk by a mine yesterday on the East Coast. All were saved with the exception of twenty Russian refugees.

London, Sept. 6, (1-10 p.m.)

Despatches received in Rome from Vienna declare that the whole Austrian army operating in Galicia has been routed and the only hope is now in the German contingent, which is congesting all railways towards the north-eastern frontier. The Austrian staff is urging the Germans to send 14-inch howitzers to Galicia.

Tokio, Sept. 6.

The Naval Commander reports that two Japanese Zeppelins dropped bombs on the wireless station and barracks at Tsingtan. One of the Zeppelins was hit by fifteen shots, but both returned safely.

London, Sept. 7.

The Germans lost 3,000 men in a terrific encounter west of Malines.

The Montenegrins have defeated the Austrians at Bolpanitz in Herzegovina, capturing all their stores. They have also captured Csanitz. Sanguinary fighting continues.

It is noteworthy that scarcely a hundred of the eight hundred patients in the Netley Hospital are suffering from shot wounds, and hardly any from rifle bullets. This confirms the reports of poor shooting of the German infantry. A vast majority of cases merely have sore feet and most men will be able to return to their regiments shortly.

The Russians are still pushing forward on the offensive along the whole Austrian line, particularly in the centre. The Russians have engaged a German division marching along the Vistula to the assistance of the Austrians. The Russian cavalry have already appeared among the passes of the Carpathians.

The papers welcome the Franco-Anglo-Russian agreement as an opportune offset to German machinations.

A communiqué issued in Paris says that the fighting in the regions occupied by the advanced defence forces and on the flank of the German right wing is assuming larger proportions. The fighting continues in Lorraine.

Bombay, Sept. 7.

Under ideal weather conditions the Quadrangular Cricket Contest began at 11-45 a.m. today in the presence of a large crowd of spectators. The Parsis winning the toss elected to bat. Driver and Kapadia opened to the attack of S. A. Aziz and Saleh Mahomed. The scores up to one o'clock were as follows: Driver, run out, 3; Kapadia, bowled, Saleh Mahomed, Chothia, caught by Maslehuddin, b. Saleh Muhammad, 20; Parekh, b. Saleh Mahomed, 6; Wai len batting 14, Vajidai batting 7, total up to one o'clock 72.

The Parsi scoring after lunch was as follows: — Wai len 16 w, b. Tumboowalla 35; Vajidai c. Shah b. Khan Mahomed, 29; P. D. Chothia, b. Khan Mahomed, 0; J. Elchidana 16 w, b. Khan Mahomed; O. P. J. Chinoy, c. Aziz b. J. Elavia not out 18; B. Mirza c. Elton b. Saleh Mahomed 8; Extras 19, total 176.

Bowling Analysis: Saleh Mahomed, 29 overs, 52 run, 13 maidens, 4 wickets; Aziz 11-47-1-1; Khan Mahomed 16-61-5-3; Shah 3-5-0-0; Nazir Huson 2-3-0-0; Tumboowalla 2-7-0-1; Maslehuddin 1-2-0-0.

Mahomedan score, 1st innings: Ali (Captain) run out 2; Ferze Khan, c. Chothia b. Mirza 0; Tumboowalla, c. Vajidai, b. Elavia 0; Khan Mahomed, c. Kapadia, b. Mirza 15; Maslehuddin Khan, b. Elavia, b. Usuf Bex, c. Chinoy, b. Mirza 8; Nazir Huson, 16 w, Elavia, 7; Eifari, b. Elavia, 12; Saleh Mahomed, not out, 10; Aziz, c. Chinoy, b. Mirza, 5; Shah, 16 w, b. 6; Elavia 7; Extras 0; total 72.

Bowling Analysis —

Elavia, 9 overs 27, runs, 0, maidens 5 wickets.

Mirza, 9-45-1-4.

The P. and O. Company's S.S. "Moldavia" with the outward mails of the 21st ultimo is expected to arrive at Bombay at 2 p.m. on Friday, 11th instant.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received the following:

"The Press Bureau states that the allied forces, acting on the offensive, have successfully checked the Germans and forced them back towards the north-east."

London Sept. 8, 10 p.m.

The 1st German army is reported to be between La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, Essises and Veffort. The 2nd, after taking Rheims, is advancing eastward (? westward) on Chateau Thierry. The 4th is reported to be marching along the Argonne ridge between Sippes and Ville-sur-Tourbe. The Germans reached all these points on September 3rd. Whether the German change of plan is voluntary or enforced by the strategic situation and great strength of the Allies' armies will be revealed by the course of events.

The statement issued by the Press Bureau shows that the British Army throughout conformed with the general movement of the French forces, and acted in harmony with the strategic conceptions of the French General Staff. The Compiègne affair was caused by a very vigorous effort by the Germans, who were not defeated until much slaughter had been inflicted on them. Our Guards Brigade bore the blunt of this creditable affair, losing 300 killed and wounded. Our losses, if heavy for so small a force, have in no way affected the spirit of the troops. The Army's sacrifice has not been out of proportion to its military achievements. Five quiet days since September 1st have been passed in filling up gaps and refitting and consolidating units. The British have fought throughout in open order on a wide front. This, with the repeated retirements, has caused large numbers of officers and men and even small parties to become separated. It is known, however, that these, which are included in the total casualties, will find their way back to their regiments.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

A BRITISH CAVALRY DIVISION consists of 4 cavalry brigades of 3 regiments each, 2 horse artillery brigades, 4 engineer troops, 1 signal squadron and 4 signal troops, 1 aeroplane squadron, 1 cavalry train and 4 field ambulances; total establishment 486 officers, 9,410 other ranks, 10,195 horses and 24 guns.

A BRITISH INFANTRY DIVISION consists of 8 infantry brigades of 4 battalions each, 1 field artillery brigades (1 howitzers), 1 heavy battery, 1 ammunition column, 2 companies of engineers, 1 signal company, 1 squadron of cavalry, 1 aeroplane squadron, 1 divisional train, 3 field ambulances, total establishment, 598 officers, 18,075 other ranks, 6,161 horses, 26 guns.

A CAVALRY REGIMENT has a war establishment of 25 officers, 537 other ranks and 562 horses in 3 squadrons.

AN INFANTRY BATTALION has 29 officers and 995 other ranks in 8 companies.

The British Casualties are, thus, for the following strength:—

	Officers	Other Ranks.
One Cavalry Brigade (3 Regiments)	75	1,611
Three Infantry Divisions	1,794	54,225
Total	1,869	55,836
Less one Brigade of 4 Battalions	116	3,980
Net Total	1,753	51,856

or in all 53,609 men.

The casualties total 188 officers and 1,939 other ranks, or in all 5,127. They constitute a percentage of a little over 10 for officers and a little under 10 for other ranks.

ARETHUSA is an armed British cruiser with thin Krupp armour, (Belt 3 inches and deck 2 inches) launched at Chatham in 1913. She has a length of 110 ft. and a beam of 39 ft. with a mean draught of 14 ft. and a displacement of 3,600 tons. She has Fairfield Turbine engines, has an Indicated Horse Power of 37,000 and a speed of 30 knots, and carries 2—6 inch (50 calibre) guns fore and aft, 6—4 inch (50 calibre) guns on broadside and 4—21 inch torpedo tubes above water, in pairs on broadside.

ARIADNE is a German third class Protected Cruiser launched at Bremen in 1906, with a length between perpendiculars of 328.1 ft. and water line of 312.5 ft., a beam of 33.7 ft., a mean draught of 13.8 ft. and displacement of 2,618 tons. The I.H.P. is 7,890 and the speed 21 knots. The engines are 2 sets triple expansion. The boiler are by Schulz. In her trials the Ariadne developed an I.H.P. of 8,710 and a speed of 22.1 knots. Her armour is 2 in. on deck tapering to 8 in. and 3 in. on conning towers tapering to 2.7 in. She carries 10—4.1 in. (40 cal) guns and 2 Machine guns and has 2—18 in. Torpedo tubes submerged on broadside.

ARGONNE is a rocky forest clad plateau in the N.E. of France extending along the borders of Lorraine and Champagne and forming part of the departments of Ardennes, Meuse and Marne. The Argonne stretches from S.S.W. to N.N.W., a distance of 33 miles and an average breadth of 19 miles and an average height of 1,150 ft. It forms the connecting link between the plateaus of Haute Marne and the Ardennes, is bounded E. by the Meuse and W. by the Aisne and the Aisne, which rises in its S. plateau. The valleys of the Aisne and other rivers traverse it longitudinally, a fact to which its importance as a bulwark of N.E. France is largely due. Of the numerous forests which clothe both slopes of the plateau, the chief is that of Argonne, which extends for 25 miles between the Aisne and the Meuse.

ANIZY-LE CHATEAU is a town on the line from Laon to Soissons some 10 miles to the S.W. of Laon.

ARMENIERES is a town of northern France, on the Lys, 13 miles W. N.W. of Lille on the northern Railway from that city to Dunkirk. It is an important manufacturing centre.

BUGGENHOUT is a railway station between Termonde and Malines 6 miles due E. of Termonde.

BORDEAUX is a city of South-Western France, capital of the department or district of Gironde, 359 miles S.S.W. of Paris by a main line of the Orleans railway. It is one of the finest, and most extensive cities of France and is situated on the left or west bank of the Garonne about 60 miles from the sea (Bay of Biscay). The population was 237,707 in 1906. It is the headquarters of the 18th Army Corp. The trade of Bordeaux, the fourth port of France, is chiefly carried on by sea. Its port, 5½ miles long and on the average 550 yds. wide, is formed by the basin of the Garonne and is divided into two portions by the Pont de Bordeaux. That to the south

is used only by small craft, that to the north is accessible to vessels drawing from 21 to 26 ft according to the state of the tide. From 1000 to 1200 vessels can be accommodated in the harbour. At the northern extremity of the harbour, on the left bank, there is a floating basin of 25 acres in extent, capable of receiving the largest vessels. The most important line of steamers using the port is the South American service of the Messageries Maritimes. The city is the centre of the trade of "Bordeaux" wines. The most important industry is shipbuilding and refitting. Ironclads and torpedo boats as well as merchant vessels are constructed.

BELGE or **Belz** is a Galician town some 5 or 6 miles on the Austrian side of the Russo-Austrian frontier. It lies on the railway line from Sokal to Lemberg, and is some 35 miles due N of Lemberg and some 30 miles S W W of Tomaschoff. The line formed by Zavihost, Janoff, Tomaschoff and Belge on which, according to a telegram of the 4th instant, the main Austrian forces had deployed when taking the offensive against the Lublin Kholm front, is practically a straight line running S W W.

BOULOGNE is a fortified seaport of northern France, situated on the shore of the English Channel at the mouth of the river Liane, 157 miles N N W of Paris, and 28 miles by sea S. E of Folkestone, Kent. Its population was 19,636 in 1906. Boulogne occupies the summit and slopes of a ridge of hills skirting the right bank of the Liane. The town consists of two parts, the Haute Ville and the Basse Ville. The former, situated on the top of the hill, is of comparatively small extent, and forms almost a parallelogram, surrounded by ramparts of the 18th century, and, outside them, there is a chateau, now used as barracks, in which Napoleon III was confined after the abortive insurrection of 1840. At some distance north-west stands the well known Church of Notre Dame.

CUXHAVEN is a seaport town of Germany belonging to the state of Hamburg and situated at the extremity of the west side of the mouth of the Elbe, 71 miles by rail N W from Hamburg. The harbour is good and secure. A new harbour was made in 1891-96 having a depth of 26 ft, with a fore port of 1000 ft long by 800 ft wide. The Hamburg-American Steamship Company's ships arrive at and depart from here. The town dates only from 1893 having been formed by uniting the villages of Ritzbüttel and Cuxhaven.

COBLENTZ is a city and fortress of Germany, capital of the Prussian Rhine Province, 57 miles S E of Cologne by rail, situated on the left bank of the Rhine at its confluence with the Mosel, from which circumstance it derived its ancient name *Confluentes*, of which Coblenz is corruption. Its defensive works are extensive and consist of strong modern forts, crowning the hills encircling the town on the west, and of the Citadel of Ehrenbreitstein, on the opposite bank of the Rhine. Immediately outside the former walls, razed in 1890 to permit the expansion of the town, lies the new central railway station in which is effected a junction of the Cologne Mainz railway with the strategical line Metz-Berlin. The population in 1905 was 53,902. The last that we had heard of the headquarters of the German army was that they had been brought to Mainz. Coblenz is some 20 miles to the N. W. of Mainz. Whether the new headquarters would be Brussels or Berlin remains to be seen. It as we suspect, it is Brussels or Liège or Namur it will be a significant commentary on the success of the Russian steam-roller. Most probably the change has been suggested by the transfer of the French Capital to Bordeaux.

COMPIEGNE, the scene of the British cavalry exploit, is a town of France, capital of an arrondissement (sub-district) in the department (district) of Oise, 52 miles N N E. of Paris on the Northern railway between Paris and St. Quentin. It stands on the N. W. border of the forest of Compiègne and on the left bank of the Oise, less than one mile below its confluence with the Aisne. It is a favourite summer resort and from a very early period until 1870 was the occasional residence of the French Kings. It has many historic memories among which is the capture of Joan of Arc in 1430 by the English after the siege of the town. A monument to her faces the *Place de ville*. In 1814 Compiègne offered a stubborn resistance to the Prussian troops. Under Napoleon III it was the annual resort of the court during the hunting season. From 1870 to 1871 it was one of the headquarters of the German Army. It lies to the south not of Laon only but also Amiens, La Châtre and due west of Soissons, and the art shows that the Amiens-Laon-Reims-Châlons line has been penetrated by the enemy and the suburbs of Paris are not now far from the advancing German troops.

CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS form the eastern wing of the great central mountain system of Europe. With the exception of the extreme southern and south-eastern ramifications, which belong

to Roumania, the Carpathians lie entirely in the Austrian and Hungarian territory. They begin on the Danube near Presburg, surround Hungary and Transylvania in a large semi-circle, the concavity of which is towards the S. W. and end on the Danube near Orsova. The length of the Carpathians is over 800 miles and their width varies between 7,230 m's. After the Alps they are the most extensive mountains in the east of Europe. The Danube separates the Carpathians from the Alps and also from the Balkan mountains at Orsova. The Carpathians separate Hungary and Transylvania from Lower Austria, Moravia, Czelesia, Galicia, Bukovina and Roumania, while its ramifications fill the northern part of Hungary and form the quadrangular mass of the Transylvanian plateau.

CAMBRAI is a town of northern France, 37 miles S. S. E. of Lille on the main line of the Northern Railway. The population in 1906 was 21,791. Cambrai is situated on the right and eastern bank of the Scheldt and at one extremity of the canal of St. Quentin. The fortifications with which it was formerly surrounded have been for the most part demolished. The passes have been filled up and the ramparts in part levelled. The chief industry is the weaving of muslin and other fine fabrics, and the word Cambrie (name of a fine linen) is derived from "Kameryk" or "Kameryk," the Flemish name of Cambrai.

DEFENDER, a second class British destroyer launched in 1911. Length 240 ft., beam 25 5 ft., draught 8 1 ft., displacement 750 tons, I. H. P. 13,000, speed 27 knots, Armament 2—4 in. 2—3 in. (12 pounder) guns, Torpedo tubes 2—2 in.

DNIESTER is a river of S. E. Europe belonging to the basin of the Black Sea. It rises on the northern slope of the Carpathian mountains in Austrian Galicia and belongs for the first 350 miles of its course to Austrian and for the remaining 550 miles to the Russian territory. It is excessively meandering and the current in most parts is decidedly rapid as compared with Russian rivers generally. The average width of the channel is from 500 to 750 feet, but in some places it attains as much as 1400 feet. The depth is various and changeable.

DOULAI is a town of Northern France, 20 miles S. of Lille on the Northern Railway between that city and Cambrai. Its population in 1906 was, town, 21,679, commune, 33,247. Douai is situated in marshy plain on the banks of the Scarpe which intersects the town from south to north and supplies water to a canal skirting it on the west. The old fortifications of which the *Porte de Valenciennes* is the chief survival, have been demolished to make room for boulevards and public gardens. Its educational institutions include a lycee, training colleges, a school of mines, and an artillery school. In addition to other iron and engineering works, Douai has a large cannon foundry and an arsenal. After passing into many hands it was captured in 1667 by Louis XIV, and was ultimately ceded to France by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Historically, Douai is mainly important as the centre of the political and religious propaganda of the exiled English Roman Catholics. It was here that the Douai Bible was prepared.

FEARLESS is the latest scout of the *Amethyst* class launched at Pembroke in 1912. Length between perpendiculars, 385 ft and overall 405 7 ft., beam, 41 5 ft., mean draught 13 5 ft.; displacement 3360 tons, I. H. P. 18,000, speed 25 knots, engines Parsons Turbines 2 shafts. Boilers Yarrow, Armament 10—1 in. (50 cal.) guns, 2-21 in. Torpedo tubes above water.

GRAUDENZ, on the right bank of the Vistula is 37 miles N. N. E. of Thorn. It has a population of about 40,000, and is an important place in the German system of fortifications, and has a big garrison. The Fortress of Graudenz, which since 1873 has been used as barracks and a military depot and prison, is situated on a steep eminence about 1½ miles north of the town and outside its limits. It was completed by Frederick the Great in 1776, and was rendered famous through its gallant defence by Courbiere against the French in 1807.

GUISE is a town of northern France, on the Oise, 31 miles N. of Laon by rail. Its population in 1906 was 7,502. There is a chateau dating in part from the middle of the 16th century.

HARWICH is a municipal borough and a seaport in the Harwich Parliamentary division of Essex on the extremity of a small peninsula projecting into the estuary of the Stour and Orwell, 70 miles N. E. by E. of London. In 1901 it had a population of about 10,000. It occupies an elevated situation and a wide view is obtained from Beacon Hill at the southern end of the Esplanade. The harbour is one of the best on the east coast of England and in stormy weather is largely used for shelter. A breakwater and

sea-wall, prevent the blocking of the harbour entrance and encroachments of the sea; and there is another breakwater at Landguard Point on the opposite (Suffolk) shore of the estuary. Harwich is one of the principal English ports for continental passenger traffic, steamers regularly serving the Hook of Holland, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Esbjerg, Copenhagen and Hamburg. The port is the headquarters of the Royal Harwich Yacht Club. There are batteries at and opposite Harwich and modern works on Shotley Point at the foot of the two estuaries. There are also several of the Martello towers of the Napoleonic era. At Laidenard Fort there are important defence works with heavy modern guns commanding the main channel. This has been a point of coast defence since the time of James I.

HABIEZ is a town at the confluence of the Dniester and the Luckow some 20 miles to the N of Stanislaw and some 70 miles by rail S. S. E. of Lemberg.

JANOFF or Janow is a town of Russian Poland near the Austrian frontier some 40 miles due S of Lublin and some 25 miles to the S. E. of Zaslavost.

KIEL is the chief naval port of Germany on the Baltic, a town of the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein. The population in 1905 was 163,710. It is beautifully situated at the southern end of the Kieler Buse (bay or harbour of Kiel), 170 miles by rail to E. N. from Hamburg. It is the seat of the Christian Albertina University and also has a library of 240,000 volumes, a zoological Museum, a hospital, a botanical garden and a school of forestry. The University which is celebrated as a medical school is attended by nearly 1,000 students and has a teaching staff of over 100 professors and *doctors*. It has also a naval academy, a naval school and a school for engineers. The pride of Kiel is its magnificent harbour which has a comparatively uniform depth of water, averaging 40 ft., and close to the shores 20 ft. Its length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its breadth varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ mile at the southern end to $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles at the mouth. Its defences, which include two forts on the W. and four on the E., all situated about 5 miles from the head of the harbour at the place (Pinneberg) where its shores approach one another, make it a place of great strategic strength. The Imperial Docks (five in all) and shipbuilding yard are on the E. facing the town, between Gaarden and Ellerbeck and comprise basins capable of containing the largest warships afloat. The Imperial Yards employ 7,000 hands and another 7,000 are employed on two large private shipbuilding works, the Germania (Krupp's) and Howaldt's. The Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, commonly called the Kiel Canal, connecting the Baltic with the North Sea at Rendsburg, has its eastern entrance at Wick, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. of Kiel. In June of each year a regatta attracted by yachts from all countries is held. This *Kieler Woche* is one of the principal social events in Germany and corresponds to the "Cowes Week" in England. The name of Kiel is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Killa* a safe place for ships. In 1866 the place passed with the rest of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. Since being made a great naval arsenal, Kiel has developed in prosperity and population.

KIELOFF is the capital of the Russian town and province of the same name, whose frontier is continuous with that of the Austrian province of Galicia. Kielce is between 250 to 260 miles N. W. of Lemberg.

KHOLM or Chelna (Polish *Chełm*) is a town of Russian Poland, in the government or province of Lublin, 40 miles by rail E. S. E. of the town of Lublin. It had in 1897 a population of 112,336. At the commencement of the war the 17th Infantry Division was located at Kholm.

KEMENKA is probably the same place as Kamionka which lies on the river Bug some 10 miles N. N. W. of Lemberg. Galitch is untraceable on the maps, nor is the river *Rudolipsa* mentioned. The latter may be one of the branches of the Bug running to the W. and S. W. of the main stream to the N. of Lemberg.

LEMBERG (Polish *Lwów*) is the capital of the Austrian crownland of Galicia, 168 miles N. W. of Vienna by rail. In 1900 the population was 159,618 of whom 80 p.c. were Poles, 10 p.c. Germans and 8 p.c. Ruthenians. Nearly 30 p.c. of the population were Jews. According to population Lemberg is the fourth city in the Austrian Empire, coming after Vienna, Prague and Trieste. It is situated on the small river Peltew, an affluent of the Bug, in a valley in the Sarmatian plateau, and surrounded by hills. It is composed of the inner town and of four suburbs. The inner town was formerly fortified, but the fortifications were transformed into pleasure grounds in 1811. Lemberg is the residence of the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic and Armenian Archbishops and the contains three cathedrals.

It has some beautiful old buildings and among comparatively modern structures are the town hall, the hall of the estates, the industrial museum, the theatre, the palace of the Roman Catholic Archbishop and several educational establishments. There are many beautiful private buildings, broad and well-paved streets, numerous squares and public gardens. At the head of the educational institutions stands the University founded in 1784 by Joseph II and reorganised in 1817. The Austrians have not been so cruel to their Polish subjects as the Russians who have tried to crush the Polish language and literature. Since 1871 the language of instruction has been Polish, and in 1901 the University had 110 lecturers and was attended by 2,060 students. Lemberg has also the National Institute founded by Count Ossolinski, which contains a library of books and manuscripts relating chiefly to the history and literature of Poland, valuable antiquarian and scientific collections of history and ethnography relating chiefly to Galicia. During the whole period of Polish supremacy it was a most important city and after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks it greatly developed its trade with the East. In 1648 and 1655 it was besieged by the Cossacks and in 1672 by the Turks. Charles XII of Sweden captured it in 1704. In 1848 it was bombarded. At the commencement of the war the 11th Army Corps and the 11th and 30th Infantry and the 4th Cavalry Divisions were located at Lemberg.

LIERRE is a town in the Province of Antwerp, 9 miles S. E. of Antwerp.

LON&WY is a fortified town of N. E. France, 89 miles N. N. W. of Nancy by rail. It is situated on a plateau overlooking Chiers, a right-bank affluent of the Meuse near the frontier of Belgium and Luxembourg. It comprises an upper and a lower town; the former, on a hill, 390 ft. above the Chiers valley, commands the Luxembourg road and is strengthened by an enceinte and a few outlying fortifications. There is a garrison accommodation for 5,000 men and 800 horses, but the permanent garrison is small. Longwy came into the possession of the French in 1678 and was at once fortified by Vauban. It was captured by the Prussians in 1792, 1815 and 1871.

LUBLIN is a town of Russian Poland, capital of the province of the same name, 110 miles by rail S. E. of Warsaw or a small tributary of the Vistula. It is the headquarters of the 14th Army Corps, and at the commencement of the War it had also the 18th Infantry Division quartered near it. It is some 50 miles from the northernmost point of the Austrian frontier and some 200 miles from Lemberg.

LOVECHEN belongs to Montenegro and is a source of anxiety to the Austrians, for the Montenegrins have commenced to bombard from the fort on the heights of Lovechen into the Austrian haven of Cattaro the finest natural harbour of the Adriatic. Cattaro harbour, which could accommodate a squadron of "Dreadnoughts" completely concealed from ships passing up and down the Adriatic, is, however, dominated by the Black Mountains of Montenegro rising in the peak of Lovechen to a height of 6,000 feet. The Austrian frontier line, which is strongly fortified, passes along this ridge at a height of 2,000 feet, the whole of the mass above that line being Montenegrin territory. The higher peak is crowned with guns presented to King Nicholas by the People of Russia, and it is from this vantage that the Montenegrin gunners are now operating on the Austrian harbour below.

LIBERTY is a large type of British destroyer of the 1912 Estimates, with a length of 260 ft., beam of 27 ft., draught of 9 ft. and a displacement of 965 tons. Her indicated horse power is 24,500 and speed 25 knots. Her engines are Parsons Turbines. She carries an armament of 3 4-inch (50 calibre) guns and 4 21 inch Torpedo tubes in pairs.

LAERTES and **LAUREL** are also large destroyers of the same dimensions and armament as *Liberty*.

LION, one of the three most powerful super-Dreadnoughts completed in 1912 and 1913, with a length of 600 ft. in perpendiculars and 700 ft. over all, a beam of 88 ft., mean draught of 28 ft., and displacement of 26,350 to 27,000 tons. The I. H. P. is 70,000 to 75,000 and the speed 28 knots. The engines are Parsons turbines (4 shafts) and they have Yarrow Boilers. In the trials the *Lion* developed I. H. P. of 75,685 and a speed of 28.5 knots. They have Krupp armour, almost complete belt from 7 ft. below water line to upper deck, 9 in. amidships tapering to 4 in. at ends; turrets and barbettes 9 in., conning tower 10 in., deck sloping 9 in. to 1 in. They carry 8—13.5 in. (45 cal.) guns in pairs on turrets, all on centre line, No. 2 firing over No. 1; 16—4 in. (5 cal.) guns in superstructure and 5—21 in. Torpedo tubes submerged, broadside and astern.

LE MANS is a town of N. W. France, capital of the department of Sarthe, 77 miles S. W. of Chartres, on the railway from Paris to Brest.

LONGUYON is a French town a few miles to the S. W. of Longwy, situated near the confluence of the Chiers and the Othaine.

LOUTSK or Lutzk is a town of Russian Poland, the terminus of a branch of the railway line running from Brest Litvsk to Rovno. It is situated on the river Styk and is some 30 miles from the Austrian frontier.

MAINZ and **KOLU** are German Protected Cruisers of the second class launched at Stettin and Germania docks respectively in 1909, with a length between perpendiculars of 102 ft. and water line 426 5 ft., beam of 16 ft., mean draught of 16 4 ft. and displacement of 1,280 tons. Their indicated horse power is 19,730 and a speed of 23.5 knots. Their engines are 4 sets turbines of Curtis and Zoelly respectively. They have Schulz boilers. In the trials they developed an indicated horse power of 27,750 and 28,640 and speed of 27.2 and 26.8 knots, respectively. Their armour is 2 in. tapering to 8 in. on deck and 3.9 in. conning towers, and they carry 12—4.1 in (40 calibre) guns and 2 Machine guns and 2—18 in. Torpedo tubes submerged on broadside.

MERCHTEM is a small town in Belgium midway between Brussels and Termonde, some 8 miles to the N. W. of Brussels.

MAUBEUGE is a town of Northern France, situated on both banks of the Sambre, 23½ miles by rail E. by S. of Valenciennes, and about two miles from the Belgian frontier. As a fortress Maubeuge has an old esplanade of bastion trace which serves as the centre of an important entrenched camp of 18 miles perimeter constructed for the most part after the war of 1870 but since modernised and augmented. It was burnt by Louis XI, by Francis I, and by Henry II, and was finally assigned to France by the treaty of Nijmegen. It was fortified by Vauban at the command of Louis XIV. It was unsuccessfully besieged in 1811, but was compelled to capitulate, after a vigorous resistance, in the Hundred Days.

MALINES (Flemish, *Mechelen*) is an ancient and important city of Belgium and the seat since 1559 of the only archbishopric in that country. The population in 1901 was 88,101. The name is supposed to be derived from *maris linea* and to indicate that originally the sea came up to it. It is now situated on the Dyle, and is in the province of Antwerp, lying about half way between Antwerp and Brussels. The chief importance of Malines is derived from the fact that it is in a sense the religious capital of Belgium, the archbishop being the primate of the Catholic Church in that country. The archbishop's palace has a picturesque situation and dates from the creation of the dignity. The principal building in the city is an exceedingly fine cathedral dedicated to St. Rombaut. This cathedral was begun in the twelfth and finished early in the fourteenth century, and although modified in the fifteenth after a fire, it remains one of the most remarkable specimens of Gothic architecture in Europe. The massive tower of over 300 ft., which is described as unfinished because the original intention was to carry it to 500 ft., is its most striking external feature. The cathedral contains a fine altar piece by Van Dyck and the pulpit is in carved oak of the 17th Century. In the Church of Notre Dame (16th century) is Rubens's master piece "the miraculous draught of fishes," and in that of St. John is a fine triptych by the same master. Malines, although no longer famous for its lace, carries on a large trade in linen, needles, furniture and oil, while as a junction for the line from Ghent to Louvain and Liège, as well as for that from Antwerp to Brussels and the South, its station is one of the busiest in Belgium, and this fact has contributed to the general prosperity of the city.

MARNE is a department of north-eastern France, made up from several districts formerly belonging to Champagne, and bounded W. by Seine-et-Marne and Aisne, N. by Aisne and Ardennes, E. by Meuse, and S. by Haute-Marne and Aube. Its population in 1906 was 134,166. Area, 3,167 sq. miles. About one half consists of Champagne-Pouilleuse, a monotonous and barren plain covering a bed of chalk 1,300 ft. in thickness. On the west and on the east it is commanded by two ranges of hills, the highest point of which, 920 feet, is on the district of Rheims, which rises to the south-west of the town of the same name. The lowest level, 164 feet—where the Aisne leaves the department is not far distant. The department belongs entirely to the Seine basin, but includes only 13 miles of that river, in the S. W. The principal river is the Marne, which runs through the department for 105 miles in a great sweep concave to the S. W. Marne is also a river of northern France rising on the plateau of Langres, 3 miles S. by E. of Langres and uniting with the Seine at Charenton, an eastern suburb of Paris. The length of the Marne is 328 miles. The area of its basin is 4,894 square miles.

NEUFCHATEAU is a town in Belgium in the province of Luxembourg, N. W. of Arlon on the line that runs from Longwy to St. Hubert and Rochefort. It is some 20 miles from Arlon and some 25 miles from Mezieres.

NETLEY, a village in Hampshire, 3 miles south-east of Southampton on the eastern shore of Southampton Water. Here a Cistercian Abbey was founded in 1237 by Henry III, and its ruins are extensive. The gatehouse was transformed into a fort in the time of Henry VIII. Netley Hospital for wounded soldiers (I. M. S. E. of the Abbey), was built in 1856 after the Crimean War. It is a vast pile giving accommodation for upwards of a thousand patients and is the principal Military Hospital in England.

OSTERODE is a town in East Prussia situated on lake Drawenz 10 miles due N. of Soldau and on the line that runs more or less along the Russian frontier from Vemel, through Tilsit, Insterburg and Allenstein to Lom and Posen and further south. Graudenz and Thorn lie to the West of the Soldau-Osterode line as the crow flies some 50 and 70 miles distant respectively. It is 75 miles by rail N. E. of Thorn. It is the junction of a line to Memel, Elbing and Shosseu.

PATHFINDER was a light cruiser of the *Scouts* class. It was launched at Birkenhead in 1904. Length 370 ft. Breadth 38.7 ft. Draught 14.2 ft. Displacement, 2,940 tons, 1 H. P., 15,500, speed 25 knots. Trials—1 H. P. 17,176, Speed 25.3 knots. Deck 2.5 on slopes, .6 in. on flat.

Armament { 9—4-in (50 calibres) guns
8—3-pounders
2—18-in Torpedo tubes above the water

Complement 268

PALISEUL is a town in the same province as Neufchateau, some 10 miles to the N. W. W. of that place.

SAMOA is an archipelago in the Pacific Ocean nearly midway between the New Hebrides and Tahiti, 1,600 miles from Auckland in New Zealand, 2,410 from Sydney and 4,200 from San Francisco. It consists of 11 islands forming a slightly curved chain. Savaii, Marono, Apolima, Upolu, Fuaofu, Mafu, Nautale, and Nalus belong to Germany, and Fuaofu, Anua, Oa, Olusenga, Fua and Rongelap belong to the United States of America. One of the principal islands of these is Upolu, 310 square miles in area and having a population of 18,100. The total population of the archipelago is about 39,000, whites numbering about 500, the rest being pure Polynesians. The whole group is abundantly watered and the igneous soil is marvellously fertile. The scenery of the islands is extremely beautiful. Upolu is long and narrow; it has a backbone of mountains whose flanks are scored with lovely valleys at the foot of which are flat cultivable tracts. Of its harbours Apia and Salafata, both on the northern coast, are most important. Mount Vaea, which overlooks Apia and Vailema, the home of Robert Louis Stevenson, is his burial place and bears a monument to his memory. Although the group of islands was first sighted by European early in the 18th century, it was not till a hundred years later that the islands, especially Upolu, began to attract American and European (mostly German) capitalist and the Hamburg firm of J. C. Godeffroy & Son developed the trade of the island. In 1878 America obtained Pago Pago as a coaling station and made a trading treaty with the natives. In 1879 Germany obtained the harbour Salafata, Great Britain followed suit. On more than one occasion civil war broke out among the natives on the question of succession to the kingship in which the German and the British American residents supported rival claimants. In 1899 a conference between the three Powers was held at Berlin to settle the question, and the independence and autonomy of the islands were guaranteed, and the three Powers constituted themselves practically a protectorate over Samoa and provided a Chief Justice and a President of the Municipality of Apia to be appointed by them, to aid in carrying out the provisions of the treaty. At the end of 1898 another civil war about succession broke out, a commission of the three Powers was sent to Samoa to investigate and adjust the difficulties, and finally the so-called Berlin Treaty was abrogated, Great Britain withdrawing her claims to any portion of the islands and receiving compensation from Germany by concessions in other parts of the world. Under the Imperial Governor of the Samoan or Navigator Islands there is a native High Chief with a native Council. The several districts are administered by the Chiefs. Justice is administered by native as well as European Judges and Magistrates. There is a Government Council containing 8 non-official members (three of whom are British) chosen by the Governor from among the settlers. In Apia there is Central and also a District Court. The inhabitants are nominally Christians, (Protestant, Catholic and Mormon), but native superstitions are prevalent. In 1913, there were 544 white inhabitants (324 German, 132 Bri-

tish); also 1,354 Chinese and 1,008 non-native inhabitants of mixed race. There are two German Government schools with 784 pupils and mission schools with over 8,000 pupils. The revenue and expenditure for 1913 were estimated at 1,130,000 marks. The staple product is copra. Rubber trees are being planted. The imports amounting to a quarter million sterling chiefly come from Australia and New Zealand. All the shipping is practically British. A wireless station has been erected at Apia.

SPEEDY is a British Torpedo Gunboat Date 1893. Builders Thornycroft. Length, 280ft. Beam 27ft. Draught 8.7 ft. Displacement 810 tons I. H. P. 3,500 Speed 19.2 knots.

ARMAMENT .. { Two 4.7-in guns
Four 3 pounders
One Machine-gun
Two 18 in Torpedo Tubes

She had a complement of 85 persons. The *Speedy* was, like *Circé*, *Jason* of her class, and the *Gossamer* a Mine Sweeper.

SENLIS is a French town in the department of Oise, on the right side of the Nonette, a left-hand affluent of the Oise 34 miles N. N. E. of Paris by the Northern railway on the branch line Chantilly Crépy connecting the Paris-Creil and Paris-Soissons lines.

ST NICHOLAS is a town in the Province of East Flanders, about 12 miles S. W. of Antwerp. It is an important junction on the direct line from Antwerp to Ghent.

SPINCOURT is a French town on the line from Nancy to Longwy, some 15 miles to the S. of Longwy.

ST QUENTIN is a manufacturing town of Northern France, capital of an arrondissement in the department of Aisne, 32 miles N. N. W. of Laon by rail. The population in 1906 was nearly 50,000. The town stands on the right bank of the Somme, at its junction with the St. Quentin Canal (which unites the Somme with the Scheldt) and the Crèzat canal (which unites it with the Oise). The port carries on an active traffic in building materials, coal, timber, iron, sugar and agricultural produce. During the Franco-German war St. Quentin repulsed German attacks of the 8th of October in 1870, and in January 1871 it was the centre of the great battle fought by General Faidherbe against the German first army under General von Goeben. The French were beaten and the defeat, the last act of a long drawn out struggle, was sufficiently decisive to deny to the defenders any hope of taking the field again without an interval of rest and reorganising. Three days later the general armistice was signed.

SOISSONS is a city of northern France, in the department of Aisne, 65 miles N. E. of Paris by the railway to Laon. It stands on the left bank of the river Aisne. It is some 20 miles to the S. S. W. of Laon.

SOLDAU is a point a few miles on the German side of the boundary between Poland and East Prussia situated on the river Neide and on the line from Warsaw to Deutsch-Eylau, Marienburg and Dantzig.

THORN is a fortress town situated on the right bank of the Vistula, near the point where the river enters Prussian territory, 85 miles by rail N. E. of Posen, 62 miles S. of Dantzig and 12 miles from the Russian frontier at Alexandrovo. It has a population of about 45,000. Its position at a bridge head commanding the passage of the Vistula makes it a point of strategic importance. It was strongly fortified in 1818, and was converted into a fortress of the first class in 1878. The defensive works consist of a circle of outlying forts, about 2½ miles from the centre of the town—eight on the right and five on the left bank of the river. The ancient wooden bridge, now burned down, at one time the only permanent bridge across the lower Vistula, has been succeeded by a massive iron railway viaduct 3,500 ft long. A good deal of the trade of Thorn is carried on by passenger and freight steamers on the Vistula, which ply as far as Warsaw. The river is, however, closed by ice 84-123 days annually. The second partition of Poland (1793) conferred Thorn upon Prussia, by the Treaty of Elset it was assigned to the Duchy of Warsaw, but since the congress of Vienna (1815) it has again been Prussian.

TOMASCHOFF or Tomaszow is a town of Russian Poland a little on the Russian side of the Russo-Austrian frontier, some 50 miles due S. of Kholm and 40 miles S. W. of Janoff.

TERMONDE is a town in the Province of East Flanders, 25 miles S. W. of Antwerp, at the junction of the Dender and the Scheldt. It is one of the five fortified places in Belgium, although

its defences are probably not yet modernized. It was before Termonde that Louis XIV was compelled to beat an ignominious retreat through its defenders opening the dikes and flooding the country.

VISTULA is one of the chief rivers of Europe, rising in Austria and flowing first through Russian and then through Prussian territory. Its source is in Austrian Silesia on the northern slopes of the West Beskiden range of the Carpathian mountains.

VALENCIENNES is a town of northern France on the Scheldt at its confluence with the Rhonelle, 30 miles S. E. of Lille by rail. Its population in 1906 was, town, 25,977, commune, 31,759. Of the fortifications, dismantled in 1922, and replaced by boulevards the Tour de la Dodenne and the citadel are the chief remains. Valenciennes is the centre of a rich coal field, to which Anzin, an industrial town a little over a mile to the north-west has given its name. Valenciennes is said to owe its name and foundation to one of the three Roman Emperors named Valentinian. In the 16th century, it became the stronghold of Protestantism, but was conquered by the Spaniards. In 1677, Louis XIV took the town from them after an eight days' siege and Vauban constructed the citadel. It has since then belonged to France, though, in 1793, after forty-three days' bombardment, the garrison reduced to 3,000 men, surrendered to the allied forces numbering some 150,000 men, with 400 cannon. In 1815, it defended itself successfully.

V 187 is one of 6 second class German destroyers of 1910-11 with a displacement of 689 tons and 17,760 I. H. P., built at the Vulkan yard, Danzig. Her engines are Parson's Turbines and her speed is 32.5 knots. She carries two 24-pounders and 2 Machine guns and has 3 Torpedo tubes.

WARSAW is the capital of Russian Poland and the chief town of the Government of Warsaw, situated on the left bank of Vistula, 98.7 miles by rail east of Berlin and 395 miles S. W. of St. Petersburg. As the crow flies it is over a hundred miles from the northernmost point of the Austrian frontier and 350 miles from Vienna and Budapest, a longer distance than that which separates Warsaw from Berlin. This shows that the Austrians have penetrated very much farther into Russia than the Russians into German territory. Warsaw is the chief stronghold for the defence of Poland. It is connected by its trunk lines with Vienna, Kiel and south western Russia, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Danzig and Berlin. The Russian Garrison numbers over 30,000 men and at the commencement of the war, it had 3 Army Corps, 2 Infantry and one Cavalry Division and one independent Cavalry Brigade located in its vicinity, in addition to the garrison of the fortress of Nowogrojecveski.

WILHELMSHAVEN is a German town and the chief naval station and war harbour of the Empire on the North Sea situated on the N. W. shore of the Jade Busen, a large shallow basin formed by inundations and united with the sea by the Jade, a channel 3 miles long. The ground on which it stands (4 sq. miles) was purchased by Prussia from the grand Duke of Oldenburg in 1853, when the Prussian Navy was formed. The construction of the harbour and town was begun in 1855 and the former was opened in 1869. The original harbour consists of an inner and outer basin. To the S. W. of the inner harbour a large new harbour has been more recently constructed for war vessels in commission. The so called new harbour (170 acres in area and 20½ ft deep) is connected by means of a lock (571 ft long) with the new harbour entrance which was completed in 1886. On the north it is connected with the filling out basin (3,882 ft long, 446 ft. wide), which again is connected by a lock (158 ft long) with the outer basin (617 ft long 110 ft wide), and so with the old harbour entrance. North of this, the "third entrance" has been recently constructed, with two enormous locks, one of which in an emergency could be used as an additional dock. On the west side of the filling out basin is the ship-building basin (1,257 ft long by 742 ft wide) with three dry-docks (of which two are each 153 ft. long, 85 ft wide and more than 30 ft deep, whilst the third is 394 ft long), and also with two slips of the largest size. Further new docks (each about 617 ft by 97 ft), capable of containing large battleships, were completed in 1906. A torpedo harbour lies to the S. W. of the new harbour. The three entrances to the old and new harbours are sheltered by long and massive moles; and the whole complex of docks, building slips, machine shops, etc., forms the Government dockyard which is enclosed by a lofty wall with fourteen iron gates. The establishment is defended by strong fortification. The commercial harbour lies on the south side of the town at the east end of the Ems-Jade Canal. It possesses depots for artillery and mines, a meteorological observatory and a signalling station. A battalion of marines is stationed here. Since 1900 the development of the naval establishment and of the town has been exceptionally rapid, coincident with the growth of the German

Navy and with the shifting of political and naval activity from the Baltic to the North Sea

ZAVICHOST is a town situated on the Russian side of the Russo-Austrian frontier of Poland just beyond the northernmost Austrian possession in Galicia. It lies on the Vistula.

ZLOCZOW is a town midway between Lemberg and Tarnopol, more than 40 miles E. of Lemberg and some 39 miles to the W. of the N. E. frontier of Austria.



Our London Letter.

London, Aug. 6.

GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY AT WAR.

WAR has come at last, and within a fortnight of the first appearance of the Austro-Servian war cloud on the horizon, Great Britain is at war with Germany.

It was officially announced early yesterday morning that war was declared between this country and Germany on Tuesday night. The following statement was issued from the Foreign Office at 12-15 A. M. yesterday.

"Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by His Majesty's Government for assurances that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected, His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin has received his passports, and His Majesty's Government has declared to the German Government that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany as from 11 P. M. on August 4."

This declaration followed a British ultimatum to which an answer was demanded by midnight on Tuesday.

The Premier, in announcing the Government's momentous action to the House of Commons on Tuesday evening, stated that Germany had been asked earlier in the day for an assurance that her demand upon Belgium would not be proceeded with, and that her neutrality should be respected.

An immediate reply was asked for and a message was received from the German Foreign Secretary to the effect that no Belgian territory would be annexed, but that Germany was compelled to disregard Belgian neutrality owing to fears of a French attack through that country. News also reached London that the German Army was marching into Belgium.

Thereupon the British Government repeated its request for an assurance of Belgian neutrality on the same lines as that given by France demanding that a satisfactory reply should reach London before midnight.

This grave announcement was received with loud cheers from all parts of the House.

Great Britain is prepared for war. The Navy is fully mobilised and at sea, the Army is being mobilised. Munitions are flocking to the colours, and crowds are joining the recruiting offices.

Lord Kitchener has been appointed Secretary of State for War. The supreme command of the Home Fleet has been entrusted to Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. Sir John French is the new Inspector-General of the Forces and, as such, is almost certain to lead the British Expeditionary Force. The Admiralty has ordered two battleships and two scouts, building in English yards. The battleships belonged to Turkey and the scouts to Chile.

The British railways have been taken over by the Government for military purposes and it is noticed that the ordinary services may be dislocated for some time. Public fears as to food supply are groundless. An official statement by the Cabinet shows that the supplies of corn and meat are ample, and that there is no justification for a rise in prices.

The Prime Minister is to move in the House of Commons to-day a vote of credit for £100,000,000 for war purposes. Mr. Lloyd George made an important statement yesterday as to the steps taken by the Government to meet an emergency created by the temporary dislocation of the machinery of finance. He paid a tribute to the invaluable assistance received from Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

The Government has set up a committee to advise on measures necessary to deal with distress, and a national appeal for funds will be issued by the Prince of Wales.

How News of the Declaration was Received.

In anticipation of the receipt of Germany's reply on Tuesday night, huge crowds gathered in Whitehall and outside Buckingham Palace, and extraordinary scenes of enthusiasm were witnessed. It had been intended to hold a midnight Council at the Palace, but owing to Germany's summary rejection of the British ultimatum this gathering took place earlier.

It was preceded by a concentration of Ministers at 10, Downing Street, and each was loudly cheered as he entered the Premier's official residence.

Not for years—since Trafallic night—have such crowds been seen in London; and Whitehall, the Mall, and Trafalgar Square were all packed with excited throngs.

The enthusiasm culminated outside Buckingham Palace when it became known that war had been declared. The word was passed round by the police that silence was necessary, inasmuch as the King was holding a Council for the signing of necessary proclamations. A lady came out of the Palace and announced that war had been declared.

This was received with tremendous cheering, which grew into a deafening roar when King George, Queen Mary, and the Prince of Wales appeared on the balcony shortly after eleven o'clock. They looked down upon an extraordinary scene—a dense mass of excited people, many of whom had clambered on to the Victoria Memorial.

As it by general accord, the cheers gave way to the singing of the National Anthem, which was taken up lustily by the whole throng. For fully five minutes the Royal Party remained on the balcony. They entered amidst a perfect storm of cheering, and although the crowd subsequently began to melt away, thousands remained.

They grew gradually less demonstrative, and it was noticeable that the news of the actual state of war had a sobering effect on many. Mafficking gave way to distinct seriousness.

THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE.

The German Ambassador, having received his passports, will leave London to-day. He will go to Harwick direct by motor-car and the British Government has arranged for a special vessel to convey him and his staff.

At 11 o'clock yesterday morning Prince Lichnowsky paid a brief visit to Lord Haldane at his residence in Queen Anne's Gate. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador afterwards called on His Excellency, and during the day several diplomatic representatives called to bid farewell to the Prince and Princess. Mrs. and Miss Asquith also visited the Embassy.

A statement having appeared in certain papers that windows were broken at the German Embassy on Tuesday night, the Commissioner of Police has authorised the announcement that there is not a shadow of foundation for this statement, and that no untoward incident of any description has occurred at the Embassy.

CLOSING THE RANKS.

The declaration of war has been forthwith followed by the sinking of all difference and controversies, both in Parliament and in the Press. Not only have people for the time being set aside all their quarrels and disputes as regards Ireland and other matters in domestic politics, but even the diversity of opinion as to whether or not Great Britain should be dragged into the war has already disappeared, now that the real thing has come at last.

The time is past," says the *Daily News and Leader*, "when the effort to prevent this country launching into the dreadful conflict, which is now wrecking a whole civilisation, could be of use. We place on record our conviction that it was possible, and that it would have been just and prudent and statesmanlike, for England to have remained neutral. We shall record that a mistaken course of foreign policy pursued over ten years, the departure from our traditional policy of splendid isolation, has led us to the terrible conflict in which we are now engaged. We believe that the conviction that that policy was an error will steadily conquer the minds of the English people, and that they will one day come to the resolution that it is an error which must never be repeated. With that we have said our last word of controversy and leave the judgment to the future. We all have before us a sterner task that leaves no room for wrangling....."

INVASION OF BELGIUM.

According to the military correspondent of the *Times* the future military operations of England are to a large extent dependent upon the general naval situation when the Expeditionary Force is ready to move.

Bahmani Mohon Motra, M R C S, L R C P, 3,101; Amir Chand, M. B., B. S. (Panjab), 2,913; Nilkanth Sacram Jatar, M R C S, L R C P, 2,972; Gopalji, Bakare Society, M.B., O.M. (Madras), 2,851; Ganesh Chandra, M. B., O.M. B. (Edinburgh), 2,810; Ferozshah Bapuji Chenoy, M R. C.S., L.R.C.P., 2,709; Sadanala Basuam Venugopal, M. R. C. S., L. R. C. P., 2,697.

The Holy War.

For the next few months, or it may be years, some fifteen millions of men in Europe, the physically best, those who should be the fathers of the next generations, will be engaged in killing one another, in starving the rest of the population, in stopping the production of useful and necessary things, in destroying the instruments of production, in pulling down all that has laboriously built up during a quarter of a century of European peace. Not one of the men employed in this work of destruction wants to perform it; not one of them knows how it has come about, that he is performing it; not one of them knows what object it is to be served by performing it. The non-combatants are in the same case. They did not foresee this, they did not want it, they did not choose it. They were never consulted. No one in Europe desires to be engaged in such work. We are sane people. But our acts are mad. Why? Because we are all in the hands of some sort of unbelieved-called Governments. Some score among the hundreds of millions of Europeans. These men have willed this thing for us over our heads. No man has had the chance of saying, No. The Russian peasants march because the Tsar and the priests told them to. That of course. But equally the German Socialists march, equally the French Socialists. The only man know what war means. They know what its effects must be. They hate it. But they march. Business men, knowing too, having too, watch them march. Working men watch them march, and wait for starvation. All are powerless. The die has been cast for them. The crowned gamblers cast it, and the cast was death.

For what, then, are these gamblers playing? Each says he is playing for safety. Each says the other is playing for power. We English believe we are resisting aggression. We may be sure the Germans do not believe it of us. We believe they are aggressors. We may be sure they do not believe it of themselves. Behind the action of all the governments is a theory—the theory of the Balance of Power. Behind the theory are passions—the passions of fear and of cupidity. Behind the passions is the whole long and tragic history of mankind. Of all this, common men are fools. The rulers play on them like pipes. And not only the rulers. Every journalist who has been sowing mistrust and hatred between nations, every historian who has used history to glorify or apologize for war, every man who has exalted passion at the cost of reason, is an accomplice in this crime. It is thus that war has come about. What can war achieve? It is no remedy for the disease it is intended to cure, it merely creates new conditions for another war. The catastrophe in which we are plunged must produce incalculable evils. It cannot produce any good unless it should produce enlightenment. By enlightenment I mean the apprehension by peoples and Governments of a different conception of policy to that which now prevails. The new conception is there, in the minds and hearts of all right-thinking and right-feeling people. It has not been able to control events, partly because peoples do not control Governments, partly because peoples have not learnt to co-operate with one another. But all men not blinded by theories know that the power to which Governments sacrifice nations is an idol. In no real thing do the interests of nations diverge. What drives them into war is abstraction, and what gives the abstractions life is the belief in them. Such abstractions are power, prestige, honour, in the sense in which nations use the word. These are ghosts of a dying age, but ghosts that are not yet laid. What is real is labor, intelligence, imagination, and the fruits of these are common to all men. But into these realities the life of passion is only beginning to flow, along the old channels, once they are opened, it flows with fatal force. Let war be declared, and every individual in a nation is ready to lay down his goods and his life. That is why to some noble men war appears as a noble thing. But what makes it so is the passion that is misled into its service. That passion is needed for the real things, for good instead of evil, for truth instead of lies, for love instead of hate. To turn it into these channels, the friends of reason are always working. For the moment their voice will not be heard. But as this war pursues its dreadful course, as its fatal and foreseen consequences unroll, as the fact of what we are doing begins to penetrate from our senses to our imagination, as the dreadful awakening succeeds to the stunning shock, it will be for friends of reason to drive home the lesson, first and chiefest into their own heart and brain, then, if strength be given them, into the conscience of mankind. That is our war—those of us who believe in reason—our eternal and holy war. In this dark hour of our defeat, let us not forget it.

—G. LOWES DICKINSON in the Nation.



The Blue-Book.

One of the most important collections of diplomatic correspondence ever made public was issued last night by the Foreign Office in the form of a Blue-book [No. 6 (1914)]. It will be laid on the table of the House early to-day. Were any justification required for the course which the Government have been compelled to adopt, these documents would supply it.

The Blue-book consists of 159 documents, beginning with a dispatch from Sir Edward Grey to the British Ambassador at Berlin, dated July 20, 1914, and ending with the British ultimatum to Germany on August 4. Every document requires careful perusal—more careful, perhaps, than is possible at this hour of tense expectation.

AUSTRIA AND SERBIA

On July 25 an important dispatch was received from the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg summarizing a conversation with the Russian Foreign Minister. M. Sazonoff expressed the belief that Austrian action was in reality directed against Russia. He did not believe that Germany really wanted war, but her attitude would be decided by that of England. If England took her stand firmly with France and Russia there would be no war. Otherwise rivers of blood would flow, and England would in the end be dragged to war. The British Ambassador argued that England could mediate more effectively as a friend who, rather than as a mediator, were discredited, might be converted into an ally, than as she were to declare her neutrality at once. M. Sazonoff replied "that, until recently Germany was convinced that she could count upon British neutrality."

On the same day the German Foreign Secretary declared to the British Charge d'Affaires at Berlin that Austria-Hungary "wished to give the Serbians a lesson," and meant to take military action. He admitted that the Serbian Government "could not swallow certain of the Austro-Hungarian demands."

Simultaneously with this dispatch came a telegram from the British Ambassador in Rome, informing Sir Edward Grey that nothing short of the unconditional acceptance of the Austro-Hungarian Note to Serbia could restrain Austria-Hungary, and adding, "There is reliable information that Austria intends to seize the Salonika Railway."

In the meantime Russia had already urged the utmost moderation on the Serbian Government. Sir Edward Grey communicated to the British Charge d'Affaires at Belgrade declarations made by the Serbian Minister in London at the Foreign Office. The Serbian Minister stated that if the results of the inquiry at Sarajevo into the assassination of the Archduke—"an inquiry conducted with so much mystery and secrecy"—were to disclose the complicity of any individuals on Serbian territory, the Serbian Government would give satisfaction; but that if Austria-Hungary were to transport the question on to political ground no independent State could submit to her dictation. The Minister mentioned the fact that both the assassins of the Archduke were Austrian subjects, that one of them had been in Serbia, "and that the Serbian authorities, considering him suspect and dangerous, had desired to expel him, but on applying to the Austrian authorities found that the latter protected him, and said that he was an innocent and harmless individual."

On July 26 the British Ambassador in Vienna reported the confident belief of the German Ambassador, Herr von Tschirschky, that Russia would keep quiet during the chastisement of Serbia, "because Russia would not be so imprudent as to take a step which would probably result in questions such as the Swedish, Polish, Ruthene, Rumanian, and Persian questions being brought into the melting pot. France, too, was not at all in a condition for facing a war."

On July 27 the British Ambassador in Vienna reported his impression, after conversation with all the Ambassadors of the Great Powers, "that the Austro-Hungarian Note to Serbia was so drawn up as to make war inevitable, and that the Austro-Hungarian Government are fully resolved to have war with Serbia."

GERMAN OBSTRUCTION.

During this time the British Ambassadors in various capitals were discussing with the Governments to which they were accredited Sir Edward Grey's proposal for mediation by the four Powers. The German Foreign Secretary replied that the suggested meeting of Ambassadors in London would practically amount to a court of arbitration, and could not be called together except at the request of Austria-Hungary and Russia. He could not therefore fall in with the suggestion, however much he might wish to work for the maintenance of peace. On the same day the German Ambassador, nevertheless, informed Sir Edward Grey that the German Government would accept "in principle" mediation by the four Powers, "reserving, of course, the right of Germany to help Austria in case of attack." Sir Edward Grey answered that the Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum went further than could have been expected to meet the Austrian demands; that Russia had evidently exercised conciliatory influence at Belgrade, and that "it was really at Vienna that moderating influences was now required."

On the same day, July 27, Sir Edward Grey urged upon Count Mensdorff that the consequences of Austrian action might be incalculable, and pointed out that the British Government "had felt unable" to let the Fleet disperse.

On July 28 the Russian Ambassador informed the Foreign Office that if direct explanations between St. Petersburg and Vienna were to prove impossible, Russia would accept the British proposal, or any other proposal of a kind that would bring about a favourable solution of the conflict. A warning had been conveyed to Austria-Hungary on the previous day by the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, that if war should break out with Serbia it would be impossible to localize it, "for Russia was not prepared to give way again, as she had done on previous occasions, especially during the annexation crisis of 1909." Nevertheless Austria-Hungary declared war. Germany had temporized and declined to preach moderation at Vienna, while professing a willingness to work for the prevention of war between the Great Powers. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin assured the British Ambassador that "a general war was not unlikely, as Russia neither wanted nor was in a position to make war." "I think," added Sir Edward Grey significantly, in his report to Sir Edward Grey, that "at present it is stated by many people" in Berlin.

Acting in this belief Austria-Hungary declared on July 28 a Russian succession to the conflict should not be decided directly between the Russian Foreign Minister and the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Russia then expressed the view that a conference of the Great Powers in London would be the only means of averting an extension of the conflict. Austria-Hungary, however, declined this suggestion on the plea that "events had marched too rapidly." On July 29 Sir Edward Grey took an opportunity to speak at length to the German Ambassador in London. If Germany became involved in war, and then France, said Sir Edward Grey, the issue might be so great that it would involve all European interests, and he did not wish the friendly tone of the conversation to mislead the Ambassador into thinking that England would stand aside.

WANTING HOPE

Hope of preventing a general war was rapidly waning. The German belief that England would or could be placed to remain neutral dominated the situation. Its persistence in spite of Sir Edward Grey's warnings is explained by the astounding proposal addressed to Great Britain by the German Imperial Chancellor through the British Ambassador in Berlin on July 29. The unprecedented effrontery of this proposal necessitates the reproduction in extenso of the British Ambassador's dispatch —

Sir E. Goschen to Sir Edward Grey — (Received July 29)

Berlin, July 29, 1914

I was asked to call upon the Chancellor to-night. His Excellency had just returned from Potsdam.

He said that should Austria be attacked by Russia, a European conflagration might, he feared, become inevitable, owing to Germany's obligations as Austria's ally, in spite of his continued efforts to maintain peace. He then proceeded to make the following strong bid for British neutrality. He said that it was clear, so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy, that Great Britain would never start by and allow France to be crushed in any conflict there might be. That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue.

I questioned his Excellency about the French colonies, and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect. As regards Holland, however, his Excellency said that, so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, Germany was ready to give His Majesty's Government an assurance that she would do likewise. It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium, but when the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had sided against Germany.

His Excellency ended by saying that ever since he had been Chancellor the object of his policy had been, as you were aware, to bring about an understanding with England; he trusted that these assurances might form the basis of that understanding which, he so much desired. He had in mind a general neutrality agreement between England and Germany, though it was of course at the present moment too early to discuss details, and an assurance of British neutrality in the conflict which present crisis might possibly produce, would enable him to look forward to realization of his desire.

In reply to his Excellency's enquiry how I thought his request would appeal to you, I said that I did not think it probable that at this stage of events you would care to bind yourself to any course of action and that I was of opinion that you would desire to retain full liberty.

Our conversation upon this subject having come to an end I congratulated on the contents of your telegram of to-day to his Excellency, who expressed his best thanks to you.

The Government had not long to wait for Sir Edward Grey's reply. It was an unconditional and indignant rejection of the German bribe, though it still expressed the readiness of his Majesty's Government to continue to work with Germany to preserve the peace of Europe.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen.

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, July 30, 1914.

Your telegram of 29th July.

His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms.

What he asks, in effect, is to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is broken so long as Germany does not take French territory and limit from the colonies.

From the material point of view such a proposal is unacceptable, for France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to be no longer a Great Power, and become subservient to German policy.

Moreover, apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of the country would never recover.

The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either.

Having said so much, it is unnecessary to examine whether the prospect of a future general neutrality agreement between England and Germany, offered positive advantages sufficient to compensate for tying our hands now. We must preserve our full freedom to act as circumstances may seem to us to require in any such unfavourable and regrettable development of the present crisis as the Chancellor contemplates.

You should speak to the Chancellor in the above sense and add most earnestly that the one way of maintaining the good relations between England and Germany is that they should continue to work for then to preserve the peace of Europe; if we succeed in this object, the mutual relation of Germany and England will, I believe, be *de facto* improved and strengthened. For that object His Majesty's Government will work with all sincerity and goodwill.

And I will say this. If the peace of Europe can be preserved, and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it, as far as I could, through the last Balkan crisis, and, Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite *rapprochement* between the Powers than has been possible hitherto.

The German Imperial Chancellor received this communication "without comment," and remarked only that he would like to reflect upon it before giving an answer. Meanwhile the German Ambassador in London informed Sir Edward Grey that as a result of suggestions by the German Government a conversation had taken place at Vienna between the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister and the Russian Ambassador, and that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg had been instructed to converse with the Russian Foreign Minister. In a dispatch to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg Sir Edward Grey expressed his great satisfaction at the resumption of these discussions, and instructed the Ambassador to tell M. Sazonoff that England earnestly hoped he would encourage them.

AN EXTREME PROPOSAL.

Following up this dispatch, Sir Edward Grey sent the following telegram to the British Ambassador at Berlin. It showed the extreme lengths to which England was prepared to go for the sake of peace—even to the length of cutting herself loose from Russia and France in case those Powers should prove intractable. The telegram ran.—

Sir Edward Grey to Sir Goschen.

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, July 31, 1914.

I hope that the conversation which are now proceeding between Austria and Russia may lead to a satisfactory result. The stumbling-block hitherto has been Austrian mistrust of Serbian assurances, and Russian mistrust of Austrian intentions with regard to the independence and integrity of Serbia. It has occurred to me that, in the event of this mistrust preventing a solution being found by Vienna and St. Petersburg, Germany might sound Vienna, and I would

undertake to sound St. Petersburg, whether it would be possible for the four disinterested Powers to offer to Austria that they would undertake to see that she obtained full satisfaction of her demands on Serbia, provided that they did not impair Serbian sovereignty and the integrity of Serbian territory. As your Excellency is aware, Austria has already declared her willingness to respect them. Russia might be informed by the four Powers that they would undertake to prevent Austrian demand going the length of impairing Serbian sovereignty and integrity. All Powers would of course suspend further military operation or preparations.

You may sound the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs about this proposal.

I said to German Ambassador this morning that if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, and go the length of saying that Russia and France would not accept it. His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences; but, otherwise, I told German Ambassador that if France became involved we should be drawn in.

You can add this when sounding Chancellor or Minister for Foreign Affairs as to proposal above.

The German reply to this appeal is contained in a dispatch from Sir Edward Goschen on July 31. The German Secretary of State declared that it was impossible for the Imperial Government to consider any proposal until they had received answer from Russia to the German ultimatum. Russia, as was inevitable, rejected the ultimatum, and Germany declared war.

The remainder of the Blue-book is mainly a documentary catalogue of events too recent to need recapitulation. One page in a dispatch of August 1, from the British Ambassador at Vienna, states that the German Ambassador at Vienna, desired war from the first, and that this strong personal bias probably coloured his actions. Among the concluding documents none is more important than a telegram on August 4 from Sir Edward Grey to the British Minister at Brussels, instructing him to inform the Belgian Government "that if pressure is applied to them by Germany to induce them to depart from neutrality, his Majesty's Government expect that they will resist by any means in their power, and that his Majesty's Government will support them in offering such resistance, and that his Majesty's Government in this event are prepared to join Russia and France, if desired, in offering to the Belgian Government at once common action for the purpose of resisting use of force by Germany against them, and a guarantee to maintain their independence and integrity in future years."



Verse.

To Our Indian Troops going to the War.

Forward! Forward, gallant band!
Forward, over sea and land!
Where, upon a foreign strand,
Beckons Death or Victory!

Love and Faith and Duty call:
England's honour summons all,
By her side to stand or fall
Makers of her history!

Let the Western foemen trace
In your heart and in your face
Manhood of the Aryan race
And its pristine chivalry!

Let your dauntless deeds attest,
Nobly, proudly to the West
That within the Eastern breast
Throbs a heart as proud and free.

By you, at Britannia's side
Be the banded world defied!
Yours the glory, yours the pride
There to conquer or to die.

Honour lives from age to age
Bright on Time's recorded page.
Be your sons' the heritage
Of your dauntless memory!

Forward! forward, gallant band,
Forward, over sea and land,
Where, upon a foreign strand,
Beckons Death or Victory!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

TETE À TETE



A SPECIAL edition of the German official *Gazette*, issued at Berlin on the 1st August, takes great care to prove that Germany did her utmost to maintain peace and that she was dragged into war against her will. According to the Berlin correspondent of the *Standard*, it is first pointed out that Austria-Hungary was justified in taking drastic steps to protect her own integrity from the seditious agitation fostered by Serbia. On Tuesday, the German Government received information that Russia was making military preparations of such a far-reaching character as to suggest that war on a big scale was intended. Inquiries were made in St. Petersburg, but the Russian Government gave a definite assurance that no order for mobilisation had been issued and that no single reservist had been called to the colours. The information received by the German Government did not agree with this declaration, and renewed inquiries were made in St. Petersburg on Wednesday, the 29th July. The Russian Government then still denied that any military preparations were being made although Germany had definite information that mobilisation was going on in the immediate vicinity of the German frontier. It was at this stage of affairs that the Czar sent a telegram to the German Emperor containing an urgent request that the Kaiser would use his influence to prevent the misfortune of a European war and to restrain Austria-Hungary from going too far. The Czar stated that Russia desired to enter into direct conversation with Austria-Hungary, but that the Dual Monarchy refused to do so. On the same day the German Emperor despatched to the Czar a telegram, in which he accepted the proposal that he should mediate between Vienna and St. Petersburg. Germany immediately urged Austria-Hungary to resume direct conversation with Russia, this advice was not accepted in Vienna. The German Government in consequence sent the following instructions to its Ambassador in Vienna: "Apparently there is a misunderstanding which I beg you to clear up. You cannot expect Austria-Hungary to negotiate with Serbia, with which she is in a state of war. The refusal, however, to exchange views with St. Petersburg would be a grave mistake. We are indeed ready to fulfil our duty. As an ally we must, however, refuse to be drawn into a world conflagration through Austria-Hungary not respecting our advice. Your Excellency will express this to Count Berchtold with all emphasis and great seriousness." But while Germany was undertaking these efforts for peace more information reached Berlin that the mobilisation of the Russian arm was proceeding with feverish haste. The German Emperor, therefore, sent another telegram to the Czar saying that he could not maintain peace if Russia persisted in making preparations obviously intended for war. The Czar's response to this telegram was an order for the mobilisation of the entire army and navy of Russia. When this news reached Berlin the German Emperor sent a third telegram to the Czar declaring that he had gone to the utmost limits in an endeavour to maintain peace, and that if the Czar persisted in mobilising he (the Czar) must bear the responsibility for the consequence. The Kaiser recalled his long and faithful friendship both for the Czar personally and the Russian people as a nation, and added that Germany could not abstain from defensive measures if Russia menaced the safety of the German Empire by general mobilisation. The feeling in Berlin is that the Czar committed an act of treachery by ordering mobilisation after appealing to the German Emperor to mediate for the purpose of maintaining peace. It is Germany's intention to place all these facts, together with documentary evidence, before the Governments of friendly countries.

Germany's Explanation

The Russian Government issued in St. Petersburg statements justifying the position of Russia and throwing the blame for the War on Germany and Austria. A manifesto by the Tsar was published, which declared: "To-day it is not only the protection of the country related to us and unjustly attacked that

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must be carried out, but we must also safeguard the honour, dignity and integrity of Russia and her position among the Great Powers.

Russia rising like one man, will repulse the insolent attack of the enemy." The St. Petersburg semi-official agency, according to Renter, published a communication in reply to the version given by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of the events preceding the outbreak of war. After describing the German version as quite misleading, the communication said:—It is not we but Germany who describes our protection of the Slavs as meaning the same as the destruction of her allies. To renounce the protection of our brothers and co-religionists in the face of Austrian machinations and intrigues would imply for Russia a renunciation of herself and of her past. The London Cabinet knows that when Russia consented to a conference in London of the four Powers not directly interested, Germany urged her ally to decline any such scheme. But when Germany began to display efforts which seemed sincere, it was too late because Austria, giving up *pourparlers*, went on to action bringing about a fatal *dénouement*. From the outset Germany did not comprehend the gravity of the dispute, or perhaps she was not willing or able to exercise adequate influence on her ally.

Russia can say with a clear conscience that she has done everything to avoid bloodshed. *Pourparlers* continued, indeed, but with the same lack of success, while Belgrade was furiously bombarded by Austria. Fearing that fruitless *pourparlers* would cause a delay which would only be of service to Austrian interests and would give her the possibility of destroying Serbia, Russia realised that as a measure of prudence a general mobilisation of the army and navy was necessary. At the same time a solemn declaration was given that so long as *pourparlers* with Russia continued Russia would maintain an expectant attitude.

MR. DUDLEY WARD, late correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in Berlin, gives his impressions of the state of feeling in Berlin.

mob feeling on the eve of his departure from Germany and says that on the night after the declaration there is no doubt that the Berlin crowd ran amok but already by the next day both crowd and police had begun to recover its balance, and appeals to the public appeared in most of the morning papers to remember the dignity of Germany and to avoid the molestation of English people left in Berlin. "It is possible that later the Englishmen in the city may be put under still stricter control, as it is very probable that they will be impounded to help in gathering in harvests, but measures of this kind do not entail danger to life and limb. Far more important than this is the destitution of so many wretched tourists, especially women, stranded in Germany. For them the outlook is dark unless immediate measures are taken in England. The American Ambassador in Berlin, who has charge of English subjects, has already worked wonders, but the funds at his disposal are small and the need enormous. In addition, there are some thousand stranded Americans who need his help. The immediate necessity is that money should be sent to Germany through the agency of the American Ambassador in Holland or Denmark so that the needs of these wretched women can be provided for. When this is done English people here can, I am confident, feel that their friends and relatives in Germany are safe. The Germans are not the nation of Huns and barbarians they have been painted out during the last few days; in certain sections of the press acts of violence and brutality were performed during the last few days of crisis after the declaration of war which cannot be excused, but can perhaps be explained by the fact that the German nation—whether through their own fault or not—has been placed at that moment under a strain greater than that to which any people in modern times has been subjected. They—and with their backs against the wall, and for the moment their nerve and their morale broke down. But the moment of crisis is passed."

THE PARIS correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writing on the situation in the French capital immediately after the outbreak of the war pays a warm tribute to the sober resolve of France and

Feeling in Paris.

contrasts it with the wild hysteria of 1870. He says—"I have always loved and admired the French people but never have I admired them so much as to-day. M. Anatole France who remembers 1870, says that the contrast between then and now is so extraordinary that it boggles description. In 1870 the boulevards were filled with yelling crowds, shouting 'A Berlin' ('To Berlin') and waving flags; the reservists went off drunk, declaring that they would be back in a few weeks after having conquered Germany. This time the whole people has preserved an attitude of remarkable coolness and dignity. Not once since the beginning of the crisis has there been a demonstration against any nation. The men who are going to the front are neither depressed nor braggart; they are just calm and resolved to do their best. The morale of the army is perfect. There is, indeed, a new France, but it is not the new France of which we have heard so much; it is the France that has been made by the regular schools that we owe to Jules Ferry. I wish that the

people who talk so glibly about the decadence and corruption of France had been here during the last week; they would have changed their minds. It was said that the war of 1870 was won by the German schoolmasters; if France wins this time, she will owe her victory in large measure to the teachers in public elementary schools. Even the passers-by who cheer the soldiers do so in a way which shows that they realise the gravity of the situation. There are no frenzied cries, no denunciations of Germany; the people call out 'Good-bye and good luck to you. Come back as soon as possible.' The only lullacose remark that I have heard at all is, on a few occasions, 'Put ten bullets into William', if there is any bitterness, it is against the German Emperor, not against the German people. For people here feel that the German Emperor has tricked and deceived them, that he has been preparing for war with peace on his lips, that he has been trying to provoke France into aggressive action. It is remarkable how the public distinguished between the German Government and the German people. A friend told me that he was outside the German Embassy on the night of the German Ambassador's departure. There was a fairly large crowd, which did not demonstrate in any way, and all the people, mostly of the working classes, were saying that the war was not the fault of the German people; "Ce sont des braves gens," they said. At Jaurès's funeral the remark that was most loudly and generally cheered was that of a Syndicalist speaker who said that the German Government, not the German people, was responsible for the war. Equally remarkable is the appreciation of the present and future situation. A man sitting opposite to me in a small restaurant that I frequent said to me yesterday 'Our children or grandchildren may have to fight to protect Germany against Russia.' He added that Russia was likely to become as great a danger to Europe as Germany is now, and that his hope was that Germany would be defeated and that the defeat would lead to a revolution and the expulsion of the Hohenzollerns. I think he said, 'we can have an understanding between France, England, and Germany, which is impossible so long as Germany remains under the heel of the Hohenzollerns, who threaten the liberty of every other country.' I judged him to be a superior artisan or small tradesman. He expressed what is a very general but not yet formulated opinion."

Even before Japan declared war on Germany, the English Press had ground for believing that Japan contemplated an attack on Kiaochau, and the belief caused considerable misgivings.

The Japanese Intervention

Japan's contemplated action was spoken of in some quarters as though it were a valuable piece of assistance offered by her to her ally. But the well-informed section of the Press including the *Times* itself were not quite pleased with the prospect and were naturally forced to look further ahead and see the real inwardness of the Japanese move. It was generally asked (1) what right entitled or obligation compelled Japan to attack Kiaochau and (2) what were likely to be the consequences both for Great Britain and for China if Japan established herself in Germany's place. England has a great stake in China, and few Powers have more reasons to desire the maintenance of her integrity and independence. Japan for her offer of a wholly uncalled-for assistance can plead only the Anglo-Japanese treaty the preamble of which is down that the objects of the Treaty are—(a) The establishment and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India (b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China. (c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions. The articles of the treaty which bear on the present position are the two first, which read—"It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights and interests. If by reason of any unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either contracting party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, the other contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it." Now, so far, no attack has been made on British territory or British shipping in the Far East, and the Germans would have naturally done nothing that could have given Japan an excuse to interfere against them with her overwhelming power, especially since they could in no case do serious injury to British interests in the East. But, further, since it is England that is at war with Germany, it is England who ought to dispossess Germany of Kiaochau if any foreign Power is to do so. Japan's assistance will be

dearly bought if, under the pretext of aid which is not necessary, she seizes the important position to which, if Germany lose it, China alone is entitled. It speaks eloquently of Japanese methods that when her ultimatum was delivered in Berlin, the Japanese Embassy in London authorised Reuter to state "that they have no knowledge whatever concerning the report that an ultimatum has been issued in Tokio and that they regard it as false." The coup seems to have been deliberately planned only to profit out of the European situation. According to the *Times* correspondent the Japanese Press, before the declaration of war, was impatient that "the Japanese were apparently playing a subordinate part." The *Asahi* wrote strongly in favour of war, and, after quoting the first article of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, said:—"The question of the necessity of Japan's help depends on the interpretation of this article, and British territory in the Orient being already in jeopardy, the time has arrived for Japan to act. But apart from our obligation to Great Britain it is imperative that we should realise that the crisis is already here." The *Asahi* represented Germany as already having invaded Holland, and proceeded to picture the future of the rich Dutch India under the German flag. We can not but feel a certain kind of admiration for this apt pupil of the European school of imperialism who seems to be no syco at the old game of diplomacy. Japan's avowed intention to restore Kiao-Chau to China after driving out the Germans seems to have inspired little confidence in Peking, where Japanese Imperial ambitions have never ceased to evoke the liveliest apprehensions. And who could have forgotten the fate of Egypt the administration of which was to be merely supported against its "rebellious" army a generation ago. From the time of her Chinese war in 1893 onwards Japan has aimed at increasing her territorial interests in China. As a result of that war she secured Formosa; by defeating the Russians she secured Korea, the Port Arthur peninsula and southern Manchuria—thus threatening Peking from the north. Only recently she entered into some secret bargain with Russia for the partition of Mongolia. If now she obtains possession of Kiao-Chau, she would in all likelihood keep it and will be in a much stronger position to act against Peking both by land and sea. The interest of England is to keep China united, undisturbed by foreign aggrandisement and open to the commerce of all nations on equal terms. Can it be said with any confidence that these are the objects of the Japanese policy? We hope that if she does not go as a "bailiff" of the world's bankers, she will soon proclaim herself as the Policeman among the powers with a mission to prevent Germany's pirate cruisers from prowling in the East.

Kiao-Chau came into the hands of the Germans formally in April, 1898. In the late autumn of 1897 two

How Germany came to Kiao-Chau.

German missionaries had been murdered by the Chinese in the Province of Shantung, and in November the Germans avenged missionary blood by demanding an indemnity, mining and railway privileges, the erection of a memorial church, and permission to occupy Kiao-Chau, which, in any case, she did forthwith. In December Prince Henry of Prussia left Kiel for China on the famous mission of the "Mailed Fist"; in the January following the Chinese "leased" Kiao-Chau Bay to the Germans for ninety-nine years, and in April Prince Henry formally took possession of it. This seizure was the signal for a general scramble among all the Powers to seize any part of China, or anything in China, which could be wrung out of the fears of the Chinese Government. Russia seized Port Arthur, and England obtained the lease of Wei-Hai-Wei, and Japan promptly began to make preparations for the war against Russia, which came in 1904. The Japanese gave the further count against Germany, that in 1894, at the close of the Sino-Japanese War, it was Germany who took the lead in forcing them to abandon Port Arthur, which the Chinese were willing to surrender to them as the price of victory. Japan, we may be sure, would not be sorry to square accounts with Germany. It is interesting to add here an explanation which was published in Germany seven years ago as to the way in which Kiao-Chau was picked out as the place to be seized. A historical work published at that time stated that a certain missionary German bishop had suggested the occupation of Kiao-Chau. The Emperor made a marginal correction against this statement to the following effect:—"Wrong. I selected Kiao-Chau after I had had Sa-u-sa Bay and Wei-Hai-Wei reconnoitred. Both were reported to me as wholly unsuitable. I thereupon took Baron von Richthofen's book and a map of China and after reading his chapter on Shantung I decided for the port of Kiao-Chau, as Baron von Richthofen's opinion of the hinterland was so remarkably favourable. Bishop Aufer had nothing to do with the decision."

The German Legation at the Hague issued the following statement on Sunday, the 8th August, to dispel "erroneous rumours concerning German ill-luck":—"The Russian troops on the frontier have been driven back. The Russian cavalry brigade at Soldau was defeated, and a Russian division

at Iasterburg destroyed. East Prussia is free of the enemy. The German losses are negligible. Szentstochan, Kalisz, Wielun, and Kibarty, and other Russian frontier stations are in the hands of Germany. The Polish people greet the German troops with rejoicing. The Russians are leaving Russian Poland. Russian Poland is in riot. The German fleet till now has suffered no losses, and threatens the eastern seaboard of Russia. Libau and Bona have been bombarded successfully. The cruiser Goeben has destroyed the French transport base in Bona, and devastated Philippville. The modern strong fortress of Liège has been captured after thirty-six hours' storming. Briey, in France, has been occupied."

The Press Bureau, owing perhaps to the surpassing interest now

The Fall of Liège.

centring in the campaign in France, has forgotten to record the fate of Liège, and it is only through indirect inferences that one is led to assume that the forts of Liège must have fallen in German hands at least not later than the fall of Namur. According, however, to a Reuter's message of 8th August it appears that Berlin was celebrating the fall of Liège on 7th August. Reuter's Amsterdam correspondent furnished a remarkable account of the Berlin celebrations and it was stated that the news of the fall of Liège spread with lightning like rapidly throughout Berlin and created boundless enthusiasm. The Emperor sent an aide de camp out to the crowds before the Castle to give the news, and policemen on bicycles dashed along Unter den Linden with the joyful tidings, which soon became known throughout the city. The Imperial Chancellor drove to the Castle to congratulate the Emperor, and was enthusiastically cheered. The tension with which the first news was awaited was changed into an immense joy this morning, and although it is known that lies have been circulated in foreign countries about a German defeat near Liège, it is expected that they will soon disappear before the facts. The *Volkszeitung* said—"All hearts are trembling under this first feat of arms by our valiant army. It confirms our confidence that we can calmly await coming events. It is the prelude to deeds which will be spoken of as long as men live on earth. In this supreme moment we are quite sure of it, and our enemies will surely already to-day be persuaded that even together they are not strong enough to crush us, as was their intention from the beginning." Another newspaper said—"When our soldiers in the field learn of the surrender of Liège they will rejoice not only for the victory of our arms, but because they will know our forward march on North France is assured. Our enemies will see that the old German warrior spirit is not yet extinguished. The rapidity of the operations tells a tale of resolution, of finesse, of energy, and unwearying perseverance of attack." As regards the attempt on the part of the Germans to raid the Belgian Headquarters at Liège and kill General Joffre, the Commander of the Belgian forces there, an eyewitness gave the following account of the affair to the *Écho de la Belgique*:—"The General was in his office in the Rue Sainte Pol when suddenly there was a great uproar. Officers shouted 'The Germans are here,' and in a moment a volley was fired and Major Marchand fell. Two Prussian officers and six soldiers then appeared in front of the house, pistols in hand. 'Give me a revolver,' quickly said the General, but an officer shouted to him not to expose himself and helped him over a wall, which he also jumped himself. Afterwards they found themselves in a foundry yard, whence they were pulled up from neighbouring windows and obtained refuge in a workman's dwelling. Other officers and gendarmes of the General's escort killed the two officers and six German soldiers. Two Belgian gendarmes were also killed."

General Joffre, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in France, on whose capacity, energy and skill

depends so much, is a Republican, but is universally known as a soldier whose sense of duty is impervious to political considerations. He is said to be something more than a soldier of high professional integrity. He is also a first-class military scientist, worthily sustaining the great tradition of the French engineering and organising genius, of the men like Vauban and Lazare, Carnot and Napoleon himself. The man in words, rather bluff, and massive in build, he unites knowledge with imagination. His exact calibre can only be proved by experience, but it is noteworthy that his appointment three years ago to the post of the Chief of the General Staff, carrying with it the eventual supreme command of the army in time of war, was the result of the unanimous decision of the Cabinet and did not meet with a single word of disapproval. Only the Monarchists would have preferred General Pan to him, and that only on political grounds. It may be suspected that it was also for this reason that General Joffre's advancement was for a long time very slow. He entered the Ecole Polytechnique two years before the war with Prussia, when he was only 16 years old, did active service with a battery during the siege of L'aris, went back to school after the end of the war, and then joined a regiment of engineers. It was not until 1885 that he was made captain and received the Légion d'Honneur during the Tonkin campaign. It took him afterwards nine years of hard service in the French Sudan and in the campaign which ended in the capture of

Timbaktu to attain the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and it was only in 1905, when General André, the Republican Minister of War, put an end to Clericalist patronage, that Joffre obtained the epaulettes of a brigadier-general. His appointment to the General Staff found him in command of the Second Army Corps at Amiens.

We give below some extracts from General F. von Bernhardi's "Germany and the Next War," which possess an unusual degree of interest at this time as giving the views of an extreme Prussian militarist on the part which the

A German View of the Naval War.

German fleet might play in a naval war against England—"The plan might be formed of anticipating the enemy by a sudden attack, instead of waiting passively for him to attack first, and of opening the war as the Japanese did before Port Arthur. In this way the English fleet might be badly damaged at the outset of the real hostilities, its superiority might be lessened, and the beginning of its effective blockade delayed at least for a short time. It is not unthinkable that such an attempt will be made. Such an undertaking, however, does not seem to me to promise any great success."

The war against the English commerce must be boldly and energetically prosecuted, and should start unexpectedly. The prizes which fall into our hands must be remorselessly destroyed, since it will usually be impossible, owing to the great English superiority and the few bases we have abroad, to bring them back to safety without exposing our vessels to great risks. The sharpest measures must be taken against neutral ships laden with contraband.

Under these circumstances nothing would be left for us but to retire with our war fleet under the guns of the coast fortifications, and by the use of mines to protect our own shores and make them dangerous to English vessels. Mines are only an effective hindrance to attack if they be defended. But they can cause considerable damage if the enemy has no knowledge of their existence.

We should at first carry on a defensive war, and would therefore have to reckon on a blockade of our coasts if we succeed in repelling the probable English attack.

Close blockade offers various possibilities of damaging the enemy if the coast fortifications are so constructed with a view to the offensive that the fleet may rally under their protection and thus gain an opportunity of advancing from their stations for offensive operations. Such possibilities exist on our north coast and our efforts must be turned towards making the most varied use of them. We must endeavour by renewed and unexpected attacks, especially by night, partly with submarines and torpedo boats, partly with battleships, to give the blockading fleet no breathing time, and to cause it as much loss as possible. We must not engage in a battle with superior hostile forces, for it is hardly possible at sea to discontinue a fight, because there is no place whither the fleet can withdraw from the effect of the enemy's guns. An engagement once begun must be fought out to the end. It will certainly be practicable, by successful manoeuvring, to attack the enemy repeatedly at times when he is weakened in one place or another. Blockade demands naturally a certain division of forces, and the battle fleet of the attacking party, which is supposed to be behind the farthest lines of blockade and observation, cannot always hold the high seas in full strength. The forces of the defending party, however, lie in safe anchorages, ready to rally out and fight.

Every attacking fleet from the German north coast will be undoubtedly attacked on the flank from Rostock and Sheerness, and cut off from its line of retreat. It is thus almost impossible, owing to the English superiority, to inflict any serious damage on the blockading fleet on this line, and the only course left is to advance from the Baltic against the north-eastern part of the blockading line. Here we should have a tolerably secure retreat. This accentuates once more the supreme importance to us of keeping open, at all costs, the passage through the Sound and the Great Belt. The command of these straits will not only secure the Baltic basin for us, but also keep open the sailing ports for our offensive operations against the English blockading fleet. Our ships, it must be remembered, can only act effectively so long as our coast fortifications hold out.

The numerical superiority of the English cruisers is so great that we shall probably only be able to guarantee rapid and trustworthy "scouting" by the help of the air-fleet. The importance of the air-fleet must not therefore be undervalued; and steps must be taken to repel the enemy's airships, either by employing specially contrived cannons or by attacking them directly. If it is possible to employ airships for offensive purposes also, they would support our own fleet in their contest with the superior English force by dropping explosives on the enemy's ships, and might thus contribute towards gradually restoring the equilibrium of the opposing forces. These possibilities, however, are vague.

the boldest spirit of attack and the most reckless audacity must go hand in hand with the employment of every means which mechanical skill and the science of naval construction and fortification can supply. This is the only way by which we may hope so to weaken our proud opponent that we may in the end challenge him to a decisive engagement on the open sea. In this war we must conquer, or at any rate not allow ourselves to be defeated, for it will decide whether we can attain a position as a world Power by the side of, and in spite of, England."

We published in our last issue the Government of India *communiqué* on Moslem education and expressed our gratification at the prompt and liberal manner in which the Government was trying to give effect to the proposals embodied in its circular with a view to improve the educational position of Mussalmans.

The Grant to the Islamia College, Lahore.

We noted with particular pleasure the allowance of a recurring grant of Rs. 30,000 to the Islamia College, Lahore. It appears, however, that this grant is hedged round with conditions which, to say the least, are wholly novel and may not commend themselves to the governing body of the college, if it is at all jealous of its freedom of initiative. The Government is said to have intimated that "in the event of a recurring grant being sanctioned for the improvement of the college, His Honour is of opinion not only that the college accounts should be audited as has been suggested in the concluding portion of the letter, but that the appointment of new staff should be subject to the approval of Government. The latter condition is an alternative to the suggestion that two officers of the Indian Educational Service might be lent to the College as is being arranged in the case of the Khalsa College, and while the offer might be kept open in the event of suitable officers being available, His Honour is of opinion that the condition requiring the approval of Government to the appointment of new staff will meet the case for the present. His Honour would further propose that the recurring grant should be limited in the first instance to a term of three years, and that its periodic renewal should be subject to the working of the college being proved to be satisfactory not only as regards educational results, but also in respect of the tone and discipline of the institution. The withdrawal of the grant would of course be subject to due notice."

We have nothing to say against the condition requiring satisfactory audit of accounts. Government has every right to see that the sums given to help an institution out of the public funds are properly and usefully spent. As regards educational results and tone and discipline of the college, it is, of course, in the interests of the institution to have a watchful eye on these matters, but this is a function not of Government but of the Punjab University. The Indian Universities are armed with ample powers to compel colleges within their jurisdictions to maintain a certain level of educational efficiency and keep their atmospheres free from unwholesome and deteriorating influences. The stipulation about tone, discipline and results seems to us, therefore, to be wholly unnecessary, unless, indeed, we are to understand that Government intends to create a new machinery to judge these matters wholly independent of the existing agency of the University. If that be the case, it would be an innovation of an inquisitorial character and would little serve the true interests of education. But the chief thing that takes the grace out of the gift is the insistence of Government on its securing an unequalled veto on the appointment of new staff or on the appointment, as an alternative, by the college authorities of two professors recommended by Government from amongst the members of the Indian Educational Service. The latter alternative is fully calculated to undermine discipline, and we are sure no responsible governing body of a private institution can accept it without stultifying itself. As regards approval by Government of all new appointments to the college staff, we regard this as a wholly novel proposal, and as far as we are aware in no other case it has accompanied a grant-in-aid. We fail to understand the need and wisdom of such a departure. Reduced to its naked essence, the proposal means that Government no longer trusts the governing bodies of private institutions as competent to choose proper men for the education of Indian youths. If that is so, why enforce a duality of control and initiative which is likely to breed irritation and even suspicion in the public mind. It would be far better to place a total embargo on private enterprise in Indian education. If Indians are still unfit to run educational institutions for which they provide the funds and which owe their existence mainly to the educational maliqua of State controlled schools and colleges, then why perpetuate the farce? We think the Islamia College authorities would not barter away their responsibility and freedom for a Government grant-in-aid, however large. That institution has been built up by the innumerable sacrifices of Punjab Moslems, often of the poorer classes, and they would, we trust, be prepared for still greater sacrifices to carry it on without liberal grants-in-aid rather than consent to the undoing of the magnificent work of a whole generation. May we not hope that Government would reconsider its contentions and see the wisdom of rendering them less drastic in the interest of the real educational progress of the Mussalmans which it seems so anxious to promote?

Owing to the increasing pressure on our space we have decided to discontinue in future the publication of the week's news of the war and thus set free our pages for selections from the enormous mass of interesting material bearing on the war which the English mail brings every week. Most of our readers must have daily papers within their reach and the few that depend for their information on the summary of state news in a weekly would do well to subscribe for our *War Bulletin*. In any case, our weekly review of the campaign is as far as possible exhaustive enough and should meet their needs.

The Comrade.

British Opinion and the War.

We have already given our own estimate of the factors that have plunged Europe into war, and frankly stated what seemed to us to be the real motives that have driven the combatants into the greatest and most devastating struggle known to history. We have said nothing since then about the general causes of the war, and of the moral responsibility of each of the belligerents, for that is the business of the historian and the moralist who would no doubt come, not singly but in battalions, after the mid conflict has wrought red ruin and devastation in Europe, to weigh cause and motive and determine the individual share of blood-guiltiness. Our chief concern has been to record the progress of the war in its various phases and explain the significance of all notable incidents in the various theatres of the enormous conflict. It is, however, necessary to note that England, with whose fortunes the interests of India are bound up to such an extent, has by no means been unanimous in the interpretation of her duty in regard to the crisis in Europe. There has been a marked diversity of opinion among Englishmen themselves, and we propose to recapitulate here some of the reasons which influential organs and leaders of thought and opinion have urged for and against England's participation in the war.

Sir Edward Grey in his famous statement in the House of Commons dealt with British position and responsibility from the points of view of British honour and British interests. While his arguments have been supported and amplified with considerable skill and force by the Tory Press and particularly by the *Times*, which had devoted a remarkable series of articles to working up a peculiarly unrelenting Germanophobia amongst the British public, they have been traversed with no less force and pertinency by the majority of the Liberal papers and other organs of British opinion.

We first take some of the opinions expressed in support of Sir Edward Grey. The *Times* in a passionate article says—

"The House of Commons was at its best on Monday. It rose to the height of the crisis which has been forced upon the nation and the Empire with the sagacity and the dignity that at historic moments belong to the Mother of Parliaments. The Foreign Secretary rose to make his statement—a statement destined to remain memorable in the history of the world. He has sought peace and ensued it with an unswerving will which has gained for him the respect and the regard of all Powers—even of those Powers which now seem bent on war. What does honour, what does interest in these circumstances call upon us to do? Sir Edward has had no doubts. He has given France the written assurance that, if the German Fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to assail her, our Fleet shall protect her to the uttermost. The promise was made subject expressly to the approval of Parliament. That approval has now been shown." "Did we stand back, did we hesitate, did we desert Belgium, Holland would soon share her fate, and, after Holland, Denmark," adds the *Times*. "The whole of the shores over against us, from which new peril might be assigned to a defeated and alienated France, would be in the hands of the greatest military Power in Europe, with a Fleet which it is her ambition to make superior to our own. Where then would be our greatness, and where would be our safety? We can no more have Germany at the Scheldt and in Antwerp than we could have had Napoleon. Her aims so far as we are concerned, would be ours, as her policy and her methods are the same. Against those aims the people of the Empire will rise with the resolution and the unanimity which the great council of the nation displayed yesterday."

"In England you will learn with amazement and incredulity that war is possible over the question of a Serbian port, or even over the larger issues which are said to be behind it," said the *Times* at the time of the last Balkan War. "Yet that is whether the nations are bloodily drifting." "Who, then, makes war? The answer is to be found in the Grim efforts of Europe, among the men who have too long played with human lives as pawns in a game of chess, who have become so enmeshed in the formulas and the jargon of diplomacy that they have ceased to be conscious of the poignant realities with which they trifled. And thus will war continue to be made until the great masses who are the sport of professional schemers and dreamers say the word which will bring not eternal peace, for that is impossible, but a determination that wars shall be fought only in a just and righteous and vital cause."

"We have undertaken," says the *Pall Mall*, "to maintain the rights of France inviolate against attack; to aid her with our whole strength; to repel the attempt to lay her in the dust; to protect the independence and the integrity of Belgium and Holland,

and, by so doing, to protect the independence and integrity of all the lesser States of Europe against the domination of a single Power. In laying this course for themselves, his Majesty's Government have proved themselves true to the traditions of the greater periods of British statesmanship, from Elizabeth to Catham and William Pitt. In quietness and confidence shall be her strength, and, whatever the issue, there will be no shame."

"We have shrunk from the thought of this war," says *Daily Telegraph*. "We have painted as vividly as our powers permitted the suffering to which it would doom the unhappy peoples of Europe. We have gone farther than some in admitting the propriety of Germany's action up to the point at which it suddenly changed to a course of unprincipled violence and deliberate provocation. To-day we say with calm conviction, and with as full a consciousness as one can have of what this conflict must involve, that anything would be better for this country—anything!—than to *slink away like a frightened cow from the menace of the Prussian jackboot*, and risk the imposition upon Europe, of which we are a part, of the absolute dominance of a Power which can act as Germany has acted in this crisis."

"That is the path of right—to beware of entrance to a quarrel and to think deeply of the justice of the cause—to think it out," says the *Morning Post*. "Sir Edward Grey has thought it out, with how much searching of heart his speech shows in every line. The load having been given, the response was prompt. Thus England enters reluctantly upon the greatest of wars, united and resolved to do her duty. What the people of these islands now want is their orders."

"It is indeed a tragic irony that an inelastic chain of such a character should entail the collision of two Governments and two nations, who after years of barren estrangement had come so genuinely and trustfully to believe in each other," says the *Chronicle*. "If we go to war, we shall go without hatred. We shall go because our honour and self-respect, the intangible but indispensable element of a nation's greatness, combine with a variety of interest to constrain us. We shall go to fight alongside our friends. But we shall go feeling that those we oppose are scarcely less our friends, and be no less our fellow-workers in the rebuilding of shattered Europe."

"There seem to be no limits to the mad haste with which Germany pursues her intemperate course," says the *Telegraph*. "On Sunday we learnt that the independence of Luxembourg had been ruthlessly set aside. Next it became the turn of Belgium. A cynically cynical ultimatum preceded the military measures—long since prepared—by which Belgian neutrality was violated." "An offer was made, with a demand for an almost immediate answer, that if Belgium allowed the passage of German troops through her territory, she should have all the advantages of an *entente* with her victorious foe. The proposal stood on all fours with an equally cynical offer made to the British Government, promising that if we condoned German proceedings we should have the satisfaction of knowing that after the war was over some compensation for any breach of regularity should be made to the violated kingdon. It is needless to say that in both cases an indignant refusal was returned. But we can hardly have a better or more significant example of that unbalanced impulse which we are learning to associate with the Teutonic character. Germany would seem to have learnt to considerable purpose the teachings of Nietzsche, together with his contempt of the 'slave morality' of Christianity," adds the *Telegraph*.

"Great Britain's obligations in the event of a Continental war are limited," says a writer in the *Economist*. "to the protection of Belgian neutrality and of the status quo in the North Sea—the latter a remote coming day—and that Mr. Asquith's statement of March 26, 1913 (since backed by Sir Edward Grey's of June 11, 1914), disposes of the idea that any unpublished commitments have been entered into by our Government. The fact that any violation of either agreement would inevitably bring the British Fleet, and probably the expeditionary force, into the conflict, and that nothing else is likely to do so, affords a very strong guarantee of the safety of the minor States of Western and Northern Europe. The commercial and working classes in this country are just as friendly to Germany as to France; and they will almost unanimously reject the idea of helping Russia to extend its empire in Europe and Asia. By keeping clear of the war we shall be able to assist the small Powers and neutral countries—Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to maintain their integrity, their neutrality, and their independence."

The *Westminster Gazette*, the Liberal Ministerialist organ, ingeniously quotes Luther's famous saying: "Here we stand, we can do no other," and says:—

"Germans will recognise that famous phrase and understand us when we say that it expresses the feelings of the vast majority of the British people. We have strained every nerve for peace; till the last minute of the eleventh hour

we have pleaded and remonstrated with the belligerent Governments, and employed every device that goodwill and ingenuity can suggest to provide honourable alternatives for nations bent on war. That effort has failed, so far as our neighbours are concerned, and now the time comes to define our own position. By stating in clear and unambiguous language what we must do, if certain threatened possibilities become facts, Sir Edward Grey affords the last and best hope of limiting the area of conflict, while pledging this country to do its duty if it is called upon."

As regards the volume of opinion against England's participation in the war, we take the following extracts to show how far it was strong and representative:—

War and Peace—the Norman Angell Magazine—put forward these seven reasons in favour of a policy of "no intervention":

1. We have no direct interest in the war.
2. We have a direct interest in limiting its area, for our trade and welfare depend on order and security in other countries.
3. We are under no obligation to support France except against an unprovoked attack.
4. There is no object in preserving the Balance of Power unless it secures peace. This it has failed to do.
5. We have no interest in helping Russia to dominate the Continent of Europe.
6. Interference could only increase international rivalry and armament competition after the war.
7. To take part in such a war would set back our progress at least a decade and could bring us neither honour nor profit.

The Neutrality League, 12, St. Bride Street, E. C., put forward these four reasons why England should not go to war:—

"1. If we took sides with Russia and France, the balance of power would be upset as it has never been before. It would make the military Russian Empire of 160,000,000 the dominant Power of Europe. You know the kind of country Russia is.

"2. We are not bound to join in a general European war to defend the neutrality of Belgium. Our treaties expressly stipulate that our obligations under them shall not compel us to take part in a general European war in order to fulfil them. And if we are to fight for the neutrality of Belgium, we must be prepared to fight France as well as Germany.

"3. The Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey have both emphatically and solemnly declared in the House of Commons that we have no undertaking whatever, written or spoken, to go to war for France. We discharged our obligations in the Morocco affair. The *Entente Cordiale* was a pact of peace and not an alliance for war.

"4. If Germany did attempt to annex any part of Belgium, Holland, or Normandy—and there is no reason to suppose that she would attempt such a thing—she would be weaker than she is now, for she would have to use all her forces for holding her conquest down. She would have so many difficulties like those arising out of Alsace that she would have to leave other nations alone as much as possible. But we do not know in the least that she would do these things. It would be monstrous to drag this country into war on so vague a suspicion."

Mr. H. W. Massingham, Editor of the *Nation*, put the case against intervention thus in the *Times*:—

"1. That the largest and most difficult problems of Imperial policy forbid us to promote the aggrandisement of Russia.

"2. That with regard to the immediate situation the first fatal act, involving danger to Germany on all her frontiers, was taken by Russia.

"3. That our treaty obligation to Belgium is not, in essence, involved in a strategic passage of German troops through that country. A farther consideration, which prevailed in the case of Schleswig-Holstein, is that no obligation to make war in execution of a joint guarantee exists in the case of a single guarantor, when other guarantors refrain from such action.

"4. That any grave change in the equilibrium of European powers to the disadvantage of France can best be averted by our holding our hands and reserving the immensely powerful weapon of our Fleet."

"We advise Englishmen that they have no sympathy to spare for Europe," says the *Manchester Guardian*. "Let them keep it for themselves, and think first of all for England, for English honour and English interests. Being free as regards Europe we are not free as regards our own people, but must decide in favour of neutrality. For if we decide differently, then we violate dozens of promises made to our own people—the promises to seek peace, to protect the poor, to husband the resources of the country, to promote peaceful progress. Those promises are in honour binding, and if they are broken, then not only are our interests sacrificed, but our honour is tarnished. We have a completely white sheet on which we are free to write anything or nothing so long as our contract with European Powers is concerned. But the Government is not free as regards its own people. Of the

unpopularity of war in Manchester there is no question, and the prevailing note seems to be an indignant incredulity."

The *Labour Leader* gives prominence to an article by the *Millon* headed "The war must be stopped, and we must stop it." It says:—"A very grave responsibility rests upon the Socialist and Labour movement of Europe at this moment. Our movement is the guardian of peace. It is fifty millions strong, and if it will only act unitedly, it can make war impossible. If the organised workers will demonstrate with sufficient force, a European war can be made absolutely impossible. We have the power to stop it. We must do so. How? By demonstrating in such numbers and with such fervour all over Europe that the various Governments will be made to realise and fear the strength of the anti-war party. The International Socialist Bureau should act immediately. In Austria, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain the workers should gather in the thousands and declare that they will not have war. Now is the time to strike this blow for peace. The delay of even a few days would be fatal."

At a special meeting of the executive council of the South Wales Miners' Federation, held at Cardiff, a resolution was passed calling upon the Government to continue its position of neutrality, and to use all its power in the attempt to limit the area of the present conflict and its speedy termination. The resolution continued:—"Further, that, as the International Miners' Congress have at their meeting adopted a resolution of non-participation in war between the nations represented, we think the present moment opportune for the miners of Europe to make an endeavour to enforce their views upon the Governments implicated in the conflict and the pending complications. And to this end the General Secretary shall at once get in communication with the President and Secretary of the International Miners' Organisation, requesting that an international conference of miners shall be immediately convened to consider the attitude to be adopted by the affiliated miners in the present crisis."

"The working class of Great Britain and Ireland must insist in no uncertain voice that this country shall not be dragged into war," says the *Daily Herald*. "No amount of special pleading can in any way justify the firing of a single shot by a British soldier, or the explosion of a solitary torpedo by a naval ship. For this country to become involved would be the crime of the century. Shall we then consent to allow our brothers to give their lives by the hundred thousand in order that the rate of interest shall be maintained? Are our sisters to be widowed in order that the great financiers may float loans with more security? We declare a thousand times, No! Shall it be said that British Trade Unionists fall behind and callously assent to brutal war? The miners, the railwaymen, the transport workers, will they become partners in a crime?"

"If the British Government allows itself to be dragged into the conflict at the heels of France and Russia, it may conceivably be adopting the only course which, under the circumstances, is open to it; but it is no use pretending that it will have any sort of national mandate behind it," says the *Statesman*. "If, therefore, in face of a completely pacific British public opinion they (Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey) decide to take an active part in a European conflict, their personal responsibility will be as great as any that English statesmen have ever incurred."

"No man with a sense of responsibility can conceal from himself the fact that the decision taken by the Government is of the most momentous nature," says the *Daily News*. "It can be justified, if at all, only by arguments of corresponding strength. Sir Edward Grey's speech was a singularly effective performance. It carried the overwhelming majority of the House with him by its combination of argument and rhetoric, and it may be accepted as the best exposition which could be made of the policy it advocated. But precisely because of the supreme importance of the issues involved it is the duty of every one of us to examine it with the utmost care, and with no desire to deny conviction where it is due. We are as we are, not as the result of the events of the last week or the last month, but as the result of ten years of diplomacy. Just as their alliances have brought France and Russia into clash with Germany and Austria, so the entente with an edge and secret corollaries has brought us into war. When we departed from the traditional policy of splendid isolation we committed ourselves to the path which led to the precipice."

"Sir Edward Grey indicated in the House of Commons that the great decision as to peace or war was to be left to an unlettered Parliament. As a matter of fact," says the *Daily Citizen*, "his speech embodied the decision of the Cabinet, which was for war. To say that Parliament was to decide was to say that which was incorrect. The die was already cast when Sir Edward Grey came down to the House. Let us have no misunderstanding on that point. We are asked to imperil gravely our existence as a nation, we are asked to bring famine, suffering, and death to the homes of this country without being able to pretend that we have a quarrel with any European Power."

"We can best serve civilization, Europe—including France—and ourselves by remaining the one Power in Europe that has not yielded to the war madness. This, I believe," says Mr. Angell, "will be found to be the firm conviction of the overwhelming majority of the English people. A nation's first duty is to its own people. We are asked to intervene in the continental war because unless we do so we shall be 'isolated.' The isolation which will result for us if we keep out of this war is that, while other nations are torn and weakened by war, we shall not be, and by that fact might conceivably for a long time be the strongest Power in Europe, and, by virtue of our strength and isolation, its arbiter, perhaps, to useful ends. The object and effect of our entering into this war would be to ensure the victory of Russia and her Slavonic allies. Will a dominant Slavonic federation of, say, 210,000,000 autoeratically governed people, with a very rudimentary civilisation, but heavily equipped for military aggression, be a less dangerous factor in Europe than a dominant Germany of 65,000,000 highly civilised and mainly given to the arts of trade and commerce? On several occasions Sir Edward Grey has solemnly declared that we are not bound by any agreement to support France, and there is," concludes Mr. Angell, "certainly no moral obligation on the part of the English people so to do."

Mr. Angell, in the *Daily Mail*, sets out the ideal which he has before him. "What is a matter of simple fact is this," he says "that the one hope of escaping from a welter and chaos in which civilisation itself may be submerged, or set back, it may be, for a generation, is that Europe may give its support to the ideal which I indicate, rather than to the conceptions of those who at times so bitterly deride it. The chaos which has been precipitated upon the Stock Exchanges of the world during the last few days, the many failures reported, the paralysis of trade over very wide areas, stoppage of the means of livelihood for many millions of men and women, have been pretty generally accepted as confirming certain principles to which a little group of us in this and other countries have of late been trying to draw attention. The importance of the facts which we have attempted to make plain does not lie in their bearing on these things, but precisely in their bearing upon the moral and ideal ends which are supposed as motives of resistance or aggression to underlie this war. We are told that in the last analysis this war is a struggle of Slav against Teuton, that each is threatened in its nationality, its aspirations and ideals by the domination of the other; that, for instance, our own special conceptions of constitutionalism and freedom would be grievously endangered if the Teuton should prove victorious. Now all these developments, of which the Stock Exchange panics are merely the outward and visible sign—the essential economic inter-dependence of the modern world, the closeness and complexity of our contacts, the impossibility of confiscating the wealth of a vanquished people and depriving them of the means of livelihood, all tendencies which, whether we like it or not, the ordinary bread-winning efforts of every one of us intensify—all this would render this war futile as a means of imposing or defending a moral or ideal object. We may go to war to ensure the victory of Russia and the 'defeat' of that Teutonic civilisation with which we have such close and ancient racial and moral affinity, but if, after the war, Russia desires to extend her railways, bore her oil wells, develop her country for the benefit of her people, she will, however victorious, be compelled to allow the normal economic life of Germany—as of the rest of Europe—to go on as before, which means that German industry and competition, brains, culture and ideas will occupy about the place that they would in any case. Because the conqueror must, by reason of the economic pressure of his own needs, leave the vanquished their material possessions he is by that fact compelled to leave them their moral and spiritual possessions. The real importance of economic inter-dependence—our reliance upon markets, credit, confidence, law-enforced contracts, and the rest—is that it has rendered it impossible to push home military force with the old ruthlessness for the purpose of destroying the nationality of others. If all the preponderance of force which men of small nationalities, like the Alsacians or the Irish or the Finns, have had to face has failed in its object (as it has), it is certain that the destruction of France, for instance, is impossible of accomplishment. Whatever may be the future place of the Slavs, Teutons, French, or English in the world, this war is not going to settle it or seriously to affect it, except to render the condition of all more barbaric. We may inflict or bear atrocious suffering, but when it is all over we shall see that it is as futile to settle problems of nationality and racial culture by war as an earlier generation found it futile to settle religious rivalries by that means."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in a vigorous article in the *Labour Leader* makes a trenchant reply to Sir Edward Grey and traces the factors that have forced the Liberal Government into war. We shall reproduce this article in our next, but we take one passage from it which, if we recognise that it is based on facts, places Sir Edward Grey's efforts for peace in an entirely new perspective. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says:—

"The country had been so helplessly committed to fight for France and Russia that Sir Edward Grey had to refuse point blank every overture made by Germany to keep us out of the conflict. That is why, when reporting the negotiations to the House of Commons, he found it impossible to tell the whole truth and to put impartially what he chose to tell us. He scoffed at the German guarantee to Belgium on the ground that it only secured the 'integrity' of the country but not its independence; when the actual documents appeared it was found that its independence was secured as well. And that is not the worst. The White Paper contains several offers which were made to us by Germany aimed at securing our neutrality. None were quite satisfactory in their form and Sir Edward Grey left the impression that these unsatisfactory proposals were all that Germany made. Later on the Prime Minister did the same. Both withheld the full truth from us. The German Ambassador saw Sir Edward Grey, according to the White Paper, on August 1—and this is our Foreign Minister's note of the conversation:—

"The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions upon which we could remain neutral. He even suggested that the integrity of France and her Colonies might be guaranteed."

"Sir Edward Grey declined to consider neutrality on any conditions and refrained from reporting this conversation to the House. Why? it was the most important proposal that Germany made. Had this been told to us by Sir Edward Grey his speech could not have worked up a war sentiment. The hard, immovable fact was that Sir Edward Grey had so pledged the country's honour without the country's knowledge to fight for France or Russia that he was not in a position even to discuss neutrality."

The Campaign—IV.

I.—PRINCIPLES OF FORTIFICATION

In our last issue we gave further details of the fortifications at Liège, the views of its designer, General Brialmont, and the criticism of those views led in England by Lord Sydenham in 1890. In view of the importance attached to the forts of Liège and Namur, the possibility of the sieges of Paris and Antwerp and the recent effort of the Germans to break the chain of French fortifications from Belfort to Verdun, it will not be out of place to discuss in some detail some of the recognised principles of fortification. We would, therefore, add to our previous observations that European military opinion is generally more or less agreed that important places should be defended by fortresses. Their girdle of forts must be far enough out to prevent the bombardment of the place. An enceinte is desirable but need not be elaborate. A few guns, called "safety armament," should be in the forts, and these must be protected by armour. The bulk of the artillery of the defence should be outside the forts, the direct-fire guns preferably in cupolas, the howitzers in concealed positions. The fort should be connected by lines or entrenched infantry positions and obstacles, permanent bomb proof shelters being provided for the infantry. There should be ample communications, radial and peripheral, between the place and the forts both by road and rail. Special lines of communications, such as mountain passes, should be closed by barrier forts.

The objects of fortifications are various. The vast enceintes of Nineveh and Babylon were planned so that in time of war they might give shelter to the whole population of the country except the field army, with their flocks and herds and household goods. In the middle ages feudal lords built castles for security against the attack of their neighbours and also to watch over towns or bridges or fords from which they drew revenue; while rich towns were surrounded with walls, and smaller places in India occasionally with a girdle of bamboo hedge, merely for the protection of their own inhabitants and property. The feudal castles of Europe lost their importance when the art of cannon founding was fairly developed, but in the leisurely wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, when roads were very bad and few, a swarm of fortified towns, large and small, played a great part in delaying the march of the victorious armies. Leaving out of consideration at present the strategic use of groups of fortresses, the places which are intrinsically worth being defended as fortresses are, (a) centres of national, industrial or military resources; (b) places which may serve as a *point d'appui* (point of support or base) for manœuvres; (c) points of intersection of important railroads; (d) bridges over considerable rivers, and (e) certain lines of communications across the frontier. Example of (a) are Paris, Antwerp, Lyons, Verdun. Metz may serve as an example of both (a) and (b), for it is a base of supplies and a *point d'appui* for one flank. Strasbourg is a bridge-head giving the Germans a secure retreat across the Rhine if beaten in the plains of Alsace, and an opportunity of resuming the offensive when they have reformed behind the river.

Liège and Namur fully deserved to be fortified because both are important bridge-heads on the western bank of the Meuse as Huy is on the eastern bank. Both protect important railway lines from the German frontier to Brussels and Antwerp; and with Huy fortified to some extent they made the Belgian frontier from Aix-la-Chapelle to Givet as secure as fortifications

alone could make it. Unlike the fortifications at Paris and Antwerp, the fortresses of Liège and Namur were meant less for the protection of the defenders from the enemy's missiles than as obstacles to prevent him from coming to close quarters and delay him under the fire. This is an important difference and we may with advantage dwell a little longer on the subject. The obstacle may consist of anything which will impede the enemy's advance and prevent him from coming to close quarters. In the earliest form of fortification the protecting wall was also an obstacle, or it may be a wet or dry ditch, an entanglement, a swamp, a thorn hedge, a spike, palisade or some temporary expedient. The besieged must be able to defend the obstacle from their protected positions, otherwise it can be surmounted or destroyed at leisure. But a close connection is no longer essential. The effect of modern fire-arms permits of great elasticity in the disposition of the obstacle, and this simplifies some of the problems of defence. While protection must be arranged mainly with reference to the enemy's method of attack and the weapons he uses, the obstacle should be of such a nature as to bring out the best effects of the defender's weapons. It follows from this that while a well armed force operating against a badly armed, uncivilised enemy may use with advantage very simple old-fashioned methods of protection, or even dispense with it altogether if the obstacle is a good one, the importance of protection is very great when the assailant has modern weapons. In fact, it may be said that in proportion as missile weapons have grown more effective, the importance of protection and the difficulty of providing it have increased, while the necessity for a monumental physical obstacle has decreased.

II.—THE CITY WALL.

The desirability of the enceinte, such as Paris and Antwerp still possess, but Liège and Namur have not, is almost universally allowed, but often it is more as a concession to tradition than any solid reason. Now it is the "detached fort" which is of more importance than the enceinte. But those who still consider the enceinte desirable have the idea that behind the line of forts, which is the main defensive position, any favourable points that exist should be provisionally fortified to assist in "a step by step" defence, and behind these again the body of the place should be surrounded by a last line of defence so that the garrison may resist to the last moment. It may be remarked that apart from the additional expense of an enceinte, such a position would not, under modern conditions, be the most favourable for the last stages of a defence. Again, there is the difficulty that it is practically impossible to shut in a large modern town by a continuous enceinte. It has been proposed to construct the enceinte in front of the salient portions of the place. This system, of course, abandoned several of the chief advantages claimed for an enceinte. In actual practice enceintes have been constructed since 1870 in France and other countries, consisting of a single wall 10 or 12 ft. high with a banquette and loopholes at intervals. This, of course, can only be looked upon as a measure of policy. For war purposes, in face of modern artillery, it is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

III.—THE RING-FORTRESS.

Turning now to the ring of detached forts such as Liège and Namur have, the defence of detached forts from the place depends on the range of the siege artillery and the distance at which it can usually be established from the forts, and is variously given by continental writers at from 4 to 8 kilometres (4,500 to 10,000 yards). The distances of the Liège forts from the town, as the diagram published in the issue of 12th August must have made clear, fall within these limits. We do not know the exact distances from Namur of its 9 forts, beginning on the left bank of the Meuse and ending on the right bank in the following order: St. Heribert, Malonne, Staré, Evinos, Onglée, Gélbroucée, Mainzeret, Audoy and Dava. But these forts are constructed at a distance of 3 to 5 miles from each other round the town and the perimeter of the ring is about 30 miles. The distance of the forts from the town would, therefore, on an average be about 5 miles which is within the above-mentioned limits. The bombarding range of siege howitzers with heavy shells is considered to be about 8,000 yards, and if it is possible for them to be emplaced within, say, 2,000 yards of the forts, this would give a minimum distance of 6,000 yards from the forts to the body of the place. Some writers extend the minimum distance to 7 kilometres or nearly 8,000 yards. In practice, however, it must happen that the position of the forts is determined to a very large extent by the lie of the ground. Thus some good positions for forts may be found within 4,000 or 3,000 yards of the place, and no others suitable on the same front within 15,000 yards. In that case the question of expense might necessitate choosing the nearer positions. Some examples of the actual distances of forts are at Bucharest (7 to 10 kilometres), Lyons (8 to 10), Copenhagen (7 to 8), and Paris (14 to 17). Strategic pivots are in a different category from other fortresses. While not necessarily protected from bombardment, they may yet have one or two forts thrown out from 8 to 12 kilometres, to get the advantage of the ground. Such are Langres, Epinal and Belfort.

IV.—PERMANENT vs. TEMPORARY FORTIFICATIONS.

We have already casually referred to "safety armament". To go into some details, if the bulk of the artillery is to be placed in positions prepared on the outbreak of war, it is considered very necessary that a few heavy long-range guns should be permanently in position ready at any moment to keep an enemy at a distance, forcing him to open his first batteries at long range and checking the advance of his investment line. Such guns would naturally be in secure positions inside the forts, and if they are to be worked from such positions they must have armour to shield them from the concentrated fire of the numerous field artillery that a besieger could bring to bear from the first. Artillery outside the forts constitutes the most important part of the defence, and there is room for much discussion as to whether it should have positions prepared for it beforehand or should be placed in positions selected as the attack develops itself. On the one hand, the preparation of the position beforehand, which in many cases means the use of armour and concrete, increases very largely the initial expense of the defence, and ties the defender somewhat in the special dispositions that become desirable once the attack has taken shape. Moreover, such expenditure must be incurred on all the fronts of the fortress, whereas the result would only be realized on the front or fronts actually attacked. On the other hand, much time and labour are involved in emplacing heavy and medium artillery with extemporised protection, and this becomes a serious consideration when one remembers how much work of all kinds is necessary in preparing a fortress against attack. Again, to avert the danger of a successful attack on the intervals between the forts before their defences have been fully completed, the fire of the guns in the intermediate positions might be urgently required as now in the case of Liège. The solution in any given case would no doubt depend on the importance of the place. In most cases a certain amount of compromise will come in, some preparation being made for batteries, without their being completed. Armoured batteries of whatever kind must in any case be prepared in peace time. It should not be overlooked that, whatever theories may exist about successive lines of defence, as the onus of the defence will now lie on the fort line, just as it formerly did on the enceintes, so that line should be fully prepared and should not have to commence its fight in a position of inequality. The frontal fire of the batteries in the intervals and the flanking fire of some of the guns in the forts will play an important part in the main reliance should be on infantry defence. A fully prepared fortress would have practically a complete chain of infantry fighting positions and obstacles between the forts, at all events on the fronts likely to be seriously attacked. The positions would consist largely of fire-tranches with good communications, but it is pretty generally recognised that there must be some *points d'appui* in the shape of redoubts or infantry forts, and also bomb-proof shelter for men, ammunition and stores near the fighting line. This is usually included in the redoubts. If they are to resist the heaviest shell, such shelter must be built in peace time.

V.—COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications are of the first importance, not merely to facilitate the movement of the enormous stores of ammunition and materials required in the fighting line, but also that defenders may fully utilise the advantage of "acting on interior lines." They should include both railways and roads running from the centre of the place to the different sections of defence, and all round, in rear of the line of forts, ample covered approaches to the fighting line. Concealment is essential, and where the lie of the ground does not help, it must be got from earth parapets or plantations. Liège and Namur had excellent communications from the town to the forts and from one fort to another round the whole of the inner periphery, both by road and rail.

VI.—BARRIER FORTS.

The principal use of barrier forts is in country where the necessary line of communication cannot easily be diverted. For instance, in a comparatively flat country a barrier fort commanding a road or railway is of little use because roads may be found passing round it, or a line of railway may be diverted for some miles to avoid it. But in mountainous country where such diversion is impossible, it will be necessary for the enemy to capture the fort before he can advance, and the impossibility of surrounding it, the few positions from which siege artillery can be brought into play, and the fact that there is practically only one road of approach to be denied, make these positions peculiarly suitable for forts with armoured batteries. Italy makes considerable use of such forts for the defence of frontier passes.

VII.—THE LIMITS OF FORTIFICATIONS.

But one thing must never be forgotten. Fortresses do not decide the issue of the campaign; they can only influence it. It is better, therefore, in most cases to put all the money the fortress would cost, and all the man power that its maintenance implies into the increase and the equipment of the active army. For the fate of the fortress must depend ultimately on the result of the operation of the active army. If we assume that two nations opposed to each other have equal resources, it means that the

nation which has spent more money on permanent fortifications will have the smaller active army and has therefore condemned itself beforehand to a defensive rôle. This general negation is only useful as a corrective to the tendency to over-fortify. In practice there will always be occasion for some use of fortification. A mountain range may lend itself when economically defended by a few men and some inexpensive barrier forts. A nation may have close to its frontier an important strategic centre, such as a railway junction or a town of the first manufacturing importance which must be protected. In such a case it may be necessary to guard against accidents by means of a fortress. Again, if one nation is admittedly slower in mobilisation than the other, as for example France and Russia as compared with Germany, it may be desirable to guard one portion of the frontier by fortresses so as to force invasion into a district where concentration against it is easier or the terrain into which the enemy would have to deploy is favourable to defence, as has been done by the French in the case of the Alsace-Lorraine frontier between France and Germany.

VIII.—THE DEFENCE OF THE CAPITAL.

As for the defence of a capital, this cannot become necessary if it stands at a reasonable distance from the frontier until the active armies have arrived at some result. If the fighting strength of the country have practically been destroyed, as was the case of France at Sedan in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, it is not of much use to stand a siege in the capital. There can be but one end, and it is better, as business men say, to cut losses. If the fighting strength is not entirely destroyed and can be recruited within reasonable time, say two or three months, then it appears that under modern conditions the capital might be held for that time by means of extemporized defences. The case of a weak country with powerful and aggressive neighbours such as Belgium is in a different category. If she stands alone she will be eaten up in time, fortifications or no fortifications; but if she can reckon on assistance from outside, it may be worth while to expend most of the national resources on permanent defences.

IX.—THE RAMPART AND THE MAN.

Hitherto we have dwelt chiefly on the material means of defence. The human element has had to be almost ignored. But here comes in the paradox, that the material means are after all the least important element of defence. Certainly it is inconceivable that the designer of a fortress should not try to make it as strong as is consistent with the object in view and the means at his disposal. And yet while engineers in all ages have sought eagerly for strength and refinement of strength, the fact remains that the best defences recorded in history owed little to the builder's art. The very weight of the odds against them sometimes calls out the best qualities of the defenders; and the man when at his best is worth many times more than the rampart behind which he fights. But it would be a poor dependence deliberately to make a place weak in order to evoke these qualities. One cannot be sure that the garrison will rise to the occasion, and the weakness of the place has very often been found an excuse for giving it up with little or no resistance.

X.—FRANCE AND FORTIFICATIONS.

Although European opinion has lost faith in any but a very moderate amount of permanent fortifications chiefly since the experiment made with heavy charges of high explosives against Fort Malmeson in 1886, all but the French began to distrust them since the Franco-Prussian War fifteen years earlier. Napoleon had always shown his contempt for fortifications, and never paid fortresses the compliment of spending a single day before them while there was yet an undefeated army in the field, although it is said that some 300,000 Frenchmen returned to France who had, till the conclusion of peace at Fontainebleau in 1814, been holding fortresses in Napoleon's name all over Europe. But after his return from Elba in 1815, Napoleon became much stricter in practice also. Yet the strategy of the French in 1870 centred round fortified places and the Military Correspondent of the *Times*, writing on what he calls the Fortress Incubus, points out how as a consequence "one French army was shut up in Metz and surrendered. A second attempted to relieve it and was captured. A third was shut up in Paris by an investing force of half its strength. A fourth, endeavouring to relieve Belfort, was driven into Switzerland and interned. The French fortresses played an important part in the ruin of their country, while the attempt to relieve Paris, engineered by the enthusiastic tribune Gambetta, broke up the young laries before they had been given time to become seasoned by less decisive operations." Yet even after that great disaster, the French, so far from detecting in this reliance on earth-works a cause of ruin, proceeded literally to sow France with fortifications. The French engineer General de Rivieres put forward plans for the defence of the frontiers which have cost France £23,000,000 in fortifications and £44,000,000 in armaments. By 1882 France possessed 600 works of permanent fortifications (the mere enumeration of which fills 13 pages of Pierron's book) and over 500,000 men (or about half the French 1st line armies) were earmarked for their passive defence. Then in 1883 came the experiments of Fort Malmeson, consequent on the invention of the "obus torpille", and the reconsideration by the French of the

whole question of fortifications. The result of several commissions appointed to inquire into the subject was the abandonment of a large number of forts and the placing of a number of others in the second class and the retention of only five places in France as first class fortresses.

We are indebted for these particulars to an obviously well-informed writer who is contributing a very instructive and interesting series of articles to the *Statesman*. General Pierron believes that most of the fortifications of France are utterly useless if not dangerous; but General Bernhardt believes that in certain cases they are of eminent use. From the very fact that Germany did not knock at the doors of France opposite to her own gateway over the Rhine but broke into the house of her enemy by jumping over the comparatively lower walls of the intervening house of their common neighbour, Belgium and Luxembourg, it is evident that the 150 miles long chain of fort and fortress, mountain and battery from Belfort to Verdun has so far proved eminently useful to France in the present war. Now that a large number of the Germans have already got inside the lines, they are attempting a comparatively easier task of lifting the lid from inside from the centrally situated Nancy and Lunéville in order to let in their companions in this enterprise who are still waiting at the door between Metz and Strassburg. We have already shown in the case of most of the French fortresses on the German frontier in what way they were never very far from France. But their main object was to permit the undisturbed mobilization and concentration of French troops when war broke out. For some reason or other, France is comparatively slower in mobilizing her forces than Germany, and had not France taken the precaution of putting up these obstacles against German advance across the Rhine, Germany would probably have marched very far into French territory before France had concentrated her troops at Neufchâteau.

XI.—BELGIUM AND FORTIFICATIONS.

But if a powerful and numerous nation like the French was in need of fortresses to shield it for a time, how much greater in comparison must have been the need of a small nation like the Belgian. In applying to Liège and Namur the principles of fortifications which we have discussed in detail with the assistance of Lt.-Col. Jackson, R. E., Assistant Director of Fortifications and Works in our War Office, we repeat what we have already said before, that both places deserved to be amply fortified. Belgium could never hope to stem by itself the flood of a German invasion, but both France and England were certain to assist her, in the one case, if Belgium was to be incorporated in the German Empire and the pistol of Antwerp placed against England's head, and in the other, even if Belgium's neutrality were to be temporarily violated in order to obtain an easier access into French territory. In any case, Liège and Namur were bound to give to Belgium some at least of the time which she needed for the concentration of her troops somewhere to the east of Brussels.

XII.—WHAT OF LIÈGE?

Now what part these forts have played in the present war can be understood only when we know definitely the length of time during which the Germans were kept knocking at the two gates. If we are to accept, as we do accept in other cases, the news supplied by Reuters, we are bound to form a very different view of the value of Liège from that which we would be inclined to form if we relied upon news obtained from German and other sources. We have already referred in our last issue to the telegram from Paris, dated the 6th August, announcing the silencing of two Liège forts. The *Times* Own Correspondent had significantly added that "the works which are 80 years old were only intended to delay the enemy" and that "the entrenched camp of Namur still blocks German advance." The Germans were reported to be passing through the gap formed by the forced inactivity if not actual capture of these two forts, and the *Daily Mail's* Special Correspondent referred on the same day to "a false report that Liège had been taken" based on the facts that since the night of the 5th August, 100,000 invaders had ceaselessly attacked the forts, that a patrol of Uhlans had tried to penetrate to the military headquarters at Liège in order to capture General Leeman, the Commandant—an attempt that had failed but was reported in three different versions in as many English newspapers—and that another patrol of Uhlans had managed to get into the town of Liège on the 6th instant, although it had been captured. An Amsterdam telegram, dated the 8th August, was published by the *Times* referring to the rejoicings in Berlin over the fall of Liège accompanied by a Brussels message of the 9th August that, according to official information, Liège had been cut off from all communications with the rest of the world. It has never been explained how news have since been received to the effect that all the forts were intact. The last English *Mail* has brought newspapers up to the 22nd August, but there is no admission anywhere up to that date that the Liège forts had fallen, nor has Reuters wired to us of their fall since that date.

XIII.—LIEGE AND FOREIGN REPORTS.

But if we turn to the news published in the various German papers extracts from which have been reprinted by the *Times* almost every day, we discover a remarkable German insistence on the fact that the forts had fallen into German hands. News from the Wolff (German), Italian and Ottoman Agencies published in Turkish papers was to the effect that all the forts had been captured by the Germans very early in the campaign. A Sofia telegram of the 6th August of the Italian Agency stated that it had been officially confirmed that Liège had fallen into German hands after a stubborn opposition, the battle lasting two days and the Germans being compelled to attack again and again. A Zurich telegram of the 7th August gave details of the capture, stating that the general attack had been directed in the beginning towards the forts of Chaud Fontaine, Boncelles and Flemalle, both sides losing 8,000 in the struggle. A Berlin telegram of the Wolff Agency, dated 9th August, stated that Liège was entirely in German hands. The next day, another message from the same Agency stated that French newspapers and official journals still denied the capture of Liège and pretended that German troops in Belgium had not been sufficiently provided with food in expectation of a rapid German success. The telegram went on to say that both statements were entirely untrue and that they proved what value to attach to French official statements. A Bukharest message of the 10th stated that the Legation of a neutral Power had received an official communication confirming the news of the capture. Further confirmation was supplied by the Ottoman Agency. We must point out that the telegrams we have just quoted do not refer to the town of Liège, but in many cases clearly state that all the forts were on those dates in German hands.

XIV.—LIEGE AND GERMAN REPORTS.

The *Times* itself publishes a Berlin telegram in the course of which it is stated that a message from the Quartermaster-General made the following statement:—

According to the French report 20,000 Germans are supposed to have fallen before Liège and the place is said not to be in our possession at all. The theatrical bestowal of the Legion of Honour on Liège is considered to confirm this. In the beginning Germany was forced to keep back all news, in order that plans of considerable consequence might not be disclosed. . . . until such strong forces were collected around Liège that not even the Devil could take it away from us again. We are now in this position. The Belgians possessed more troops for defending the forts than were employed by us for the storming, and all those who understand military science will recognize the nature of the feat, which stands out as unique.

The following statement was also issued on the 15th August:—

What have we achieved thus far? The much feared Russian cavalry attack was broken in pieces by our troops protecting the frontier. Even the *Landwehr* was sufficient in some cases to drive back the intruders. What has become of the schemes to destroy important works of construction? Nothing has happened. Nothing has been able to arrest in the slightest degree or to confuse the advance of our troops, which has proceeded with mechanical precision. How things look with the enemy is a subject upon which much perhaps might be said, but it is unnecessary to discuss it. Enough—on our side everything is working wonderfully, and with that we can be content. The first casualty list has appeared. It will be found perhaps to be rather heavy even so early as this. But what is our return for the price paid? The protection of our Prussian provinces. How great would our losses have been in food and treasure if Russians had entered the country? And Liège? We have achieved with the losses which the assault cost us a military success of importance of which is still absolutely undecidable. Had a siege been necessary, we should not have escaped so cheaply.

The *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, the organ of the Agrarian and the Conservative party, published the following comment:—

The capture of Liège is not only an important military and political success, but under modern conditions it must be regarded as a quite extraordinary event that a great fortress should be taken on the sixth day of mobilization.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* wrote:

Only think what an effect this news will have in Paris and in the French provinces—the news that, but a few days after the declaration of war, a German army is, at most, 10 marches distant from the French capital.

At Metz the Quartermaster hoisted a flag on the town hall, and had the "Emperor's bull" rung in the cathedral tower. At Hanover the news was read to an enthusiastic crowd by Frau von Eumrich, the wife of the general commanding the 10th Army Corps who had received the order *Pour le mérit* for having taken Liège.

What is most curious is that even when the Maastricht correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* stated definitely that without exception all the forts at Liège were in the hands of the Germans, the *Times*, while reproducing this message in its issue of 21st August, added that the Press Bureau had no information to confirm this report. And yet the *Times*' Special Correspondent at Brussels had wired on the 9th August, as follows. "It is officially stated that Liège is now completely invested by the Germans and that all communication with the outer world is cut off." We never learnt subsequently of a resumption of communications

at Liège, but on more than one occasion the *Times*, while referring to the rumours of the capture of Liège forts, contradicted them authoritatively as if it was all the time in touch with Liège.

XV.—THE FIGHTING AT LIEGE.

Practically the last that we hear in the way of details of the fighting at Liège was the graphic account supplied by the *Times* Special Correspondents at Brussels on the 8th, which had been obtained by piecing together the many reports which had been received. They described the German assaults as a sullen army. The Germans attacked along a very wide front stretching north to the small town of Visé and to the south a considerable distance below Liège. The attack opened with a general advance on the forts, covered by artillery fire. But the artillery was not heavy enough. There appear to have been no big siege-guns and German accounts confirm this. The formation of the attacking force, according to the *Times* Correspondent, was "impossible." He writes:—

Incredible as it may seem, there appears to be no doubt that three unhappy German soldiers were marched to death almost shoulder to shoulder. Just as Napoleon won some of his victories by the sudden application of his tactics, so the German generals, who are certainly not of the Napoleonic type, apparently hoped to avenge the great of the guns in the forts by a holocaust of victims. The result of their disastrous policy was terrible. Upon these closely-knit ranks, these men who according to some accounts, were being driven forward by their officers—terror dividing itself between discipline and death—the mighty fusillade was opened. "Avenues," according to a very graphic account, "were opened up in the German front." Masses of dead began to accumulate in the fields before the forts. "It was death in haystacks," a Belgian soldier said in describing the spectacle.

XVI.—RIVAL STRATEGIES: ANALOGY AND CONTRAST.

This account tallies with what anyone acquainted with the theories of the Germans of attacking fortified places must have anticipated. We have noted in some quarters a disposition to accuse the German generals of inhumanity in forgetting the man in utilizing their rigid machine of war. But this was exactly what even Napoleon, whose strategy, however, the Germans do not profess to follow, did in order to win innumerable victories. It is well known that Napoleon used to send out a strong advanced guard, at least one-fourth of his command, with the object of engaging and fixing the enemy's attention, inducing him prematurely to use up his reserves, and when the battle was "ripe", to use his own expression, the great blow was delivered with overwhelming suddenness by his extraordinarily large reserve of fresh troops which he always had in hand, giving him a three-to-one superiority at the decisive point. But the whole of his action depended essentially on an exact appreciation of the endurance of his troops first engaged at the cost of whom his reserves were saved up. Well could his advanced-guard troops on setting out on their all but fatal task have said to their popular leader, "*Nos morituri te salutamus*" ("We who are about to die salute thee"). The Germans follow the strategy of Clausewitz, as the French follow Jomini, the Swiss, who had been attached by Napoleon to the staff, where he served under Ney for some seven years, and then deserted to the allies, being attached by the Emperor Alexander, and remaining in the Russian service until his death in 1869. But both Clausewitz and Napoleon, the precursors of the French strategists, recognised the analogy between the attack on a fortress and the conduct of a battle, and it was on this that Napoleon's teacher, de La Harpe, had based the dictum on which Napoleon acted throughout his career, namely, *concentration of the destructive elements on the decisive point*. A battle is but an abbreviated siege, and a siege a prolonged battle. In the former, the object is to purchase time at the cost of men's lives, in the latter to economise men by expenditure of time. But in both the final step is the same, namely, the creation of a breach of continuity in the enemy's defence through which the assaulting columns can penetrate to the heart of his position. Thanks to the increased mobility in the field artillery and skill in handling it—the evolution of artillery had given to Napoleon the weapon he required to realize his ideal—it was possible in his days, once the aim of the enemy's infantry had been unsteadied, to bring up masses of guns to each range and to breach the living rampart of the defence. Through the gap thus created, infantry or cavalry, or both combined, were poured by Napoleon to overwhelm the last reserves beyond.

This led Jomini to develop the theory of "interior lines"—a phrase he invented to denote a method which was almost as old as war itself. From this system, Jomini deduced its opposite, "exterior lines", and a whole sequence of others. As we shall often come across these phrases in discussing the strategy of this war, we may just as well state here, even at the risk of digression, what they really mean. If an army A stands in a central position relatively to two other armies B and C, converging upon it, then if it moves against each in succession and beats them both, it is said to act on "interior lines," while B and C, act on "exterior lines." Much has been said recently in praise of Napoleon's strategy as developed in a mass of theory in which

salient and re-entering angles, with which military correspondents and historians so freely beset their pages, occur frequently. But, taking the example of the three armies just given to illustrate the different systems, what A is said to do when at the first shock B beats it out of existence the theorists in books and newspaper paragraphs have failed to tell us.

XVII.—INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR LINES.

Since the object of all strategy is to bring the greatest possible force to bear against the decisive point, it is obvious to ask why armies should not always be concentrated and why they should ever divide. The answer is that a given district and a single road will only support a certain number of men, a number which in practice is found to be about 60,000 with their requisite guns and train. Hence an army, say of 120,000 men, not only cannot sustain on single line or road, but when divided into two equal parts, and separated only by a short day's march, is really more ready for instant action than a army of 90,000 on one road. Separation, therefore, when large numbers are in question, as in the case of Germany, is a necessity of existence, not a matter of free choice. But when it is thus forced upon a commander, he regulates the rate of his march, so that his separate columns cannot be attacked singly before the heads of both are within supporting distance of one another. If he does not do so, it will be the case of the lone woman and the dacoits, each of whom thrust his head into the window of her house and had it chopped off and his body dragged in as he came to see why the dacoit who had gone before him had not returned, till not one was left alive, all because the window was not within the sight of the accomplices in that wicked but easy enterprise. Had the Lützow army of Germany commanded by von Emmich arrived at the tryst before the centre, which is said to be commanded by the Crown Prince, had arrived within supporting distance of it, after marching through the difficult country known as the Belgian Ardennes, Germany would have suffered a heavy loss. As it was, in spite of Liège, it is Germany's right wing that had arrived within striking distance of Paris. In addition to the main reason, namely the desire to secure access into France between Verdun and Belfort, and thus shorten the inordinately long line of communications through Belgium, which was open to an attack from the rear from Antwerp and from the right flank by an English, French or—if we can believe in the Russian coup from the White Sea—a Russian landing at Ostend, one of the reasons for the retreat of the German right during the last few days appears to be a desire not to be too far in advance of the centre. The German bow was bent a little too much by reason of the right wing's extraordinarily rapid advance, the comparative slowness of the centre and the immobility of the left, and very probably this was realized just in time. The front was therefore not only contracted, but also withdrawn in order to be in line with the centre.

What Germany attempted was action on "exterior lines". The jaws of the crackers were closing on the nut, and in such cases, unless the nut proves harder than the cracker, the nut is crushed. In this case, it is clear from the despatches of Sir John French that the nut managed to slip out of the jaws of the cracker. Success in an enveloping movement such as Germany attempted requires a calculation based on an accurate knowledge of the marching powers of the adversary, and Napoleon's success in, acting on "interior lines" was due to the faulty calculations of his enemies about his mobility. Accustomed only to their own deliberate method they were quite unable to imagine Napoleon's lightning-like rapidity. Marching 25 miles in a day, his whole army would hurl itself on one of the columns while the other was still too far off to come to its aid, or if they had already approached so close that mutual co-operation was imminent, he would send a detachment against one to purchase time by the sacrifice of his men's lives just as ruthlessly as those who have recently been using the German "machine" at Liège and elsewhere, and would then strike at the other with the bulk of his forces united. In this form, Napoleon won most of his earlier successes, but a little reflection would show that the method depended essentially upon his superior mobility and the willingness of his enemy to fight on the reverse. It is possible that General Kluck recently underestimated the mobility of the Allies left.

XVIII.—ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

If, on the other hand, the commander of the central army under-estimates his opponent's marching powers, its doom is sealed. For both his flanks are turned in advance and he comes under a concentrated fire to which it can only oppose a divergent one. This difference is more marked now than formerly; and stated in its extreme form, for rifle fire only, it really means that every bullet fired from the circumference stands a tenfold better chance of hitting some thing vulnerable than those directed from the centre towards the circumference. The only salvation for an army thus situated is to move by a lateral march, if it can manage it, outside the jaws of the cracker, and no praise can be too high for Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien who extricated his army corps with great skill when it had become almost impossible to disengage himself from an enemy that was rushing on with all the momentum of an avalanche.

An army standing on "interior lines," therefore, occupies a position of advantage or the reverse according to the skill of its leader and its own inherent fighting capacity, and this whether its position arises from operations during the actual course of hostilities, as in the case of Napoleon in his Russian campaign, or from circumstances already pre-existent in times of peace, such as the configuration of frontier. In the case of France opposing the enemy coming from the Belgian side it was the latter that imposed on her the strategy of "interior lines" just as much as it, together with their superiority in numbers, imposed on Germany the strategy of "exterior lines". If an army acts on "interior lines", it exposes at the same time its own communications with any place lying directly behind its point of departure. If it suffers only from slowness, but is really superior in fighting power this risk may be lightly taken. Victory settles all things. In proportion, however, as the result of collision is doubtful, alternative lines of retreat or supply would be advantageous. Hence a road, if possible a concave or re-entering, base or starting line is of great importance, and, since as an invader penetrates into the enemy's country his base becomes salient, whilst that of the defender becomes re-entering, we have here a compensating arrangement, which, under given conditions of country, equipment and the like, fixes the striking radius of an aggressor. Evidently the forces of the allies which retreated from the Sambre towards Paris and even places to the south-east of Paris with great rapidity secured safety for themselves by getting out of the striking radius of the Germans and exposed the forces of Germany to all the risks of a base which had become salient. Even if the Germans cannot secure a concave or re-entering base, they evidently desire to have an alternative line of retreat or supply between points on French territory and their own bases on the Rhine, besides shortening their unduly long and risky line of communication through Belgium and Luxemburg.

This by way of illustration. But it must be borne in mind that Germany's large forces and the configuration of the French frontier, no less than the teaching of her strategists like Clausewitz, have imposed on her the "tactics of envelopment," while the French system, the "tactics of penetration," is no less imposed by the smaller number of the French and the form of their frontier than by the example of Napoleon and the theories of Jomini. The German plan is extraordinarily simple. There is little strategy in it and its success depends on numbers, hard fighting and determination on the part of all ranks to win. Courage, sense of duty and readiness are the moral factors on which Clausewitz relied, and so long as the Germans do not fail in these, their position will not become precarious for some months to come. The French system, on the other hand, requires a great deal from the one man who is its Commander-in-Chief. He must be a strategist of the highest order, and, as in the case of Napoleon, his unerring instinct must reveal to him the weak point in the enemy's line against which the extraordinarily large reserve is to be hurled. The German General Staff, however, contends that it is not safe to count on a Napoleon coming to the fore; that opportunities for the penetration of the front will generally be so fleeting that with the enormous fronts that we now have, it will be impossible even for a Napoleon to know when the critical moment has arrived; and that the large reserve held back to deal the knock-out blow will often end by being ignominiously used to cover a retreat. On the other hand, the advent of the aeroplane has in practice diminished the force of the argument about enormous fronts, and there is the obvious disadvantage of the German tactics of envelopment that once the Commander-in-Chief has set his array in motion he loses control of the operations and the initiative passes into the hands of his subordinate, making co-ordination difficult and condemning the whole army to adhere to a plan previously settled although fresh and valuable information may be received which suggests a modification of the original programme.

XIX.—THE GERMAN OBJECTIVE AT LIÈGE.

Now to revert to Liège and German tactics, the Germans had the advantage not only of numbers but also of readiness. They have recognised ever since the day of Clausewitz that time and place are the underlying conditions of all strategical calculation, and that time could only be bought at the cost of men's lives. They know that the side which starts with a pronounced superiority, such as that due to more perfect organisation, will generally gain the lead from the outset. The Germans, therefore, did not evidently wait in the case of Liège for the arrival of their siege howitzers with the enormous 11.2 in calibre but hurled themselves in close formation at the living as well as the dead walls of Liège with the supreme desire of affecting a breach through which they could enter the city, not stopping to enquire whether such a formation was possible or impossible. If victory settles all things, then von Emmich's sacrifice of his men round Liège in the *attaque brusquée* has so far been entirely justified, for he certainly reached the

trying place quite in time for the German centre slowly deploying across the Meuse, after debouching through five or six narrow roads in the Belgian Ardennes and Luxemburg, even though he may not have been punctual to the minute with reference to the much mentioned "time-table". Nevertheless, in struggles such as these it is the campaign that counts and not the battle, and even though time could be purchased at the cost of men's lives, these calculations must inevitably be upset if the enemy possesses the power of destroying men faster than experience led one to expect. The "independent will-power"—the most serious of all the many indeterminate factors, as Clausewitz himself formulated, with which a commander is called upon to deal—of one's own army might in such a case be destroyed in an attempt to destroy that of one's opponent. The superiority with which an army may start at the outset of hostilities can be maintained only so long as the forces suffice for the amount of the work to be done. Then we get back to hard fighting pure and simple, in which the iron resolution of the commander and the army ultimately decides the issue of events. But the German system depends more on the iron resolution of the army and of the comparatively independent Generals, while the French system depends more on the iron resolution of the one great man who commands-in-chief, and since a human being can only put out a certain quantity of nervous energy or will-power in a given time, of two men of equal character that one will succeed first upon whom the necessity for rapid decision is most frequently enforced.

XX.—THE CURTAIN DROPS ON LIÈGE.

From accounts spasmodically received of the fighting round Liège, it is clear that even if General Brialmont's ramparts, cupolas and casemates of steel and concrete remained intact, the living rampart of the Belgians could not prevent for long the rush of the Germans, and the latter soon collected themselves on the townspeople of Liège. According to the *Times* Military Correspondent, the weakness of Liège lay in the wide intervals between the works and in a garrison too weak for the large perimeter of 38 miles to be defended. But on the 2nd of August, 30,000 natives under military direction began to work like bees, as the Correspondent says, upon the intervals, digging deep trenches and preparing obstacles, besides cutting down woods and destroying buildings which interfered with the fire of the defenders. The 22,000 men which, according to this Correspondent, held up for two days some 88,000 Germans were not long afterwards reinforced by some 20,000 troops from the field army at Louvain. The 3rd Belgian division had according to him marched 80 miles from Diest to Liège in 48 hours, and was fitted to have been largely responsible for the defeat of the German attack. But the fact that after August 8th we get no details under the head-lines "The Attack Day by Day", telegraphed by the Special Correspondents of the *Times* at Brussels, while the 3rd Belgian Division had, according to the *Times* Military Correspondent, been apparently withdrawn to join the main Belgian army, and that there was no news that any other division had replaced it, which indicated that Liège was left without any mobile defence, confirmed the fear that Liège forts had been rendered useless a considerable time before the German army fought at the Sambre. This is further confirmed by the fact that the town of Liège was held by a very large German force which would obviously have prevented the communications from the centre along the radii and easily interrupted the still more important line of communication running along the inner periphery of the ring-fortress. This was bound to confine each fort to its own resources, and the fact that General Leeman had himself taken charge of one of these indicated clearly that it had become impossible to co-ordinate their resistance. Under such circumstances the forts could not have remained intact for so many weeks, and we may take it that, if all had not fallen into German hands within a week of mobilization, some at least had been rendered useless or captured before General Leeman was wounded outside one of the forts that he had defended with such heroism and skill.

Looking at the matter from another point of view also, it appears that these forts must have fallen not much later than a week of the German attack on Belgium. The writer in the *Statesman* to whom we have already referred writes as follows:—

We shall, at any rate, be within the limits of reasonableness if we suppose General Emmich was summoned by General von Moltke, Chief of the Great General Staff, and instructed as follows:—"You are in command of the Third Army of three or four army-corps (i.e., those always kept ready on the frontier). It will take us *viz.*, the remainder of the German army, 11 days to mobilise and concentrate on our frontier. It will take us an average of another five days to get through the Ardennes on the line Givet-Longwy—total 16 days. You will cross the Meuse and you must be on the French frontier, Givet-Mauberge or Valenciennes, ready to advance from there in line with the rest of us, on the 17th day from now. Incidentally you will take the forts on the Meuse, and, if you have time, you may take Brussels on the way." In other words, he tells him he does not much care what he does as long as he is in position on the French frontier from Givet to Mauberge or Valenciennes, ready to move forward, by the 17th day after the commencement

of operations. To-day, the 19th August, is the 17th day after the commencement of the war. So that Emmich has up to to-day in which to get his troops on to the above line. If he fails in this, then the success of the Belgians is to be measured, not in the number of Germans they have killed, but in the number of days by which they can make Emmich fail in his appointment, that is, by the number of days by which they delay the advance and thereby upset the whole German army.

Now we know that the German right engaged the Allies on the Sambre on the 22nd of August and had pushed them back beyond the Belgo-French frontier all along the line Givet to Lille by the 26th. This means that Liège had altered the German time-table by no more than a week at the very outside which tallies fairly with the German contention that they were masters of the Liège forts within a week of the commencement of operations.

XXI.—WHAT LIÈGE HAS DONE.

At any rate, Liège did not detain the troops of Emmich sufficiently long to make them behind-hand in their time-table beyond a week, and although it enabled a smaller number of troops to check the advance of a much larger number—some 40,000 Belgians (not 22,000 as at first believed) against 120,000—we are inclined to agree with the estimate of the value of Liège as given by the writer in the *Statesman*. He says that Liège did its duty by Belgium inasmuch as it detained the army sufficiently long to enable the Belgian army to mobilize and concentrate its field army of at least 150,000 men based on Antwerp, which awaited General Joffre's orders to throw its whole weight against the German lines of communication. That the Belgian army interned at Antwerp has not been able to save Belgium is due to that army's size, but Liège has done its duty. Now with regard to the question, what did Liège do for the Allies, the writer is inclined to the opinion that the resistance it offered did practically nothing toward the upsetting of or interfering with the German plan of campaign. Liège, no doubt, proved a source of annoyance and a cause of considerable loss to General Emmich's army. The Germans lost possibly 20,000 men in their rash attacks on that fortress, but the garrisons of the forts probably equalled a strength thus numbered and they are now either casualties or prisoners in the hands of the Germans, so that the loss to either side in effectives is possibly about the same. He concludes:

The German had to bridge the Meuse at several places, but as the main German Army was not mobilized and therefore not ready to use these bridges till about the tenth day of the war, the fact that the Liège crossings were not available could have caused trouble only and not, to any great extent, loss of time. The delay in opening the campaign on the French frontier is due, to the writer's opinion, to the 8 to 10 days' march that the troops on the outer flank of the army had to make before reaching the positions beyond them south of Brussels.

In any case, if Liège had ramparts that could hold back the Germans effectively General Leeman was the man behind the ramparts who could use his guns equally effectively to hammer the Germans as they hurled themelves in close formation on those forts with a reckless daring that speaks volumes for them whether considered as machines or merely men. Both the attack on Liège and its defence will rank as great efforts in the history of military operations, and for the men of both Emmich and Leeman this is enough.



The Editor's Apology: A "Lame" Excuse.

The Editor regrets the inordinate delay in the issuing of the last few numbers and particularly in the present issue. He has been bed-ridden now for a month, and if no untoward incident occurs he expects to be able to attend to his editorial duties in another week in better health than he has recently enjoyed. Unfortunately the editorial staff of the *Comrade* consists entirely of "first line" men—even if we may not call them "regulars"—and cannot be reinforced by reservists, Landwehr or Landsturm. If another good man is undone by marriage—and we have recently secured a "Captain's Captain", the Sub-Editor being, like Odello "almost damned in a fair wife"—and the Editor becomes *hors de combat* with a damaged toe-nail, to which Diabotes denies the *vis natura medicatrix*, the *Comrade* relapses into silence as disconcerting as the fog of war, and friends and foes all alike rush to oh, such awful conclusions. To cut the matter short, as the doctors did in the case of the toe-nail, we beg to announce that we are still alive and—no, not "kicking," for the toe-nail does not permit such liveliness. But we have realized that it is not only the man with an illegible handwriting that has to refuse a commission as a writer when his foot and not his hand is paining. And has not Sa'di said:

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Since one proud eagle drooped his shattered wings :
Another rises—and the welkin rings
With the mad cry "For Glory" once again !
And legions rush through carnage to attain
Some fancied good that blood-stained Conquest
brings.

Is this the boast of Councils and of Kings,
O God ! to triumph over millions' pain ?
Guardians of Good ! Ye Nations of the West !
Shall mind still worship brute Force deified ?
'Tis Mind not Force doth Nations' worth attest:
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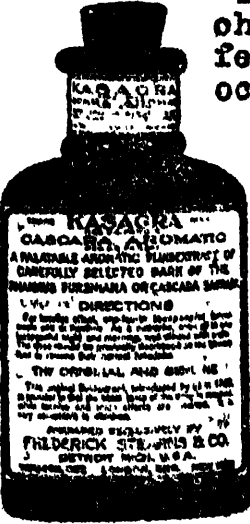
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Vol. 8.
No. 13 & 14.

Single Copy
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Delhi: Saturday, 10th October, 1914.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs 12. Foreign Rs 1

CONTENTS

Explanatory Notes ...	248	The London Moslem League ...	267
"The Sword of Peace" ...	248	Turkey's Intentions ...	267
"The War of the Mind" ...	248	Turkey and Bulgaria ...	267
Replies to Mr Wells' "Nation" ...	247	The Defence of Antwerp ...	268
Article ...	247	German Socialists and the War ...	268
Mr. Wells' Reply ...	249	Germany's Feeling Towards ...	268
Vernon Lee's Reply to Mr. Wells ...	249	France ...	268
Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Reply to Mr. Wells ...	250	French Opinion ...	269
Mr. Kehr Hardie's Reply to Mr. Wells ...	260	Germany's Plan of Naval ...	269
"Fighting for Existence" ...	261	Attack ...	269
Are We Liberating Europe? ...	261	Big Gun Talk ...	269
Thoughts in Adversity ...	262	The War through German ...	269
Mr. Churchill and the Issue ...	263	Spectacles ...	269
Alleged German Barbarism ...	264	Counting their Chickens ...	269
Belgians' Address to the King ...	265	The German Advance and ...	270
French Government's Manifesto ...	265	French Losses ...	270
German Change of Front ...	266	The Economic Position in ...	270
Boerism in Liege ...	267	Germany ...	270
German Siege Guns ...	268	War Conditions in Russia ...	270
Thrilling Story of the Gordons ...	268	Protestantism and the ...	270
The "Briden's" Exploits ...	268	War ...	270
"Komagata's" Return ...	269	Teutonism in Russia ...	271
The War Through German ...	269	A German Intrigue in Tripoli ...	271
Spectacles ...	269	As in a Dream ...	271
False News ...	261	How the German Soldier ...	271
TETRA A TETRA--		Marches ...	272
Offers of Assistance to the ...		The Lahore Islamic College ...	272
Imperial Relief Fund ...	266	and the Government ...	272
"False" News ...	266	Gran ...	272
The Extraneous ...	267	The Moslem University Asso- ...	273
Dreyfus Again ...	267	ciation and an Illegality ...	273
The Abolition of the Cap- ...		LEADING ARTICLES	
tulations in Turkey ...	267	Side-light on the Final Issue ...	274
		The Campaign--V. ...	275
		"THE COMRADE WAR BULLETIN" ...	281
		ADVERTISEMENTS ...	282-284

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

ALLENSTEIN is a garrison town of Germany in the province of East Prussia, on the river Alle, about 100 miles by rail N.E. from Thorn and about 80 miles from Russian frontier. Its population in 1910 was 51,918.

ANORE is the most important affluent of the Sarnus and runs north-east by way of Albert and Carbie.

AUGUSTOFF is a city on the border between Russian North Poland and East Prussia. It is situated some thirty miles south of Suwalki.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA consists of a large area on the mainland (including the Uganda Protectorate) together with the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The British defence forces were in 1913 located as follows:—

(1) East Africa Protectorate:—21 officers, 750 men of the 1st Battalion of the King's African Rifles and 15 officers, 400 men of the 2nd Battalion. There are 1,735 police, and 13 European

(2) Uganda Protectorate.—One battalion of King's African Rifles 983 rank and file, and 1,077 armed constabulary, under a British Commissioner of Police and British officers. There is also a volunteer reserve of 101 Europeans.

Zangibar.—The Military force in the island consist of 2 companies of the King's African Rifles.

BAKLARJEVO (Baklarzow) is a town on the Russo-German border about 10 miles south of *Philippow*.

FORT DE WAELEHEM is a fort in Belgium about 15 miles south of Antwerp. It is one of the outer circle of forts round Antwerp.

FORT DE WAVRE is a fort in Belgium some ten miles south-east of Antwerp. It is situated between Fort de Waelhem on its west and Konings Hooft on its east. It is one of the outer circle of forts and redoubts with batteries round Antwerp and its inner circle of forts. It protects the railway that runs from Brussels to Antwerp.

FILIPPOW is a town on the Russo-German border, situated about 20 miles north of Augustow.

GHENT is the capital of East Flanders, Belgium. It is situated at the junction of the Scheldt and the Lys (Ley), and is about 30 miles east of Antwerp. In 1904 its population numbered 162,482. It is one the most historic cities of Belgium.

GERMAN NEW GUINEA, so-called after the island which contributes the greatest area, comprehends besides Kaiser Wilhelm's land, the islands which are now commonly called the Bismarck Archipelago—viz., New Pomerania, New Mecklenburg, with New Hanover and the Admiralty Islands and the Solomon Islands (Bongainville and Buha). There are besides nearly 200 smaller islands and islets scattered among their greatest neighbours. These all are the Pacific Protectorates of Germany. In 1884 New Guinea was absolutely wild, not a single white man living on what is now the German part. On the islands of New Pomerania and Miako only two trading firms had their establishments; the Lauenburg and Wesleyans had each a mission station. After the annexation, commercial enterprise set in at once, hand in hand with political administration. Now, on the mainland and in the islands plantation have been established and tobacco and cotton have been successfully grown. Three German mission societies formed settlements in New Guinea with a branch one on the Gazelle Peninsula. The protectorate is included in the universal postal union; each harbour has its post office, also a leading official with a number of assistants to control the natives and the revenue. It is divided into two districts with separate administration, New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago; over both presides an Imperial Governor, the seat of Government being Herbertshöhe in New Pomerania. A line of steamers piles between New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago and Singapore. A special silver coin of rupees value had been introduced. The area of Kaiser Wilhelm's land is approximately 70,000 sq. miles, and the whole population in 1913 numbered 881,000.

natives and 288 Germans. A small police force has been formed of the natives there. The New Guinea administration was transferred to the Government in 1897 for which the company of owners was to receive £70,000. The chief harbours are Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and Konstantinshafen, Nussa, Matupi, Kaweing, Namatain and Kieta. In 1912, 980 merchant vessels of 848,182 tons visited the port of Kaiser Wilhelm land and the islands. The estimated revenues and expenditure (for all the lands, except of the Sannan island) in 1913 was 8,410,000 marks, including 1,650,000 marks of Imperial subvention. Gold has recently been found in Bismark islands.

GAMBIA—The most northerly of the British West African dependencies. It consists of a stretch of land on both sides of the river Gambia. It has an area of about 4,000 sq. m. and a population officially estimated in 1907, at 163,000. It is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council. On the last named body nominated unofficial members have seats. The colony is self-supporting and has no debts.

HTIS is a German gunboat of the R. class

Its length is 208 ft.

Beam ... 29 3/4 ft.

and Draught ... 10 1/2 ft.

Its displacement is 886 tons, and its Indicated Horse Power 1832. It has an average speed of 14 knots an hour.

Armament ... 4 3 1/2 inches (16 pounders).
6-1 pounders.

2 Machine guns. It has a complement of 125.

KIELCE district is in the south-west of Russian Poland and is surrounded by the Governments of Piotrkow and Radom and Austrian Galicia. Its area is about 3,896 sq. miles and its population in 1912, was 992,500. By religion 88 per cent of the people are Roman Catholics. It is an agricultural district and exports grain.

LIERRE and **MOLLI**—Towns in the province of Antwerp, Belgium. Lierre (Lier) is situated about 10 miles south of Antwerp and Moll (Moll) about 30 miles East of Antwerp.

LUDERITZ BAY in the German South-West Africa is situated about 150 miles north of the mouth of river Orange.

MASUREN LAKES (Mrosen)—They are in the north of East Prussia near Lyck.

MALINES is an ancient and important city of Belgium. It is situated on the Dyle and is in the province of Antwerp lying about half way between Antwerp and Brussels. The chief importance of Malines is derived from the fact that it is in a sense the religious capital of Belgium—the archbishop being the primate of the Catholic Church in that country. In the wars of the 17th and 18th centuries it was besieged many times and captured by the French, Dutch and English. The French finally removed the fortifications in 1804, since which year it has been an open town.

NIEMAN or **Memel** is a river running along the border of Russian Poland. It passes through the north corner of East Prussia and discharges into the Gulf of Courland.

OEKERMOGOE (Okemera) is a town in Upper Hungary. The situation of the district is near Blemica mountains which form part of the Carpathian range towards the east end.

OSSOVETZ (Ossowice) is in Russian Poland. It is situated on the river Bobr and is about midway between Augustowa and Lomza.

OSSOWITZ (Ossowice) is a third class Russian fortress, situated near the Russian German frontier in the Vilna district.

OSTEND is a Belgian town in the province of west Flanders. Its population in 1904 was 41,181. It is the most seaside resort of the kingdom. Situated on the North Sea, it forms almost the centre point of the Belgian coast. It is directly connected by railway with Brussels, Cologne and Berlin.

PETROKOGY (Piotrkow) district is in the hands of the Government of the same name in Russian Poland. Its geographical position is in the south-west of Russian Poland. The town Piotrkow is its capital and is situated 90 miles by rail south-west of Warsaw. The population of the district in 1912 was 2,913,600. It is the most thickly populated Government in the whole Russian Empire.

RIVER SENNE is in Belgium. It takes its source from the mountains near Mons and after passing through Brussels joins the rivers Dyle and the Nenth near Malines. The Senne is about 50 miles in length. Malines is a fort about 15 miles south of Antwerp.

RIVER NETHE is in Belgium. It takes its source from the mountains near Wychmael which is a town in the north of Limburg. The Nethe is about 45 miles long and after passing through Liere joins the Dyle and the Senne off Malines.

SOMME is a river in North France. It rises to the N. N. E. of St Quentin in the department of Aisne where it has a course of about 25 miles. It traverses the department of Somme from the South East to the North West for a distance of about 125 miles through a marshy valley and discharges into the English Channel. Commanded by Ham, Peronne, Amiens and Abbeville, this valley forms a Northern line of defence for Paris.

SEMLIN—An Austrian town in Croatia Slavonia in the county of Symria, situated beside the south bank of Danube on a tongue of land between that river and the Save. It is about 20 miles North-West of Belgrade. Its population in 1900 was about 15,079, mostly Roman Catholics. It communicates with Vienna and Black Sea by the Danube, with Bissek by the Save and with Belgrade by the steam ferry and a bridge over the Save.

SCHEVENIGEN is a fishing port and watering place of Holland on the North Sea in the province of South Holland about 2 miles north of the Hague, with which it is connected by tramway. The town has a rapidly growing population of about 28,000.

SELZAETE (Selsacte) is a Belgian town in the north of East Flanders. It is situated on the Beljo-Holland border, about 10 miles north of the town Ghent.

S. 126—A German Destroyer of smaller type. Length 210 ft.; beam 23 ft. Draught 7-6 ft. Displacement 479, Indicated Horse Power 6,415, Speed 28 knots per hour.

SUWALKI is a Government or Province of Russian Poland of which it occupies the N. E. corner, extending to the north between East Prussia and the Russian Governments of Vilna and Grodno, with the Government of Kovno on the north. Its area is 4,846 sq. miles. It includes the east of the low Baltic swelling 800 to 1,000 ft. above the sea and is studded with lakes. The Niemen forms its eastern and northern boundary. The population in 1906 was estimated at 633,900. The majority are Lithuanians mostly in the north. There are 21 1/2 per cent. Poles chiefly in the towns, 16 1/2 Jews, 5 1/2 Germans and 4 1/2 Russians. The Government is divided into seven chief towns which are Suwalki, Augustowo, Mariampol, Seiny, Wilkowszki and Wladislawow.

TSAVA is a town in British East Africa. It is situated on the river Tsava, and is about 80 miles east of Kilima Njaro which is a German post on the Anglo-German border in East Africa.

UZSOK PASS is through the Carpathian mountains which separates North of Hungary from Poland. The pass is situated some ten miles south of the source of river San.

VITRY-LE-FRANCOIS, a town of north-eastern France, on the right bank of the Marne, 20 miles S.E. of Châlons, on the railway from Paris to Strassburg. Population in 1906, 7,985. The Marne-Rhine canal, the Haute-Marne canal and the lateral canal of the Marne unite at Vitry.

VERMAND is a town N. N. E. of St Quentin at a distance of about six miles from that city.

VISHEGRAD or **Visegrad** is a town of Bosnia E. S. E. of Serajevo. It is situated on the river Drina. It is about 40 miles from Serajevo and 3 miles from the nearest point on the Servian frontier.

VILLE-SUR-TOURBE is a village situated on the river Aisne. It is at a distance of about 30 miles from Reims which lies to its west. In its east is Verdun at about the same distance.

WINDAU—A Seaport and Sea-bathing resort of western Russia is in the Government of Courland. On its north is the Baltic Sea, and it is situated 110 miles north-west of Riga (on the Gulf of Riga). Population in 1897 numbered 7,182. It has a castle and its harbour 20 and 25 feet deep is free from ice all the year round.

"The Sword of Peace."

A Reply to H. G. Wells.

By VERNON LEE.

[Vernon Lee, the well known author of "Vital Lies," the "Gospel of Anarchy," and other works, has asked for an opportunity to express in the "Labour Leader" the opinions of those Liberals who at present are refused publication in Liberal papers. Gladly we provide that opportunity.]

As prophet and planner of those Socialistic Utopias which have consoled and inspired so many of us in our poor little daily fight against "Blasphemy" and "Villainy," it has been part of Mr. H. G. Wells' mission to make us realise the atrocious preposterousness of war. "My right hand, sir, my right hand," his mutilated soldier sobbed out symbolically in the "World Set Free." "You can say what you like, it didn't ought ever to 'ave begun," sums up the illiterate survivor of a wrecked civilisation at the end of his "War in the Air."

THE APOSTASY OF MR. WELLS.

It is because Mr. Wells has thus hitherto been in the forefront of the denouncers of war that I, his admirer, disciple, and occasionally his defender, in the past, now feel it my duty to warn the readers of the "Labour Leader" and the Radicals who, like myself, will rally to it, against Mr. Wells' present utterances on the subject of war, against his apostasy which is all the worse because it is sincere; against his advocacy which is only more efficaciously militarist because ostensibly undertaken against militarism in the name of future peace. I, therefore, wish to draw the attention of the readers of the "Labour Leader" to an article of Mr. Wells, dated August 8, and published in the *Daily Chronicle* of August 7, because it gives the key to everything else he goes on writing; and also because many people who have never read or even heard of that first article of Mr. Wells are now repeating the phrases and arguments, and are poisoning themselves and others with the spirit, of which that first article of his was probably the first self-righteous expression in this country. That article, endowed with the microbial fertility of all appeals to prejudice and passion, was entitled, "The Sword of Peace," and it carried the large type sub title, "Every sword that is drawn against Germany now is a sword drawn for peace."

WHAT BISMARCK RELIED UPON.

Why the fourfold coalition (to which is to be added Japan) now engaged in exterminating Germany and bringing her and Europe under Russia's predominance—why that coalition should be the "Sword of Peace," Mr. Wells is continuing to explain in every (formerly Liberal and pacific) paper. Here is his earliest version in that *Daily Chronicle* article, written on August 8:

"The monstrous vanity that was begotten by the easy victories of '70, and '71 has challenged the world, and Germany prepares to repel the harrier Bismarck sowed. That trampling, drilling 'scolery in the heart of Europe, that has arrested civilisation and blackened the hopes of mankind for forty years, German imperialism, German militarism, has struck its inevitable blow. The victory of Germany will mean the permanent enthronement of the war god over all human affairs. The defeat of Germany may open the way to disarmament and peace throughout the earth. To those who love peace there can be no other hope in the present conflict than the defeat, the utter discrediting of the German legend, the ending for good and all of the warring, Teutonic Kiplingism and all that criminal sham efficiency that can red in Berlin. Never has any State in the world so clamoured for punishment."

Whether "flag-wagging" Kiplingism is unknown to England which has produced Kipling himself, I leave the reader of the "Labour Leader" to think over. As regards Krupp, the Socialists who have published Mr. Snowden's and Mr. Newbold's speeches and pamphlets, and have read Mr. Porritt's "War Traders" will answer Mr. Wells that Krupp is not only connected by business overlappings with our own international armament trusts, but has its exact equivalent in firms which bear English and not German names. This much in passing. What I want to point out is that Bismarck, of whom Mr. Wells speaks as the "sower of all this harvest of war," did not rely solely upon "Blood and Iron," but also upon something which seems as necessary, alas, for efficacious warfare: the delusion that oneself is right, that the adversary is a tyrant or a lunatic, that the war one is waging has been brought about solely by that adversary, briefly that "Every sword that is drawn for X. Y. Z. is a sword drawn for peace."

I have replaced the name *Germany* in the quotation not by *France*, which was the name used by Bismarck himself, but by that diagrammatic X. Y. Z., because I want to draw attention to the fact that this formula is a blank one, equally adaptable by every nation, equally employed at every moment of history, and possessing

the purely emotional cogency of a strain of music which makes men march equally, whether the words are those of the "Marseillaise," which sent France devastating Europe under the Directory and Consulate, or of "God Save the King," with which England answered under Pitt and Nelson; or of the patriotic hymns with which Arnot and Korner spurred on the Germans crushed by Napoleon at Jena to become the Germans crushing him at Leipzig.

MR. WELLS' SECOND FORMULA.

"Every sword that is drawn against X. Y. Z. is a sword drawn for peace." Remember the formula, for it is wonderfully efficacious in getting rid of all doubts and self-searchings; in uniting all parties, however legitimately opposed, in making every nation unanimous to slaughter or maim millions of men, waste millions of men, waste millions of wealth, and spread in every individual soul myriads of germs of injustice, hatred, credulity, and falsehood. For with that formula goes its correlative one, which Mr. Wells has not failed to furnish us: "Never has any State in the world so clamoured for punishment." That was exactly what Bismarck and old pious William proclaimed about France in 1870; that is precisely what the Holy Alliance of England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia repeated when it sent Napoleon to St. Helena and handed back France and Naples to the Bourbons and Lombardy to the Austrians. That is what Napoleon said in every proclamation against England. That is what Louis XIV. said, or got his Court preacher to say, when he dragooned the Protestants or reduced Western Germany to a heap of ruins. "Never has any State (or nation, or King, according to the taste of the moment) so clamoured for punishment." That is what every State, nation, or King has always and everywhere said when trying to destroy an adversary. And that is what every one of the present belligerents is at this present moment saying.

THE GERMAN H. G. WELLS.

I have before me a letter from a German Liberal, almost a Socialist, written August 17, in which that formula of resistance to tyrannous and perfidious aggression is repeated in words more sorrowful and modest, but not less convinced than Mr. Wells. Only the X. Y. Z. is in this case replaced by *Russia*; it is against Russia—Russia, which strangled Finland and progromed Jews and sent its Duma to Siberia—that the most anti-Prussian South German Liberals and the Socialists, crushed by Police-Director Von Jagow, are now uniting like one man.

We English have to fight now for the food and the security which we should be quietly enjoying had there been in England a few less prophets of peace in the future and a few more supporters of peace in the present. We have to fight now, as they all have to fight. So, since we are all fighting with sorrow in our hearts, and that is but a half-hearted way of fighting, let the drums and fife and bagpipes drown our last doubts and regrets. And let Mr. H. G. Wells and all the other H. G. Wellses, French, German, Austrian, Russian, Japanese, strike up that old soul-stirring tune, "The sword now drawn against X. Y. Z. is a sword drawn for peace."—*The Labour Leader*.



The War of the Mind.

ALL the realities of this war are things of the mind. This is a conflict of cultures, and nothing else in the world. And the world-wide pain and weariness, fear and anxiety, the bloodshed and destruction, the innumerable torn bodies of men and horses, the stench of putrefaction, the misery of hundreds of millions of human beings, the waste of mankind are but the material consequences of a false philosophy and foolish thinking. We fight not to destroy a nation, but a nest of evil ideas.

We fight because a whole nation has become obsessed by pride, by the cult of cynicism and the vanity of violence, by the evil suggestion of such third-rate writers as Gobineau and Stewart Chamberlain, that they were a people of peculiar excellence destined to dominate the earth, or the base offer of advantage in cunning and treachery held out by such men as Delbruck and Bernhardi, by the theatricalism of the Kaiser, and by two stirring songs about Deutschland and the Rhine. These things, inter-weaving with the traditional activities of the armaments trust and the common vanity and weaknesses of unthinking men have been sufficient to release disaster—we do not begin to measure the magnitude of the disaster. On the back of it all, spurring it on, are the idea-mongers, the lace-capped writing men, the pompous little professors in black coats, scribbling columns. They are the leaders. They pointed the way and whispered "Go!" They ride the world now to catastrophe. It is as if God in a moment of wild humor had lent his whirlwinds for an outing to half a dozen fleas.

And the real task before mankind is quite beyond the business of the fighting line, the simple, awful business of discrediting and

discouraging these stupidities, by battleship, artillery, rifle, and the blood courage of seven million men. The real task of mankind is to get better sense into the heads of these Germans, and therewith and thereby into the heads of humanity generally, and to end not simply a war, but the idea of war. What printing and writing and talking have done, printing and writing and talking can undo. Let no man be fooled by bulk and matter. Rifles do but kill men, and fresh men are born to follow them. Our business is to kill ideas. The ultimate purpose of the war is propaganda, the destruction of certain beliefs, and the creation of others. It is to this propaganda that reasonable men must address themselves.

And when I write propaganda, I do not for a moment mean the propaganda with which the name of Mr. Norman Angell is associated: this great modern gospel that war does not "pay." That is indeed the only decent and attractive thing that can still be said for war. Nothing that is really worth having in life does pay. Men live in order that they may pay for the unpaying things. Love does not pay, art does not pay, happiness does not pay, honesty is not the best policy, generosity invites the ingratitude of the mean; what is the good of this hookster's argument? It revolts all honorable men. But war, whether it pay or not, is an atrociously ugly thing, cruel, destroying countless beauties. Who cares whether war pays or does not pay, when one thinks of some obstinate Belgian peasant woman being interrogated and not by a hectoring interman officer, or of the weakly whimpering mess of some poor hovel with little children in it, struck by a shell? Even if war paid twelve and a half per cent. per annum for ever on every pound it cost to wage, would it be any the less a sickening abomination to every decent soul? And, moreover, it is a bore. It is an unendurable bore. War and the preparation for war, the taxes, the drilling, the interference with every free activity, the arrest and stiffening up of life, the obedience to third-rate people in uniform, of which Berlin struck Germans have been the implacable exponents, have become an unbearable nuisance to all humanity. Neither Belgium nor France nor Britain is fighting now for glory or advantage, I do not believe Russia is doing so; we are all, I believe fighting in a fury of resentment because at last after years of waste and worry to prevent it, we have been obliged to do so. Our grievance of every decent life-loving German, of every German mother and sweetheart who watched her man go off under his incompetent leaders to hardship and mutilations and death. And our propaganda against the Prussian idea has to be no vile argument to the pocket but an appeal to the commonsense and common feeling of humanity. We have to clear the heads of the Germans, and keep the heads of our own people clear about this war. Particularly is there need to dissuade our people against the dream of profit-flothing, the "War against German Trade." We have to reiterate over and over again that we fight, resolved that at the end no nationality shall oppress any nationality or language again in Europe for ever, and by way of illustration, we want not those ingenuous arrangements of figures that touch the Anglo imagination, but photographs of the Kaiser in his glory at a review, and photographs of the lone, unintelligent sidelong face of the Crown Prince, his son, photographs of that great original Krupp taking his pleasures at a fair and, to set beside these photographs pitifully showing men killed and horribly torn upon the battlefield, and men crippled and women and men murdered and homes harried and, to the verge of indecency, and the peculiar filthiness of war. And the case that has thus to be stated has to be brought before the minds of the Germans, of Americans, of French people, and English people, of Swedes and Russians and Italians as our common evil which, though it be at the expense of several governments, we have to end.

Now, how is this literature to be spread? How are we to reach the common people of the Western European countries with these explanations, these assurances, these suggestions that are necessary for the proper ending of this war? I could wish we had a Government capable of something more articulate than "Wait and See" a Government that dared confess a national intention to all the world. For what a Government says is audible to all the world. King George, too, has the ear of a thousand million people. If he saw fit to say simply and clearly that it is we fight for and what we seek, his voice would be heard universally, through Germany, through all America. No other voice has such penetration. Here, he has told us, watching the war with interest but that is not enough. We could have guessed that, knowing his spirit. As a nation, we need expression that shall reach the other side. But our Government is, I fear, one of those that only necessities; it is only very reluctantly creative; it reacts, therefore, with us who, outside all formal government, represent the national will and intention, to take this work into our hands. By means of a propaganda of books, newspaper articles, leaflets, tracts, in English, French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Italian, Chinese and Japanese we have to spread this idea, repeat this idea and "impose upon this war" the idea that this war must end war. We have to create a wide common conception of a remapped and pacified Europe, released from the abominable dangers of a private trade in armaments,

largely disarmed and pledged to mutual protection. This conception has sprung up in a number of minds, and there have been proposals at once most extraordinary feasible for its realization, projects of aeroplanes scattering leaflets across Germany, of armies distributing tracts as they advance, of prisoners of war much afflicted by such literature. These ideas have the absurdity of novelty, but otherwise they are by no means absurd. They will strike many soldiers as being indecent, but the world is in revolt against the standards of soldiering.

Never before has the world seen clearly as it now sees clearly, the "role" of thought in the making of war. This new conception carries with it the corollary of an entirely new campaign.

How can we get at the minds of our enemies? How can we make explanation more powerful than armies and fleets? Finding an articulate voice at the head of our country we must needs look for the resonating appeal we need in other quarters. We look to the Church that takes for its purposes the name of the Prince of Peace. In England, except for the smallest, meekest protest against war any sort of war, on the part of a handful of Quakers, Christianity is silent. Its universally present organization speaks no coherent counsels. Its workers for the most part are buried in the loyal manufacture of flannel garments and an inordinate quantity of bed-sacks for the wounded. It is an extraordinary thing to go now and look at one's parish church and note the pulpit, the orderly arrangements for the hearers, the proclamations on the doors to sit awhile on the stone wall about the graves and survey the comfortable vicarage, and to reflect this is just the local representation of a universally present organization for the communication of ideas, that all over Europe there are such pulpits, such possibilities of gathering and saying, and that it gathers nothing and has nothing to say. Pacific, patriotic sentiment it utters perhaps, but nothing that anyone can act upon, nothing to draw together, will, and make an end. It is strange to sit alive in the sunshine and realize that, and to think of how tragically that same realization came to another mind in Europe.

Several things have happened during the past few weeks with the intensest symbolical quality; the murder of Jaurès, for example, but surely nothing has occurred so wonderful and touching as the death of the Pope, that faithful, honest, simple old man. The war and the perplexity of the war darkened his last hours. "Once the Church could have stopped this thing," he said, with a sense of threads missed and controls that have slipped away—it may be with a sense of vivifying help discouraged and refused. The "Tribuna" tells a story that, if not true, is marvellously invented, of the Austrian representative coming to ask him for a blessing on the Austrian arms. He feigned not to hear, or perhaps he did not hear. The Austrian asked again, and again there was silence. Then, at the third request, when he could be silent no longer, he broke out: "Nolite Bellum!" As the temperature of his weary body rose, his last clear moments were spent in attempts to word telegrams that should have some arresting hold upon the gigantic crash that was coming, and in his last delirium he lamented war and the impotence of the Church.

Intellect without faith is the devil but faith without intellect is a negligent angel with rusty weapons. This European catastrophe is the tragedy of the weak though righteous Christian will. We learn to see that to be right and indolent, or right and abstinent from the conflict is to be wrong. Righteousness has need to be as clear and efficient and to do things as sedulously in the right way as any evil doer. There is no meaning in the Christianity of a Christian who is now a propagandist for peace, who is not now also a politician. There is no faith in the Liberalism that merely carps at the manner of our entanglement in a struggle that must alter all the world for ever. We need not only to call for peace, but to seek and show and organize the way of peace.

One thinks of Governments and the Church and the Press, and then turning about for some other source of mental control, we recall the organizations, the really quite opulent organization that are professedly devoted to the promotion of peace. There is no voice from The Hague. The so-called peace movement in our world has consumed money enough and services enough to be something better than a weak little grumble at the existence of war. What is this movement and its organizations doing now? Ninety-nine people in Europe out of every hundred are complaining of war now. It needs no specially endowed committees to do that. They preach to a converted world. The question is how to end it and prevent its recurrence. But have these specially peace-seeking people ever sought for the secret springs of war, or looked into the power that war for war, or troubled to learn how to grasp war and subdue it? All Germany is knit by the fighting spirit, and armed beyond the rest of the world. Until the mind of Germany is changed, there can be no safe peace on earth. But that, it seems, does not trouble the professional peace advocate if only he may cry Peace, and live somewhere in comfort, and with the comfortable sense of a superior disinterested from the general emotion.

How are we to gather the wills and understanding of men for the tremendous necessities and opportunities of this time? Thought, speech, persuasion, an incessant appeal for clear intentions, clear statements for the dispelling of suspicion and the abandonment of secrecy and trickery, there is work for every man who writes or talks and has the slightest influence upon another creature. This monstrous conflict in Europe, the slaughtering, the famine, the confusion, the pain and hatred and lying pride, it is all of it real only in the darkness of the mind. At the coming of understanding it will vanish as dreams vanish at awakening. But never will it vanish until understanding has come. It goes on only because we, who are voices, who suggest, who might elucidate and inspire, are ourselves such little scattered creatures that though we strain to the breaking point, we still have no strength to turn on the light that would save us. There have been no moments in the last three weeks when life has been a waking nightmare, one of those frozen nightmares when, with salvation within one's reach, one cannot move, and the voice dies in one's throat.—H. G. WELLS in the *Nation*.



Replies to Mr. Wells's "Nation" Article.

1.—By Mr. Norman Angell.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE NATION."

SIR,—In your issue of the 29th ult., Mr. H. G. Wells says:—

"The real task of mankind is to get better sense into the heads . . . of humanity generally, and to end not simply war, but the idea of war. What printing and writing and talking have done, printing and writing and talking can undo. . . . Our business is to kill ideas. . . . The ultimate purpose . . . is propaganda, the destruction of certain beliefs and the creation of others."

A very large number of men and women have not merely been convinced of this for many years, but—without waiting until the cataclysm had come upon us—have been attempting to carry this conviction into effect. They include some who, as a result of the study of the very complex problem of reaching the mind of the average hostile man in this matter, decided rightly or wrongly a year or two ago, that in a certain method of approach (which does not consist, as I shall indicate presently, emphasizing the value of economic as against moral arguments) lay the best promise of success. The movement rallied to itself men of the most diverse political and religious parties, including, for instance, many in the Church of England, but also very many of the Society of Friends. Particularly, however, did it win support in such centres as the Universities of Great Britain, Germany, America, and France. It is perhaps, essentially a young men's movement, and, to my certain knowledge very great personal sacrifices—both of relatives, surrendering of financial advantages—and so forth—have been made by young men in every one of the countries I have mentioned in order to take an active part in this work.

In part as a matter of justice to them and to others who have made sacrifices of other kinds, but much more because that warfare against false ideas which Mr. Wells urges will certainly not be helped by the distortion and misrepresentation of efforts which while more obscure, of course, than his own, are certainly not less sincere, may I crave a little of your space to deal with certain strictures levelled by Mr. Wells? Speaking of the need for propaganda he says:—

"When I write 'propaganda', I do not for a moment mean the propaganda with which the name of Mr. Norman Angell is associated, this great modern doctrine that war does not pay. . . . What is the goal of this harkster's argument? It revolts all honorable men. . . . Our propaganda against the Prussian idea has to be no vile argument to the pocket. . . . We want not those ingenious arrangements of figures that touch the Angell imagination."

Mr. Wells's plain implication, of course, is that the propaganda to which he and I refer consists of an attempt to demonstrate that war does not pay in terms of dividends, so much per cent. cash: that it is concerned mainly with statistical demonstrations of such a proposition; that it is not concerned with what he calls "the unpaying things—love, art, happiness, honesty, generosity."

In all courtesy I would ask Mr. Wells a question or two. On what does he base his statement of our aims, and the character of our work? (I may mention incidentally that a mere fraction of my own writings deal with the financial and economic aspect of this question; and there are no "ingenious arrangements of figures": not a single table of statistics in the whole of them.) The view he has expressed is, I know, that of the "smart pyrotechnist"—just as it is the popular journalistic view that we have been trying to prove war to be impossible, or that bank panics would stop war, or that war would cause instant ruin, or rubbish of a like kind.

But Mr. Wells is, of course, aware that that sort of misrepresentation is the invariable fate of all ideas that disturb old habits of thought. (For a generation all evolution was for the popular newspaper writer summed up in the proposition that "our grandfathers had tails.")

The first number of the monthly review which was created to further the propaganda Mr. Wells derides contained a general statement of aim and policy. With reference to any difference which might distinguish this movement from earlier anti-war efforts occurs the following passage:—

"That difference does not reside in the fact that we value the economic as opposed to the moral plea. All human values are moral, or they are not human. The value of wealth, as of food, is derivable from the fact that it supports human life; of literature, that it embellishes it; of religion, that it sanctifies it—though the first may connote a glutton, the second a bore, and the last a bigot. . . . We believe in peace in the sense of the substitution of union for disunion, of partnership for rivalry, of comradeship for quarrel, only in part because it is a means to the end whereby men can more efficiently carry on their war with Nature, much more because it is a means to the end of making human intercourse of greater worth and finer quality, more purged of cowardly suspicions, of hatreds and misconceptions masquerading as virtues, cruelties and stupidities that darken life. And it is so a means because the emergence of the finer things depends upon a form of human intercourse which can only rest upon a basis of justice, and that in its turn upon understanding; both of which are in jeopardy so long as they are subject to the mechanical hazard of physical force."

It is perfectly true that in dealing with ideals like those embodied in the literature of Nietzscheanism and Prussianism, ideals which extol war and force as beautiful and desirable in themselves, it was necessary to find for collective conduct a standard of judgment, a basic sanction, which should be common to all Western society now that (whether we like it or not) such common sanction can no longer be found in religious dogma or in any universally accepted authoritative code. The appeal to intuition, to sentiment, to "the universal conscience," fails, because with two equally sincere and thinking men, intuition, sentiment, and conscience will indicate too diametrically opposed courses. That final test, the common sanction, can be found in "the general well-being," on the meaning of which we in the Western world are sufficiently agreed for practical purposes.

In the sub-title of "The Great Illusion"—I merely take that book as a type of the literature which our movement has produced—the scope and subject are indicated as "A study of the relation of military power to national advantage." And, if one reads as far as the introductory synopses and the chapter headings, one sees that "advantage" is there defined as including such things as nationality—the right of people to be of their place and race and language, the right of groups to live in their own way. And as a matter of simple fact, the lesser part of the book deals with the material side, and the larger part with the relation of military power to the protection and enlargement of the moral and spiritual possessions of men. We have throughout—certainly I have not taken the essential realities by which our politics must be tested to be well-being, happiness, and dignity in the largest and broadest sense of the term: health, efficiency, cleanliness, leisure, laughter, contact of mind with mind, satisfaction of physical intellectual and emotional hunger and thirst, affection, the play of childhood, grace, courtesy, beauty, love—all those things which, by the common consent of Christendom and the Western world, give value to human life. And the question which first and last we ask is this: "What does political power, embodied in military force, do for the protection and extension of these things? What, in terms of those things, can a nation or race achieve by the military domination of another?"

Such a query is certainly not irrelevant to the present war. That war is—were it told every day—a war for the "mastery of Europe," for the domination of Teuton over Slav or Slav over Teuton, with such subsidiary objects as the undoing of past conquests, the reconquering of conquered provinces, or, it may be, the conquering of new; and, in so far as Britain's part is concerned, the maintenance of the Balance of Power on the assumption that preponderant power of a neighbour is likely to be used against us. The whole struggle is, in so far as the volition of the peoples enters into its sanction or toleration at all, a struggle for the political power by one group as against another. And the whole effort of our movement has been to raise the fundamental question of what political power can accomplish when achieved: to ask what the real value of conquered territory is to the conqueror; to ask whether political mastery and domination over others can be turned to any moral, social, or economic end. Our doctrine, as applied to this struggle, is embodied in this question: "If you—Frank or Teuton, Slav or Briton—can secure this mastery of Europe, how will it profit your people or add any moral thing—moral or material—of value to your lives?" In answering that

question we have attempted to show how, in the nature of things, the reason why, in a world which is necessarily a world of partnership and co-operation, military domination of other men must be futile. We have felt that there is all the difference in the world between asserting that a given policy is immoral because it shocks our intuitions and emotions (the contrary policy which we urge as moral may shock the intuitions and emotions of the man we are trying to convince), and showing, on the basis of some commonly agreed test that it is, if successful, empty and futile, irrelevant to those aims for which States are founded. I have attempted to state the difference between the two processes in these terms:—

"The real distinction, if any, between the older and newer pacifists is that the older appealed to an intuitive unanalyzed ideal which they did not justify by a process of reason, while the newer attempt to obtain their result by analysis, by showing the how and why of certain facts in human relations, instead of merely holding up an ideal, without the process of rationalistic justification. . . . If the history of human progress reveals anything, it is surely this—that some of the best human emotion has been expended upon some of the worst possible objects. . . . It has been from no defect of good intention that humanity has gone astray on these matters so long; the more moral the man the greater often was the futility of his life and the cruelty of his acts. . . . It is overlooked that the emotion of humanity repelling from war may be more than counteracted by the equally strong moral emotions we connect with patriotism: war may occasion suffering, but men are, or should be, prepared to endure suffering for their country. That men are called upon to suffer for an ideal may be the very fact which constitutes its attraction to them. . . . The difference between the pacifist and the militarist is not at bottom a moral one (assuming that we take the best statement of each case), but an intellectual one, and if we are to bring about that political reformation of Europe which is to liberate us from the militarist burden, as the religious reformation liberated Europe from religious oppression, the processes will have to be intellectual."

And I have appealed, in support of this view, to something more than a mere historical analogy, in these terms:—

"How did religious warfare—at times the bloodiest, most hateful, most passionate, most persistent warfare that ever devastates Europe—come to an end? Obviously it was a matter of advancing opinion, a change of ideas and intellectual conceptions in Europe. The world of religious wars and of the Inquisition was a world which had a quite definite conception of the relation of authority to religious belief and truth—as that an authority was the source of truth; that truth could be, and should be, protected by force. What broke down this conception was a growing realization that authority, force, was irrelevant to the issues of truth (a party of heretics triumphed by virtue of some physical accident, as that the, occupied a mountain region), that it was ineffective, and that the essence of truth was something outside the scope of physical conflict. As the realization of this grew, the conflicts declined."

"So with conflict between the political groups. They arise from a corresponding conception of the relation of military authority to political ends—those ends for which governments are founded—the protection of life and property, the promotion of well-being. When it is mutually realized by the parties concerned that security of life and property, like the security of truth, is not derived from military force; that military force is as ineffective, as irrelevant, to the end of promoting prosperity as of promoting truth, then political wars will cease, as religious wars have ceased, for the same reason and in the same way."

Because Mr. Wells has laid in his article such a special stress on the role of ideas in the causation and prevention of war, I will quote two more short passages to show to what extent the propaganda he derides is in accordance with his principles. In the introduction to my last book occurs the following:—

"It is the supremacy of certain ideas that creates the present condition of international society, just as it is the prevailing ideas among the units which compose any society, whether that of a cannibal island or a Catholic nursery, which determine its character. The story of civilization is the story of the development of ideas: the Palæolithic man of Northern Europe was physically a much finer man than the modern Londoner as is, indeed, the present-day Cameroonian cannibal. The qualities which explain the differences between their respective social states are intellectual and moral."

And in that section of "The Great Illusion" in which I have dealt with methods there is the following:

"However we may start, with whatever plan, however elaborated or varied, the end is always the same—the progress of man in this matter depends upon the degree to which his ideas are just; man advances by the victories of his mind and character."

The foregoing are not "selected" passages. Their general drift and tone dominate practically everything I have written on this subject, and I do not think that Mr. Wells can quote a single passage which is in any way in contradiction with them.

Your readers must judge how far it is just to stigmatize such ideas as based upon "a huckster's argument that revolts all honorable men," and how far any useful purpose in our common cause is served by so misrepresenting them.

II.—By Clement J. Bundock.

Mr. H. G. Wells is confident of the power of his article in the *Nation* to dispose of the Russian menace. And, indeed, the article is very cleverly written, as the many readers of the "Labour Leader" who appreciate the subtlety of the novelist's pen and the fine quality of his thought will expect. But he might as cheerily hope that his article in the *Nation* will dispose of the Russian Tsar and all his court, for the fear of Russian barbarism is not the dread of an unseen and unfelt evil, but the certainty of an extended era of atrocity. It is not hypothesis; it is deduction. It is not hysteria; it is unemotional calculation.

Let us imagine H. G. Wells is Herbert George Smith, and so destroy the glamour of a name. Let us further imagine the *Nation* article is written in the crude, unadorned, artlessly constricted sentences of a man of average capacity, and so dispel the delusion of a cunning hand. There remains the argument to dispose of the Russian menace. Soldierly in these days is a business calling for individual initiative rather than obedience to leadership. The Russian people in the mass is an unintelligent, uneducated people, and because of this lack of education Russia has not the power to present a danger to European civilisation. When Russia has attained the general education that is essential to invest it with the power, Russia will not have the desire. For this reason the democracies of Europe may laugh at the Russian terror, which does not exist. (The stories of Persia, Finland, and Poland, we may be fairly convinced, have no more substantial foundation than the story of Aladdin's lamp.)

Dropping the script of H. G. Smith, and turning to the leaves that have passed under the pen of H. G. Wells, we read the argument in beautifully-turned phrases, and a highly-trained intellect imparts to it a more convincing note.

"Now first let me point out what the Boer War showed, and what this tremendous conflict in Belgium is already enforcing, that the day of the unintelligent, common soldier is passed; that men who are animated and individualised can, under modern conditions, fight better than men who are unintelligent and obedient. Soldierly is becoming more specialized. It is calling for the intelligent handling of weapons so elaborate and destructive that great masses of men in the field are an encumbrance rather than a power. Battles must spread out, and leading give place to individual initiative. Consequently Russia can only become powerful enough to overcome any highly civilised country raising its own average of education and initiative, and thus it can do only by abandoning its obscurantist methods, by liberalising upon the Western European method. That is to say, it will have to teach its population to read, to multiply its schools and increase its universities, and that will make an entirely different Russia from the one we face."

I make no pretence to military knowledge, but I speculate with some interest upon the condition of the British Army and the complacency of General French when the theory of the displacement of leadership by individual intelligence and initiative becomes the practice of warfare.

Mr. Wells always thinks well in advance of his day, and we are indebted to him for much stimulating suggestion, but the habit of living in the future sometimes leads a great man to speak of his prophecies as if they were current realities. Perhaps one day obedience will withdraw from the battlefield in honour of initiative (though I am inclined to think, and most sincerely hope, that is the day when intelligence predominates there will be no battlefield), but an observation of the companies that are every day passing through the doors of the recruiting offices nourishes the thought that Mr. Wells is premature, that intelligent soldiery is what Mr. Wells would like to see rather than what is.

If we may rely at all upon the information we receive from the official Press Bureau it appears that the German militarists (who constitute the despotism of which, we are told, we may be reasonably afraid, and who are, therefore, according to the doctrine of Mr. Wells, the most highly educated and thoroughly intelligent of the martial hosts in Europe) do not accept the view that "great masses of men in the field are an encumbrance rather than a power," and have, in fact, achieved some notable success by the use of them.

Presumably Mr. Wells is hoping, too, that the Russian troops—who, being uneducated and without initiative, have no power and are in consequence no danger to European civilisation—will strike a blow at Germany so severe that the military arrogance of Potsdam will for ever be humbled. Why we should believe that Russia, if it can be effective in hurling Prussian militarism from its seat, will, when that work is done, be stricken suddenly with intellectualism is not the easiest of Wellsonian problems.

10th October.

The fear of Russian despotism is a real fear well grounded, and its justification is contained in a passage in the article which is supposed to dispense with it.

"In bulk she (Russia) is barbaric. Between eighty and ninety per cent. of her population is living on a level very little above the level of those agricultural Aryan races who were scattered over Europe before the beginning of written history. It is an illiterate population. It is superstitious in a primitive way. . . . It is indeed, a helpless, unawakened mass."

And because it is all that, the autocracy will the more easily impose its desires upon it and it will the more readily and the more savagely fight when it is ordered to fight. And I am afraid we cannot rely upon the theory that its lack of intelligence and initiative will render it harmless.—*Labour Leader*.



Mr. Well's Reply.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LABOUR LEADER."

Sir,—Our country is fighting for existence. No one who remains sane can suppose we have any other alternative before us now except victory or destruction. I would like to know, therefore, what good Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald imagine they are doing at the present time by trying to misrepresent the negotiations that preceded the war and suggesting that in some way we are cheats in defending the neutrality of Belgium. What do they want to happen now? Are we to sue for peace? Will Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. MacDonald answer that question? And if not, what are we to do? The small section of the working class that still reads the "Labour Leader" is, no doubt, waiting for guidance. What lead are Messrs. Keir Hardie and MacDonald going to give it?

And have these ex leaders of Labour nothing in all the world to offer in this tremendous crisis and opportunity except a whining criticism of the acts of Sir Edward Grey?

The great argument against our fighting to destroy, if we can, the huge war machine of Germany that has hung over our national life like a nightmare appears to be that Russia will profit. Russia is represented as a Bogey of the most terrible sort. I gave the fullest and clearest reasons against this Russian superstition in the issue of the *Nation* immediately preceding your last issue of the "Labour Leader." To that issue "Vernon Lee" has contributed an article, entitled "A Reply to H. G. Wells," in which she raises the same great Russian scarecrow and entirely ignores my *Nation* article. I cannot go writing one article over and over again, and so I must refer your readers to that *Nation* article for my counter-vailing view. It is at your disposal to reprint or quote at any length you like. It knocks the bottom out of all this nonsense which represents Russia as a kind of worst devil and the Kaiser-Krupp Prussian system as the clean, white fabric of a delightful yet disciplined civilisation, which not only aspires but deserves to dominate the world. Why, even the Poles hate Germany more than they do Russia.

If "Vernon Lee" wrote her "reply" to me before she saw that *Nation* article, I shall be obliged to her if she will consider the letter as my answer to her, and I shall be interested to see how she propose to meet the case I make therein.



Vernon Lee's Reply to Mr. Wells.

In his letter to the *Labour Leader* my former friend, Mr. H. G. Wells, takes me to task for not having studied his apology for Tsarism before venturing to laugh at his astounding use (in the *Daily Chronicle* of August 7) of that "Sword of God" tag which all belligerents equally are now using, and always have used ever since men have had aggressive instincts and conscientious scruples. He is quite right. I had not then read any of Mr. Wells's manifestoes except that first one, for the excellent reason that my answer (which he complains of) was written the very day on which, to my stupefaction, I read in the *Daily Chronicle* his "Every sword now drawn against Germany is a sword drawn for peace." That this answer did not appear in the "Labour Leader" until I had become quite familiar with Wells's additional arguments is due to this article of mine losing considerable time in the process of refusal by the *Daily Chronicle*, which had printed the article which it answered, and also by two other recently Liberal and anti-war papers—a refusal which sheds some light upon the natural selection by which unanimous public opinion is gradually evolved to its present highly-organised perfection.

As regards the comparative demerits of Prussian and Russian militarism (though, perhaps, considering how the Russian Government encouraged Tolstoi, Mr. Wells might call it anti-militarism or anti-anti-militarism!) I would point out a few differences.

RUSSIA AND GERMANY COMPARED.

First, that the German Empire, and even the Kingdom of Prussia, has freedom of the press, as is proved, I will not say by the Socialist *Vorwärts* and the Bavarian comic *Simplicissimus* (which has caricatured the Kaiser as no English paper would dare to caricature King George), but by the constant anti-militarism and anti absolutist campaign of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of the greatest papers of Prussia and Germany.

Secondly, that although Jews are sneered at and excluded from smart society only a little less than in democratic France, they form in Germany one of the most influential factors in public life, instead of being liable to every civic disability, penned up in Ghetto-towns, and, even when not massacred with police assistance in the last two or three years, submitted to the incredible procedure of the recent Kieff trial for habitual ritual murder.

Thirdly, that instead of having been hanged and flogged to death, German Socialists constitute nearly the whole town council of Berlin, a large party in the Parliament of the Empire, and possess many papers, and have joined unanimously with every other German party in what they consider a defensive war against Russia and Russia's abettors, the story of Liebknecht's and R. Luxembourg's execution having turned out one of the war's innumerable inventions.

Fourthly, as my habitual acquaintance with German newspapers and with sundry leading German Radicals and Socialists entitles me to state, there has been every hope that better relations with England (and "through England," as the Editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* told me 18 months ago, with France) would diminish the need for, and prestige of, Prussian militarism, and then bring about a reform in the suffrage and the police regime of the Kingdom of Prussia, bringing that kingdom on to the level of democratic self-government already enjoyed by the other states of the German Empire, which are not, as Mr. Wells seems to think, slaves of Prussia, but his autonomous confederates.

Fifthly, that these hopes of the inner evolution of Germany will in all probability be utterly broken or indefinitely put off by the present war which, so far from delivering Germany from Prussian militarism, is uniting all her provinces, states and provinces in obedience to that Prussian militarism which Germany has learned to regard as her weapon of self-defence, and a weapon which seems, also by no means as "sham efficient" as Mr. Wells told us a month ago, when he prophesied that Berlin was in greater danger than Paris.

It is marvellous, by the way, how our war myth unites the controversial advantages of belief in Germany's ineptitude and inefficiency with belief in Germany as a menace to the life and liberty of all the four or five nations at present united against her. But then our grandfathers alternately denounced the French as a danger to the world, and as a set of miserable underfed "Frogs."

BRITISH COUNTERPARTS OF KRUPP.

And finally—about Krupp, whom Mr. Wells is flourishing about in all his manifestoes. It is, as I already hinted, rather a waste of words to talk about Krupp (with or without the Tiberian-Capri scandals which Mr. Wells judiciously rakes up against a vast joint-stock company!)—it is a waste of words to talk of Krupp to Socialists who have learned from Mr. Snowden's and Mr. Newbold's speeches and pamphlets (let alone, perhaps, from Perrin's *War Traders*, and Delaisi's *Patrimoine des Plaqueuses Blindées*), that the Krupp armament and scare-mongering not only has its exact counterparts in every country, but that such armament trusts, catering equally for *Triple Entente* and *Triple Alliance*, are also, alas, the only really international organisation which has stood the disintegrating shock of this war.

To return to Russia. In a memorable subsequent article, Mr. Wells has begged us not to be too sceptical about the Russian Government's promises, although for the last ten years at least it has not kept one, either to its own subjects and Parliament, or to Finland, Poland, and Persia. And he has added (rather contradictorily), that we must rely upon England's and France's joint efforts in making it remember them. About France with its (except the Socialist) absolutely corrupt press and parliamentarism (cf. Delaisi's "La Démocratie et les Financiers," Editions de la Guerre Sociale, 1912), much is obvious, that ever since she took to financing Russia—as price of the alliance which has now brought German troops within forty miles of Paris!—and in proportion as the growing Russian loan obliged the creditor to keep the debtor going, France, Republican, democratic France, has quietly looked on at the strangling of Finland, the dissolving and imprisoning of the two first Dumas, the hanging and flogging to death of the Socialists, and the officially permitted

butchering of the Russian co-religionists of the craven (or patriotic) Polish-Jewish bankers.

So much for France's civilising influence on her ally. Will England, who has already connived at Russia's annexation of Northern Persia against express agreement, be more successful in civilising the Russian Government? She need well make the Tsar a pattern democratic monarch, for into his hands this war has delivered us and the whole of Europe, until the moment when our diplomats will have to plan a new coalition, a new "Balance of Powers" against this new bugbear; or until the Tsar perchance remembers his old family friendship with the God-fearing house of Prussia, and between them the two old enemies, at present parted, may grasp each other's "mailed fists," and establish a corner in militaristic despotism."

MR. WELLS'S APPEAL TO AMERICA.

I should like to say one thing more. Among the many articles and letters which Mr. Wells has written, I have been struck by one quite especially. It is (*Daily Chronicle*, August 24) called "An Appeal to the People of America," and what it asks is that the United States should display their neutrality not only (which they are bound to do under penalty of enormous damages such as Great Britain paid in the famous Alabama case) by abstaining from furnishing *contraband of war* to either belligerent, but also (and this alone was worth asking for) display their neutrality, or rather flagrantly infringe it, for Britain's convenience, and the sake of peace and civilisation, by refusing to furnish Germany with food on their neutral ships.

Now, when he passes from arguments to *appeals* of this kind, it becomes necessary to protest against Mr. Wells's use of the pronoun *we*, and his assumption that he and England happen to be the same thing. In such crises as these, every nation has always had its reclaiming majority and its protesting minority, and England—historical England, not the England of which Mr. Wells says *we*—has been especially rich in such minorities, gaining and maintaining those rights and ideals on which the majority afterwards found its self-righteous swagger. There has always been an English patriotism showing itself in shame at national crime or folly: there was an England which protested against making war against the Colonies and against the French Revolution; protested against Nelson quelling the Neapolitan Republic and hanging its patriots to please Lady Hamilton and her Caroline; an England which protested against the treaty which sent Napoleon (as *we* want to send Kaiser Wilhelm!) to rot in ignominy at St. Helena, and which handed France and Naples to the Bourbons, Venetia and Lombardy to the Austrians; the England of Shelley and Byron. There was an England which protested with John Bright against the Crimean War, which denied Russia's legitimate southern expansion, and cooped her up to stagnate and be tyrannised, there has been, when the Liberals were in opposition, instead alas, of in office, an England which protested against the South African War, and was hooliganed as a traitor.

And to that England one had done Mr. Wells the honour to believe he belonged. That is the only belief of which, as he says, he has knocked the bottom out—by his array of catastrophic and mythopoeic pronouncement and self-justificatory arguments.



Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Reply to Mr. Wells.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LABOUR LEADER."

SIR,—Mr. Wells's aggressively ejaculated questions in his letter in your last issue have been answered by me already, and it is a pity that before he began to attack he did not take the trouble to understand what he was assailing.

The difference between Mr. Wells and myself is this: that when he finds himself in a war that might have been avoided, that is a danger to European democracy, and that even in some respects is a blow to European civilisation, he is willing to believe any false excuse given by the authors of the war, and to whitewash any Power that may be our ally in the conflict. Whereas I am not. He desires to suppress the truth because it is inconvenient—another new role for Mr. Wells, by the bye—I believe that the truth is not only not inconvenient, but necessary.

Mr. Wells imagines that he is patriotic because he is spreading error broadcast, but that is only one of his temporary delusions. The very valuable services which he is rendering to the military caste in this country and to the tyrannical authorities of Russia are winning for him their gratitude at present, and will earn for him their laughter later on. The time for critical opposition is not passed. Should it pass, as I have repeatedly said, even Mr. Wells in his present mood will have no cause to complain of my action.

Mr. Keir Hardie's Reply to Mr. Wells.

At last! Sooner or later it was bound to be said, and, apparently, only a couple of professing Socialists have been able to muster sufficient courage to say it. Russia is fighting for Democracy! That, at least, is the only meaning which I can read into the letters from Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. R. C. K. Ensor in last week's "Labour Leader." It is a wonderful discovery. Nothing in all the bloodstained records of the countries now at war will ever outdo its shameless mendacity.

ATTITUDE OF GERMAN REFORMERS.

Mr. Ensor tells us that "Russian Reformers" know that the "fall of Kaiserism means the purifying of Tsarism." This child-like faith has its counterpart in Germany, where the "Prussian Reformers," including the Socialists, see in the triumph of Tsarism a bondage for themselves greater than anything they have ever had to endure. Junkerdom was being rapidly undermined by the growth of the Socialist Party and there were reasonable hopes that the next General Election would have seen its overthrow. Now, after Germany has been "crushed" and abased, and the Tsar rules over them from Petrograd, instead of the Kaiser from Potsdam, they see all hope vanishing. Surely the fears of the "Liberal Reformers" of Germany are as much entitled to our consideration as are the hopes of those of Russia?

I am writing this away from all books and papers, and therefore am unable to deal with Mr. Ensor's historical statements. (This remark also applies to Mr. Wells's article in the *Nation* which I have not yet seen.) If, however, Mr. Ensor's reading of history be correct, then it would only show the ruling class in Russia to be a set of nincompoops who have allowed themselves to be driven hither and thither at the will of their Prussian masters. That is a theory which I cannot accept, not at least, without some very convincing proof. But leaving aside for the moment the question of whether or not Russia in the past has been a catapaw of Germany, let us take her recent attitude towards the Liberal movement within her own shores as an indication of her zeal for reform.

INSTANCES OF RUSSIAN OUTRAGES.

The Pogroms against the Jews, for example, in which men, women, and children were ruthlessly massacred, and some of the organisers thereof, after having been found guilty of the outrage, publicly decorated by the Tsar himself. Was that due to German influence? Or take Bloody Sunday. A great peaceful procession of Trade Unionists and others were marching, if I remember aright, to present a petition of thanks to the Tsar for the reforms which had been granted, or promised, and when in front of the palace, machine guns opened fire upon them, killing and wounding many hundreds. When the Duma was elected was it not dissolved by force and over a hundred of its Socialist and Labour members banished into exile? Even now are not the dungeons of Russia filled with reformers? Only the other day Mr. Theo. Rothstein was telling us in a letter to the Press of some friends of his, the names of whom were given, who have just been sent to prison or exile (I forget which) for writing in favour of reform! Will Mr. Ensor trace all this murder and oppression to German influence, or is it not rather the real expression of the innate feeling of Russian Tsardom?

I can quite understand the feeling of Russian reformers who make themselves see in the war a means of perhaps weakening the barbaric power of the soulless oligarchy which for generations has been drowning all efforts at reform in blood and tears, but I can also see the fears of our German comrades lest the black shadow of Tsardom should fall upon them just at a time when they were on the point of getting rid of their own ogre of Junkerdom, and the I.L.P. shall certainly, neither by word nor by deed, make itself in any way responsible for that risk. I fear that the Russification of British institutions is a much more probable outcome of our alliance with Russia than is the Anglification of that country's methods of government.

Mr. H. G. Wells wants to know what we are going to do "now." That is like his colossal cheek. It is for him and his fellow war mongers to say what they are going to do "now." They should have thought of that in time. The nation, we say, could have been kept out of the way without loss of honour, dignity, safety, or position. As, however, he and others thought otherwise, it is for them to say what must be done "now."

WHAT THE I.L.P. WILL DO.

But we, too, have work to do "now." The I. L. P. is the one streak of sanity left to the nation. We are going to keep it so, and to enlarge its borders. We are going to see whether we cannot prevent the German people from being "crushed" and

"debased" by Russia. The day will come when German militarism will be defeated, and we shall then seek for peace on terms consistent with our own self-respect and that of the Democracy of Germany. We shall seek, if we can, to prevent memories of rankling bitterness and desire for revenge being left behind as an outcome of the peace terms. We shall tell our people that the war is the outcome of knavish secret diplomacy and backstairs understandings, and shall demand that these be put down with a strong hand. We shall insist that the State shall pay adequately for the soldiers and sailors who do its fighting, so that their dependants may not be left to the irritating, fussy, degrading semi-private charity which they now resent so bitterly. We shall try to get the Trade Unions made almoners for their own war relief, the State finding the money. We shall insist on work or adequate maintenance being provided for every one, young or old, who is out of work, and that all children shall be properly fed, clad, and cared for. We shall say that there is a risk of militarism becoming supreme over the civil power in Great Britain. We shall try to keep the lamp of freedom and free speech burning. These are some of the things which the I. L. P. will do "now." Mr. Wells and his friends must make up their own minds as to what they must do. That is their own affair. But one thing they must not do. They must not lie about those who differ from them. When Mr. Wells writes that I am "trying to misrepresent the negotiations which preceded the war," he writes an untruth. Mr. Wells is shouting with the multitude, and it is unworthy of the man to speak of either Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or myself as having "whined" in our criticism of the policy of the Foreign Secretary. But, after all, Mr. Wells has a reputation not only in newspaper articles, but also in his books, of taking a mean advantage of those whom he doesn't like.

WHEN ARMY WAS LAST MOBILISED.

There is a final note which I feel must be written, though in no sniping or unfriendly spirit. It was in the year 1911 that the British Army was last mobilised—and two men were shot dead at Lilianely. Would any railway man have touted for recruits for the Army then? And is not the enemy of the worker the same now as then? The most prominent of the South African exiles has been to Germany and comes back with the declaration that "the only attitude for the British Empire to adopt, I am convinced, is to fight with every available man until the Prussian military despotism is beaten. I am pleased to learn that South Africa is rising to the occasion." Now it was not the "Prussian military despotism" that sent troops to massacre striking miners in Johannesburg, or that sent into exile, where they still are, the writer of that passage and his colleagues.—*Labour Leader*.



"Fighting for Existence."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LABOUR LEADER."

SIR,—This country is fighting. It is not necessary to make the sentence any longer, as Mr. Wells does in his letter in your present issue (September 3), by saying: "This country is fighting for existence." The extra words bring no meaning that was not there before. "To fight" means "to fight for existence," to stake existence upon combat, and to stand or fall by victory or defeat; and consequently to introduce "for existence" into this sentence, as if the addition flooded the facts with a new and glorious significance, is not only redundancy, but, in this particular case, dishonest.

And the dishonesty lies in the attempt to convert a war whose inevitableness might have been averted, not, perhaps, at the last moment, but if our foreign policy of late years had been different, into a war of pure self-defence; in the attempt to persuade the country that the existence we are now fighting to defend was threatened before we took up arms to defend it; whereas only by taking up arms in pursuit and in defence of the policy which led to our taking up arms, have we involved our own country and, as regards our foreign policy, contributed to involving other countries, in this "fighting for existence."

What Mr. Keir Hardie and what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald "imagine they are doing at the present time," and what "the small section of the working class that still reads the *Labour Leader*" and the small section of the middle class who turn to the "*Labour Leader*" because its other leaders, political and journalistic, have betrayed it, not only imagine, but know that what they are doing at the present time, is fighting for the existence of something which it seems to them even more essential to defend than the neutrality of Belgium. They are fighting for Truth, by whose guidance only can the negotiations which succeed this war secure this country and other countries from the necessity of "fighting for existence" again; for Truth, which the people of this country have not yet delegated, or even given a chance of delegating, or will delegate to any Foreign Ministry; and against untruth, whose myriad forces in "this tre-

mendous crisis and opportunity" darken our national life—Yours, etc.,

JAMES COORNA WILLIS.

Blackheath



Are We Liberating Europe?

A Reply to those who declare this to be a "Holy War."

By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

SINCE the war began the Conservative Press has constituted itself the mouthpiece of the Labour Party. It knows all about us, what we are thinking, how we are divided, and what we have done in our private meetings. The usual scribes are inventing their little tales and are supplementing their little incomes by a few extra coppers won in this way. In our newspaper these tales appear as a paragraph in a London letter, in another as a special contribution from "A Labour Correspondent," in a third as an editorial article. Needless to say, most of them are as false as they are offensive. But that is how the show is worked. Public opinion must be kept feverish; electors must be misled, and above all the Labour movement damaged. Otherwise, how could there be wars? How could the working class be kept divided? War is both the seed time and the harvest of the interests of the classes that prey up in the common people.

WHAT THE I. L. P. WILL HAVE TO MEET.

Unfortunately for us, the game of reaction is easily played. Every people has a prejudice and an allurements which, when awakened, makes them forget their civilisation and their reason. Whichever Russian aggression to Germany, for instance, and it goes off its head; raise an anti-German cry here, dub peace advocates "Heir" and "Von" and the same thing happens with us. The "return to Nature" is all too simple to make one sure of one's footing on reason. And behind the grievous laps there is always a respectably good sentiment. I suppose if I were to put the very best face possible upon the present war and our part in it I should say that we are fighting, because we want to liberate Europe from the German military bureaucracy. That is what the I. L. P. will have to meet, and in relation to that we shall have to define our attitude.

Personally, I am willing to go to great lengths to do this. I have always held that it was a legitimate purpose of British foreign policy to aid the birth of liberty wherever we could. But in doing that we have to choose our friends and we have to be careful of our own record. The policy of "the Little Englander" is to keep his country clean, to provide it with honourable friends, and to make its influence felt all over the world. This is our first reply to the deluded ones who think this is a war for liberty. Our chief ally, Russia, will not allow us to claim that good credit. The thought of liberty never entered into the minds of those who promoted the *Triple Entente*, it has never inspired the partners to this *Entente*—nay, more—its sacrifice has kept the *Entente* in existence. It is now a more misleading after thought. Russia in arms with us to free Europe from an autocracy, whether political or military, is a grim joke.

HOW TO BREAK GERMAN DESPOTISM.

Now let me deal with a second point. Those of us who have striven for a good understanding with Germany have done so because we believed that the Russian autocracy could not survive the understanding. That was recognised in Berlin. When the Kaiser was here at the unveiling of Queen Victoria's memorial he was attacked by the Conservatives in Berlin because his friendship with Great Britain was subversive to them and their methods. The German Social Democrats were steadily gathering force to the same end. German military autocracy was strong, but German democracy was getting stronger. The growing life within German society was cracking the shell which encompassed it. That shell could be cracked from within—our Socialist policy, or from without—the policy of our Foreign Office. For eight weary years British diplomacy has been strengthening the shell by affording it a reason for its existence. Now it comes forward in war pretending to do the breaking. I lay it down as an incontrovertible proposition that the best way to overthrow what despotism there is in Germany is by Germans from within, and not by British, French, and Russians from without.

I want to go right down to the foundation of things. German military autocracy was bad for Europe—so is British secret diplomacy. But to try and break either by a war is stupid and criminal. Is it really true that, in *Anno Domini* 1914 the only way to dethrone the German military caste is for Britain, France, and Russia to fight it? It is not. The end cannot be secured in that way, and, if it could, the price is too dear. I would rather that

militarism had flourished for another ten years than that we should have sent thousands of men along the path of privation, hate, and pain to death, that we should have clouded thousands of happy firesides, that we should have undone our social reform work for a generation, that we should have let loose in Europe all the lusts of battle and all the brutalities of war. Already there have been acts done in this war which make the blood run hot and proud, but such acts are done in every time accident, every sinking of ship at sea, every sacrifice of a comrade. If I had to choose between German militarism for yet a little while and the battles already fought, the outrages already committed, the women and children already made desolate, I would, with torn heart and protesting nothing new but shadows seen through tears, I would unhesitatingly choose the former.

THE UNEQUAL SACRIFICE.

And that is not the full price. For a generation or so Europe will be paying for this war in an arrested civilization, a weakened population, an increased poverty. We are but replacing one European menace by a greater one. We hope to remove the fiend with blood-splashed foot from Berlin and take in exchange the dreaded rider on the white horse as the monarch of Europe.

The bargain is thoroughly bad, and the people will have to make good the balance. "Ah, but," they say, "we are all rich and poor alike, to share our privations." That is untrue. The rich lose their children like the poor and mourn for them like the poor; the rich subscribe their thousands to the charity funds, and their womenfolk, in comfortable places, make shirts for the wounded and petti-coats for the orphans. But there is no equality in the sacrifice. The poor lose the breadwinners—they lose all. When the father is gone charity alone can fill the mouths and clothe the backs of his little ones, and charity is a bad start for life. The rich do not suffer that. Take your subscription lists. The widow gives her farthing and the rich man his ten thousand pounds. Result: the widow becomes a pauper and the rich man remains rich. There can be no equality of sacrifice under such conditions. The poor are driven into the darkest parts of the Valley of the Shadow bending under the heaviest burdens, and masses of them see the light of happy health no more.

Destroy the military bureaucracy as we should like to see them destroyed, and as we were destroying them, and the poor are blessed, but destroy them as we are now pretending to destroy them and the poor are cursed for generations.

WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT?

There is a third point. What is to be the result of the success of our present methods? We debase one army and exalt another. I have just been told that one of the ablest military men of our country remarked recently to a friend that the war might last for three years—eighteen months of which would find Russia and ourselves fighting Germany and the other eighteen Germany and ourselves fighting Russia. That is an exaggerated and dramatic way of putting an obvious possibility. It is unthinkable that Germany should win. It will be overcome by starvation and financial stress, even if victorious on the field of battle, and the military exigencies of its position have forced it to alienate the sentiments for liberty in the heart of our democracy. Morally and financially, it is weak, and that will settle the battles in the end.

EUROPE UNDER NEW BARBARISM.

What is then to happen? First of all who is to be victor? Not what is vaguely called "the Allies." For how can Russia and ourselves have a common victory? Before the war broke out we were beginning to see in our "high places" that we had done too much for Russia, and if any one goes back and studies carefully statements made by Sir Edward Grey within the past year it will be seen that he has been changing in his attitude to Russia. Not very long ago I received an explanation of our foreign policy from one qualified to speak, and it was that we were in the triple *Entente* because we feared Russia, but that a conviction was growing that we had gone too far. Well, when Germany is down who will be up? We can gain little. A colony or two to add to our useless burdens perhaps. France will also have a colony or two, may be, and Alsace-Lorraine. It may or may not claim money payments. This will rankle in the German heart just as the loss of Alsace-Lorraine rankled in the French heart. But with strong democratic movements these things might be adjusted in a scheme of lasting peace. With Russia the case is different. It, too, will want something, but above all its autocracy will be rehabilitated, its military system will be strengthened, it will become the dominating power in Europe. No invader can touch it, as Napoleon found to his cost, and as Germany to-day assumes in its scheme of military tactics. It will press in upon us in Asia. Our defence of India will be a much bigger problem than it is now; China will be threatened; Persia will go. It will rivet upon us the Japanese Alliance, one of the greatest political menaces to our Imperial unity. Above all it will revitalize the Pan Slav movement, and if ever Europe is to be made subject to a new barbarism this

movement is to do it. I know that if the Pan Slav movement could be democratized it might be harmless. But the Government of the Slav is just that which will yield fast of all to democratic influences.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER.

So it comes to this. We are in this conflict in a senseless blind sort of way because years ago we had not the foresight and common sense to protect ourselves from being drawn into it. France is in it to wipe out 1870-71; Russia is in it to dominate the Old World—Asia as well as Europe.

I read and listen to the moral flim-fuys of those who tell us that this is the last war, that from it is to date the overthrow of the military caste of Europe, that from the destruction of the Berlin War Office the Peace Temple at the Hague is to come into real being. It is all moonshine. Far more likely is it that this war is the beginning of a new military despotism in Europe, of new alarms, new hatreds and oppositions, new menaces and alliances; the beginning of a dark epoch dangerous, not merely to democracy, but to civilization itself.

To prevent this we must work with might and main, and our success will be measured by our clearness of sight and courage in explaining to our people now how this war has come, what it really means, and how it is to be ended.—*Labour Leader*.



Thoughts in Adversity.

When we exaggerate our successes we set our minds travelling in one direction with an illusory and excessive momentum; and this, when it is suddenly checked by the news of failure, throws us into an intellectual and emotional bewilderment during which all the intellectual and emotional vices are apt to flourish. Many of us undoubtedly exaggerated the first successes of the Allies. We thought they meant more than they did mean, not merely in their effect upon the campaign, but also in the light they were supposed to throw upon the state of the German Army. We began to believe that the German organization, by a kind of divine justice, was no better than the German national conscience. We did not understand that the German national conscience was bad partly because it had surrendered itself to this matter of organization, because the German sense of duty, always very strong, saw nothing beyond the need to make Germany the most complete fighting machine in the world. It is clear to every one that the national sense of duty, thus perverted, had brought stupidity into the German diplomacy; and therefore we hoped and believed that it had also brought stupidity into the German military machine and that the divine justice was going to work as precisely and immediately on this earth as if it were Heaven. But the divine justice, as we all ought to know, does not work thus on earth. If it did, the German intelligence would never have permitted the present perversion of the German sense of duty. It is because it does immediately pay to turn a nation into a wonderful fighting machine that the German sense of duty has been able to lower itself to that task, that the German conscience has been able to take for an end what is really, at best, only a means. If a nation, by thinking and acting like a nest of war-making ants, did not attain to the excellence that it aims at, it would not be tempted to aim at it. The temptation is strong because the excellence can be attained to; and it is clear now, as it ought to have been clear from the first, that the Germans have attained to it. That is the fact we have to face, putting away from ourselves our first illusions that perhaps it was no longer a fact.

If we are to have a real faith in the divine justice, we must not expect it to be our ally on earthly battlefields; we must not hope to see the laws of God fighting for us, as the Great Twin-Brethren fought for the Romans at the battle of Lake Regillus. For the essence of faith is that it does not look for payment here on earth. When Cromwell said "Trust in God and keep your powder dry," he meant that God would not keep your powder dry for you, and, further, that he would not damp the powder of an unrighteous enemy. Faith is only pure and sound when the faithful are ready to face failure for it; and it only pays, in this world, when they are enduring just because they do not expect it to pay. The Battle of Marathon would not have the glory that it has—a glory that still shines upon us like a victory of our own—if the Greeks had gone into the field sure that they would win because the future of the world was in their hands. They must have believed that all the odds were against them; and there have been many Marathons in history that were defeated no less glorious. Faith and courage only exist because the future is always uncertain; and the faith and courage that are based upon an illusion of certainty are themselves illusions and turn to panic at the first touch of failure.

The Germans, no doubt, are expecting that this will happen now to us and our Allies. Their whole method of war is based upon that expectation. Since they have, nationally, foregone the higher faith, they believe that it does not exist. They will sacrifice everything, including their national conscience, to strike a shattering blow, because they are sure that their first great success will intimidate us all as if we too were nests of ants fighting for our nests and nothing else. But it is here that we must disappoint them, and we can only do so if we make up our minds to the fact that, since they sacrificed everything to this power of striking a shattering blow, they are likely to have the power. They have struck; and the blow has been less rapid and terrible than they hoped or we might have expected; and for that we may be thankful. But now that their power is disclosed to us comes the time when we must exercise that counter-power in which they have no belief. It falls upon our Allies to exercise it more than upon ourselves; and we must therefore have faith in them just as much as in our cause. At first, perhaps, we thought that they could do more than they could do. At first we were tempted to believe that the high French and Belgian spirit must mean immediate success; and for that very reason there is a danger lest we should think that we have been deceived in the spirit when we have only been telling ourselves what we wished to be true. A high spirit and a righteous cause, even if combined with all material efficiency, do not ensure success in war; for they do not ensure that the enemy, however unrighteous his cause, is inferior in spirit or efficiency, or, above all, in numbers. And if we start by believing that they do ensure success, we are likely, when failure comes, to believe that the efficiency, it not the spirit, is wanting. Even if we do not despond about ourselves, we are likely to despond about our Allies; and that despondency is the most dangerous and the basest that we can fall into. But these are warnings that every one of us must give to himself rather than to others. If we have, in the first weeks of the war, indulged ourselves in the lower faith that we must win because we are right, now is the time for us to recover the higher faith that we must disregard defeat because we are right. And we must keep that faith, not because we hope to win by means of it, but because it is the only faith worth having and fighting for.

The French now are fighting for their national existence. We know what manner of nation they are, and we know that they have been preparing for this struggle for years. We may be sure therefore, that their past preparations and their present war are worthy of them, and our business is to make our own war worthy of us, without pride in ourselves or misgivings about our Allies. We must foster no legend about the superiority of our own troops, for this is a war in which the allied nations are lost in the common cause and in which rivalry would mean treachery to it. On the field of battle there are no longer Englishmen and Frenchmen at all. There is only Europe, with all the best of its past and future, fighting against a heresy that the Germans have inherited from the Tartars of Asia. And they, because they are Europeans, have given to that heresy a new power and glory by enriching it with European intelligence and the European sense of duty. These they have inherited from the higher European labours of the past; and, though they may misname them, they still possess them. They are fighting against Europe, but with the strength of Europe, with some part even of its moral strength. And Europe itself, thus forced into a civil war against its own heretics, has no material superiority over them because they are heretics. The Germans, though they have the diplomacy of Atrila, do not make war with Tartar caprice and inconsistency. Their machine, like all machines, is the product of long-exercised and self-denying intelligence, even while it has no more conscience than any other machine. Whatever they do, good or bad, whether they lay down their lives for their country or exact a ransom from neutral capital has a purpose in it; and we can only defeat them with the same steady purpose, and with a machine, inferior to theirs and yet superior, because it has a conscience in it. In so far as our machine is inferior to theirs, that is the material penalty we pay, and the French with us, because neither of us has ever been able to think of a nation as a fighting machine and nothing more. Just as the man who gives all his energy to growing rich does grow richer than the man who has some sense of higher things, so the nation that gives all its energy to material power is more powerful than the nation that has a sense of higher things. And the nation, like the man, may exercise many of the virtues in pursuit of the lower aim. That the Germans have done and are doing. They have learnt devotion, even if they are mistaken in its object. It may be an idol that they worship; but they will sacrifice to it as if it were the true God. And the true God does not now reveal himself in fire from Heaven to the confusion of the priests of Baal. "It is the way of Heaven not to speak; yet it knows how to obtain an answer." That is the truth about the universe as we know it: and it is for us now to make the answer of faith to this silence of a Heaven that faith alone tells us is not indifferent. And that answer now is one of deeds not words, but of deeds made constant by the faith that is behind them. It is for us not to expect failure or success, not to be cast down or puffed up by the winds of fortune, but to remember always that the cause is

greater than the fortunes of those who fight for it. We believe, and with reason, that we must win in the end; but our victory would be worth nothing to the world if we had only fought because of that belief. We must fight as if all the odds were against us and there were nothing but the cause to make us fight, if we are to keep our souls worthy of the cause to the end.

The Times (Literary Supplement.)



Mr. Churchill and the Issue.

Message to America.

THE following is the text of an interview given by the First Lord of the Admiralty to Mr. William G. Shepherd, the representative of the United Press Associations of America:—

On my asking Mr. Churchill about the cause of the war, he handed me the celebrated White Paper of Sir Edward Grey's negotiations, saying: "There is our case, and all we ask of the American people is that they should study it with severe and impartial attention."

I then asked what was the underlying cause apart from the actual steps which had led to the rupture.

He replied, in effect, that the war was started and it was being maintained by the Prussian military aristocracy, which set no limits to its ambition of world-wide predominance. In a word, it is the old struggle of 100 years ago against Napoleon. The grouping of forces is different; the circumstances are different; the occasion is different—the man, above all, is different—happily. But the issue is the same. We are at grips with Prussian militarism. England stands right in the path of this overgrowing power. Our military force is perhaps small, but it is good and it will grow; our naval and financial resources are considerable, and with these we stand between this mighty army and a dominion which would certainly not be content with European limits.

I asked whether the end of the war would see some abatement of the strength of armaments.

Mr. Churchill replied: That depends on the result. If we succeed, and if, as the result of our victory Europe is rearranged, as far as possible, with regard to the principle of nationality and in accordance with the wishes of the peoples who dwell in the various disputed areas, we may look forward with hope to a great relaxation and easement. But if Germany wins it will not be the victory of the quiet, sober, commercial elements in Germany, nor of the common people of Germany with all their virtues, but the victory of the blood and iron military school, whose doctrines and principles will then have received a supreme and terrible vindication.

WHAT IS AT STAKE.

I cannot understand (he continued) why Germany has not been contented with her wonderful progress since the Battle of Waterloo. For the last half century she has been the centre of Europe; courted by many, feared by many, treated with deference by all. No country has had such a reign of prosperity and splendour, yet all the time she has been discontented, solicitous of admiration, careless of international law, worshipping force and giving us all to understand that her triumphs in the past and her power in the present were little compared to what she sought in the future. And now the great collision has come, and it is well that the democratic nations of the world—the nations, I mean where the peoples own the Government and not Government the people—should realise what is at stake. The French, English, and American systems of government by popular election and Parliamentary debate, with the kind of civilisation which flows from such institutions, are brought into direct conflict with the highly efficient Imperialist bureaucracy and military organisation of Prussia. That is the issue. No partisanship is required to make it plain. No sophistry can obscure it.

I asked whether the democracy of the United States, apart from the moral issues involved, had any direct interests in the result of the war.

You are the judges of that (replied the First Lord). You do not require me to talk to you of your interests. If England were to be reduced in this war, or in another which would be sure to follow from it if this war were inconclusive, to the position of a small country like Holland, then, however far across the salt water your country may lie, the burden which we are bearing now would fall on to your shoulders. I do not mean by that Germany would attack you, or that if you were attacked you would need to fear the result so far as the United States was concerned. The Monroe Doctrine, however, carries you very far in South as well as North America; and is it likely that victorious German militarism, which would then have shattered France irretrievably, have conquered Belgium, and have broken for ever the power of England, would allow itself to be permanently cut off from all hopes of that overseas expansion and development with which South America alone can supply it?

A WAR OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

Now the impact is on us. Our blood which flows in your veins should lead you to expect that we shall be stubborn enough to bear that impact. But if we go down and are swept in ruin into the past, you are the next in the line. This war is for us a war of honour, of respect for obligations into which we have entered, and of loyalty towards friends in desperate need. But now that it has begun it has become a war of self-preservation. The British democracy, its ardent social and philanthropic dreams, is engaged for good or for ill in deadly grapple with the formidable might of Prussian autocratic rule.

It is our system of civilisation and government against theirs. It is our life or theirs. We are conscious of the greatness of the times. We recognise the consequence and proportion of events. We feel that however inadequate we may be, however unexpected the ordeal may be, we are under the eye of history, and the issue being joined, England must go forward to the very end.

While I was speaking to Mr. Churchill, a telegram came in from Belgium announcing the total destruction of the town of Louvain as an act of military execution. Handing it to me, he said: "What further proof is needed of the cause at issue? Tell that to your American fellow countrymen. You know," he added. "I am half American myself."

German Ambassador's Reply.

The German Press Bureau on 30th August, issued a statement by Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in New York, replying to Mr. Churchill's interview.

The Ambassador said that the interview was merely another attempt, and he hoped a futile one, to deceive Americans. He charged Mr. Churchill, as the exponent of a big navy "which threatens Germany's existence as a naval Power," with being largely responsible for the present war.

"Mr. Churchill's assumption," continued the statement, "that there is a division between the military aristocracy and the people is wrong. Everybody in Germany has opposed a war, but when Germany was basely attacked by other nations acting on a concerted plan all Germans were united in the defence of their Fatherland."



Alleged German Barbarism.

The Press Bureau has communicated a detailed statement by the Belgian Minister concerning German violations of the customs of civilized warfare. The statement is as follows:—

In spite of solemn assurances of good will and long standing treaty obligations, Germany has made a sudden, savage, and utterly unwarranted attack on Belgium.

However sorely pressed she may be, Belgium will never fight unfairly and never stoop to infringe the laws and customs of legitimate warfare. She is putting up a brave fight against overwhelming odds; she may be beaten, she may be crushed, but, to quote our noble King's words, "she will never be enslaved."

When German troops invaded our country the Belgian Government issued public statements which were placarded in every town, village, and hamlet warning all civilians to abstain scrupulously from hostile acts against the enemy's troops. Nevertheless the German authorities have issued lately statements containing grave imputations against the attitude of the Belgian civilian population, threatening us at the same time with dire reprisals. These imputations are contrary to the real facts of the case, and as to threats of further vengeance no menace of odious reprisals on the part of the German troops will deter the Belgian Government from protesting before the civilized world against the fearful and atrocious crimes committed wilfully and deliberately by the invading hosts against helpless non-combatants, old men, women, and children.

Long is the list of outrages committed by the German troops and appalling the details of atrocities, as vouched for by the Committee of Inquiry recently formed by the Belgian Minister of Justice and presided over by him. This committee comprises the highest judicial and university authorities of Belgium, such as Chief Justice Van Iseghem, Judge Nys, Professors Collier, Wodon, &c.

INSTANCES AND PARTICULARS.

The following instances and particulars have been established by careful investigations based in each case on the evidence of reliable eye-witnesses:—

German cavalry occupying the village of Linamean were attacked by some Belgian infantry and two gendarmes. No one of the civilian population took part in the fighting. Nevertheless, the village was invaded at dusk on August 10 and two farms and six outlying houses were destroyed by gun fire and burnt. All the male inhabitants were then compelled to come forward and hand over whatever arms they

possessed. No recently discharged firearms were found. The invaders divided these peasants into three groups, those in one group were bound and eleven of them placed in a ditch where they were afterwards found dead, their skulls fractured by the butts of German rifles.

During the night of August 10 German cavalry entered Velm in great numbers. The inhabitants were asleep. The Germans, without provocation, fired on M. Deglimme-Geyers's house, broke into it, destroyed furniture, looted money, burnt barns, hay and corn stacks, farm implements, six oxen, and the contents of the farmyard. They carried off Mrs. Deglimme, half naked, to a place two miles away. She was then let go, and was fired upon as she fled without being hit. Her husband was carried away in another direction and fired upon. He is dying.

Farmer Jef Dierickx, of Neerhespen, bears witness to the following acts of cruelty committed by German cavalry at Orsmael and Neerhespen on August 10, 11, and 12:—

NAMELESS ATROCITIES.

An old man of the latter village had his arm sliced in three longitudinal cuts; he was then hanged head downwards and burned alive. Young girls have been raped and little children outraged at Orsmael, where several inhabitants suffered mutilations too horrible to describe. A Belgian soldier belonging to a Battalion of cyclist carabiniers, who had been wounded and made prisoner, was hanged, whilst another, who was tending his comrade, was bound to a telegraph pole on the St. Trond-road and shot.

On Wednesday, August 12, after an engagement at Haelen, Commandant Van Damme, so severely wounded that he was lying prone on his back, was finally murdered by German infantrymen firing their revolvers into his mouth.

In different places, notably at Hulloque-sur-Geer, Barchon, Pontisse, Haelen, and Zelek, German troops have fired on doctors, ambulance bearers, ambulances, and ambulance wagons carrying the Red Cross.

At Boncelles a body of German troops marched into battle carrying a Belgian flag.

On Thursday, August 6, before a fort at Liege, German soldiers continued to fire on a party of Belgian soldiers (who were unarmed, and had been surrounded while digging a trench) after these had hoisted the white flag.

On the same day, at Vottem, near the fort of Loucin, a group of German infantry hoisted the white flag. When Belgian soldiers approached to take them prisoners the Germans suddenly opened fire on them at close range.

On Aug. 19, after a Belgian resistance on the previous day, German troops entered Aerschot without a shot having been fired from the town and without any resistance whatever having been made. The few inhabitants that remained had closed their doors and windows in compliance with the general orders issued by the Belgian Government. Nevertheless, the Germans broke into the houses and told the inhabitants to quit.

In one single street the first six male inhabitants who crossed their thresholds were seized and shot at once under the very eyes of their wives and children.

The German troops then retired for the day, only to return in greater number the next day.

They then compelled the inhabitants to leave their houses and marched them to a place 200 yards from the town. There, without more ado, they shot M. Thielemans, the Burgomaster, his 15-year-old son, the clerk of the local judicial board and 10 prominent citizens. They then set fire to the town and destroyed it.

The following statement was made by Commandant Georges Gilsen, of the 9th Infantry of the Line, now lying in hospital at Antwerp:—

"I was told to cover the retreat of our troops in front of Aerschot. During the action fought there on Wednesday, August 19, between 6 and 8 o'clock in the morning, suddenly I saw on the high road, between the German and Belgian forces, which were fighting at close range, a group of four women, with babies in their arms, and two little girls clinging to their skirts. Our men stopped firing till the woman got through our lines, but the German machine-guns went on firing all the time, and one of the women was wounded in the arm. These women could not have got through the neighbouring German lines and been on the high road unless with the consent of the enemy.

"All the evidence and circumstances seem to point to the fact that these women had been deliberately pushed forward by the Germans to act as a shield for their advance guard, and in the hope that the Belgians would cease firing for fear of killing the women and children."

This statement was made and duly certified in the Antwerp Hospital on August 22 by Commandant Gilsen in the presence of the Chevalier Ernest N. Busswyck, Chief Secretary to the Belgian Minister of Justice, and M. de Cartier de Marchienne, Belgian Minister to China.

In publishing the above statements the only comment the Press Bureau can offer is that these atrocities appear to be committed in villages and throughout the countryside with the deliberate intention of terrorising the people, and so making it unnecessary to leave troops in occupation of small places or to protect lines of communication. In large places like Brussels, where the diplomatic representatives of neutral Powers are eye-witnesses, there appear to have been no excesses.



Belgians' Address to the King.

Gratitude to England.

THE Belgian Mission to the President of the United States, which arrived in London on August 31st, was received on September, at Buckingham Palace by the King, and afterwards paid visits to Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office and to the French and Russian Ambassadors.

M. Carton de Wiart (Minister of Justice) told a representative of the Times that the Mission would also have felt it its duty, had Parliament not adjourned, to have visited Westminster to thank the Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Grewo, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Redmond for their graceful allusions to Belgium and her people in their speeches and that a report of these speeches will be printed in Flemish and French and distributed among the Belgian troops.

The members of the Mission, in addition to the Minister of Justice, are M. de Saeleer, M. Emile Vandervelde and M. Paul Hymans. They are accompanied by Count Lichtervelde as secretary. Before leaving Antwerp they were received by the King of the Belgians, who said he wished it to be impressed upon the civilized peoples of the world that Belgium would see this fight through to the end with unconquerable spirit.

THE BELGIAN CASE

At Buckingham Palace, where the members of the Mission were introduced to the King by the Belgian Minister, the following address to His Majesty was read to the King—

Sire,—Belgium, having had to choose between the sacrifice of her honour and the perils of war, did not hesitate. She opposed the brutal aggression committed by a power which was one of the guarantors of her neutrality. In this critical situation it was for our country an inestimable tower of strength to see coming forth the resolute and immediate intervention of great and powerful England.

Commissioned by His Majesty the King of the Belgians with a mission to the President of the United States, we have considered it to be our duty to make a stay in the capital of the British Empire to convey to your Majesty the respectful and ardent expression of gratitude of the Belgian nation. We have never forgotten that England presided at the birth of Belgian independence. She has had confidence in the wisdom and loyalty of our country. We have tried to justify this confidence by remaining strictly true to the role which has been assigned to us by international politics.

In 1870 the Government of Queen Victoria of illustrious memory intervened spontaneously between the belligerent Powers to ensure the neutrality and integrity of Belgium. To-day the personal messages addressed by your Majesty to our Sovereign, the solemn and impressive declarations by your Government, the noble speeches of representatives of all parties in your Parliament, the courageous co-operation of the British land and sea forces, have revived the gratitude and fortified still further the will of the Belgian nation to defend her right.

Forced to go to war for the protection of her institutions and her hearths, in this resistance Belgium wanted to bring to bear the force which is imposed on each civilized nation by international Conventions and the human conscience. Our adversary, after invading our territory, has decimated the civil population, massacred women and children, carried into captivity inoffensive peasants, put to death wounded, destroyed undefended towns, burned churches, historical monuments, and the famous library of the University of Louvain. All these facts are established by authenticated documents, which we shall have the honour to submit to the Government of your Majesty.

In spite of all our suffering, Belgium, which has been made the personification of outraged right, is resolute in fulfilling to the utmost her duties towards Europe. Whatever may happen she must defend her existence, her honour, and her liberty.

THE KING'S REPLY.

The King made a brief reply, in which in cordial terms, he paid a tribute to the courage and heroism of the King of the Belgians, his Army, and people, and expressed the sympathy of the British

nation with the Belgian people. The King is also stated to have said that he was very shocked at the reports of German brutality.

The visit to the Foreign Office took place in the afternoon, when Sir Edward Grey was handed a copy of the minutes of evidence taken by the Belgian Commission of Inquiry into the reports of outrages by German troops. In the evening the members of the Mission explained to a number of representatives of the Press their objects and some of the evidence they intend to make public.

M. de Wiart said that the Mission, composed of Ministers of State belonging to different political parties at home had been sent to the United States to lay a plain statement before President Wilson showing the atrocious way in which the Belgians had been treated by the German Armies. He went on to explain various heads of offence—the violation of neutrality, the bombardment of open towns, the destruction of villages without any military necessity, and the massacre of non-combatants, including women and children. He gave several specific instances, with the names of the victims—

A woman, aged 45, with her daughter, aged 12, discovered hiding in a drain, were shot.

A man named Willem, aged 23, was bound to a tree and burned alive.

In a village near Drest two men, each 40 years of age, must have been buried alive head downwards.

These were facts, said M. de Wiart, which had been duly inquired into by the Commission. As to the sacking of Louvain, he produced a statement, dated August 30th, which had been handed to the Commission by a person of universal repute in Belgium. This person, on August 30th, travelled from Brussels to Louvain. His evidence was that the whole town had been destroyed by fire, with the exception of the town hall and the city station. The cathedral and the theatre had been destroyed and had completely collapsed, as also had the library, rich in its old manuscripts. In general the town presented the aspect of an old ruined city—a modern Pompeii—in which the only people one could see were drunken soldiers carrying bottles of wine and liqueurs, and their officers seated in the streets at tables, drunk like their men. Even on August 30th, according to this witness, the Germans were not content with the destruction they had wrought. They were kindling new fires in the town and feeding them with straw.

M. de Wiart added that he had been given information personally in the hospitals by the wounded that as they lay suffering on the battlefield they received bayonet thrusts from German soldiers. A druggist, as the result of a patriotic refusal to give the enemy information, was carried to the hospital with a number of bayonets and other wounds.

M. Vandervelde said he had received personally the testimony of Belgian soldiers that the German soldiers had frequently adopted the plan of placing women and children in front of their ranks to cover their advance. He had visited Malines to find the Germans still bombarding a deserted town. It had been the policy of the German Army in the North of Belgium to lay the whole countryside waste—he supposed with a view to stopping the food supplies of the refugees.

M. Vandervelde is accompanied by his wife, who is going later to the United States to address audiences of women in New York and other cities.



French Government's Manifesto.

The Retirement from Paris.

THE following is the translation of the manifesto issued by President Poincaré and the French Government to the people of France on the 3rd September announcing the decision of the Government to leave Paris.

PEOPLE OF FRANCE!

For several weeks relentless battles have engaged our heroic troops and the army of the enemy. The valour of our soldiers has won for them at several points marked advantages, but in the North the pressure of the German forces has compelled us to fall back.

This situation has compelled the President of the Republic and the Government to take a painful decision.

In order to watch over the national welfare it is the duty of the public powers to remove temporarily from the city of Paris.

Under the command of its eminent Chief, the French army full of courage and zeal, will defend the capital and its patriotic population against the invader.

But the war must be carried on at the same time on the rest of its territory.

Without peace or truce, without cessation or faltering, the struggle for the honour of the nation and the reparation of violated right must continue.

None of our armies is impaired. If some of them have sustained too considerable losses the gaps have immediately been filled up from the reserves, and the appeal for recruits assures us of new reserves in men and energy to-morrow.

Endure and fight! Such must be the motto of the allied British, Russian, Belgian, and French armies.

Endure and fight, while at sea the British aid us, cutting the communication of our enemy with the world.

Endure and fight, while the Russians continue to advance to strike the decisive blow at the heart of the German Empire.

It is the duty of the Government of the Republic to direct this stubborn resistance.

Everywhere Frenchmen will rise for their independence: but to ensure the utmost spirit and efficacy to the formidable fight it is indispensable that the Government shall remain free to act.

At the request of the military authorities the Government is therefore temporarily shifting its headquarters to place where it can remain in constant touch with the whole of the country.

It calls upon members of Parliament not to remain away from it in order that they may form with their colleagues the symbol of national unity.

The National Government only leaves Paris after having assured the defence of the city and of the entrenched camp by every means in its power.

It knows that it does not need to recommend to the admirable population of Paris that calm resolution and coolness which it is showing every day, and which is equal to its highest duties.

People of France, let us be worthy of these tragic circumstances: we shall gain the final victory, we shall gain it by unflinching will, endurance, and tenacity.

A nation which does not wish to perish, and which in order to live does not flinch either from suffering or sacrifice, is sure of victory.

The manifesto is signed by President Poincaré and all the Ministers.



German Change of Front.

The London correspondent of the *Statesman* writes:—On the night of September 7th, the official Press Bureau sent out the following terse intimation:—"General Joffre's plans are being speedily carried out. The allied forces, acting on the offensive, have been successful in checking and forcing back in a north-easterly direction, the German forces opposed to them." This was supplemented by a French War Office announcement in the following terms:—"A general action is being fought on a line passing through Nantouillet, Handouin, Meaux, Sezanne and Vitry Le François, and extending to Verdun, a front of about 150 miles. Thanks to the vigorous action of our troops, powerfully supported by the British Army, the German forces which had advanced on September 5th and September 6th as far as the Comblommes and La Ferte Gaucher district, were compelled to fall back." As the cables have already informed you, there lay behind these curt communications a vital change in the conditions of the conflict. It indicated a complete change of front on the part of the German force, a change almost amounting to a right-angle turn. The beginning of the alteration of the German plans was noticeable at Creil. Hidden by a thick screen of troops from the army in the field, but observed by aerial squadrons, the enemy was seen to be on the move. Ground won at Soissons was given up, and the German troops, which at that point were nearer Paris than any other men of the Kaiser's army, were marched to the rear. Only the commanders in the field can say whether the movement was expected, but it is the fact that immediately the enemy began their strategic movement, British and French dispositions were changed. This alteration in the German plans was wholly unexpected, for, as matters stood, the way was apparently open for the march on Paris. The north-west of France was abandoned as far south as Abbeville, and Amiens was but lightly held by a mixed army corps of French and Algerian troops with their headquarters at Amiens. Always obsessed with the idea that the Germans must come from the east, the almost fatal error of this was that the French had girdled Paris with almost impregnable forts on that side, from those of Ecouen and Montmorency by the far-flung forts of Chelles and Champigny to those of Suzy and Villeneuve, the outer lines of a triple cordon. But on the west side, between Pontoise and Versailles, the defences of Paris were weak. This then, was the enemy's chance. It was for this that they had fought their way westwards and southwards through an incessant battlefield, from Mons and Charleroi to St. Quentin and Amiens, and down to Creil and Compiègne, flinging away human life as though it were but rubbish for the death-pile. The prize seemed to be within their grasp. All the north-west

corner of France was denuded of the allied troops. The forts were unguarded. Havre, which has been the scene of military tumult, was silent and deserted, our base having moved elsewhere.

Paris awaited its fate, sick with fear and despair in the first moment of that inevitable panic which took possession of its citizens. It is useless to say that it was not panic-stricken. The mothers and fathers of little children cannot afford to brave the approach of hurtling shells. Then quite suddenly there came a new and extraordinary activity of the French and English armies. Regiments were being rushed up to the centre of the allied forces towards Creil, Montdidier and Noyon. That was before last Tuesday, when the English troops were fighting hard at Creil. This great movement was directed from the west, the south and the east, and continued for several days.

"I saw regiment after regiment entraining," writes Mr. Phillip Gibbs in the *Daily Chronicle*, in a despatch dated from St. Pierre Du Vauvrey. "Men from the southern provinces speaking the patois of the south, men from the eastern departments whom I had seen a month before at the beginning of the war at Chalons and Eprenay and Nancy, and men from the south-west and centre of France in the garrisons along the line, they were all in splendid spirits, utterly undaunted by the rapidity of the German advance.

"Fear nothing my little one," said a dirty unshaven gentleman with the laughing eyes of D'Artagnan, "we shall bite their heads off. These brutal of Boches are going to put themselves in a veritable deathtrap. We shall have them at last."

The railway carriages were garlanded with flowers of the fields. The men wore posies in their kepis. In white chalk they had scrawled legends upon the cattle trucks in which they travelled. "A mort Guillaume," "Vive la gloire," "Les Français de se redent jamais." Many of them had fought at Longwy and along the heights of the Vosges. The youngest of them had bristling beards. Their blue coats with the turned back flaps were war worn and flaked with the dust of long marches. But they had not forgotten how to laugh and the gallantry of their spirits was a joy to see. They are very proud, those French soldiers of fighting side by side with their old foes the English, now after long centuries of strife, from Edward the Black Prince to Wellington, their brothers in arms upon the battlefield. All our English reserves had been rushed up to the front from Havre and Rouen. There was only one deduction to be drawn from this great swift movement. The French and English lines had been supported by every available battalion to save Paris from its menaces of destruction and to meet the weight of the enemy's metal. By a force strong enough to resist its mighty mass, it is still possible that the Germans might be smashed on their left wing, hurled back to the west between Paris and the sea and cut off from their line of communications. It was undoubtedly this impending peril which scared the enemy's headquarters staff and upset all its calculations. They had not anticipated the rapidity of the supporting movement of the allied armies and at the very gates of Paris they saw themselves balked of their prize, the greatest prize of the war, by the necessity of changing front. Instead of proceeding to the west of Paris they swung round steadily to the south east in order to keep their armies away from the enveloping movement of the French and English and drive their famous wedge-like formation southwards for the purpose of dividing the allied forces of the west from the French army of the east. Their right army struck down to the south-east of Paris through Chateau Thierry to Fère la Jouvence and beyond. Their centre army marched from Troye in the Department of the Aube, and their army of the left forced the French to evacuate Rheims and fall back in a south-westerly direction.

Mr. W. T. Massey supplements these details in a long telegram to the *Daily Telegraph* from Pontoise. "Eight days ago," he says, "when I was in Amiens, just as it was being evacuated by the allied troops, it was proved conclusively that our fighting line must be more strongly supported or all hopes of preventing a rush to the fortifications of Paris would have to be abandoned. The overwhelming mass behind the arrow head of the German right would have broken through but for the steadiness of the British ranks and the skilful handling of the whole force by Sir John French. The large addition to the Allied fighting strength accounted for a revision of the German scheme of attack. That is the opinion of military men, and at the very moment when there was a possibility of a vigorous and sustained attempt to pierce the Paris fortifications on the north, and the comparatively lightly held lines on the west, the enemy swung round to the east, fearful lest a repulse on the north might jeopardise the safety of the troops thrown forward on his right. There was another reason and this one is stronger than the fear for his flank. If by throwing all his weight on a portion of the allied he could break the line, turn, west one army at a time and crush the detached force, the enemy would immediately discount the value of the reinforcements received by the allies."

Scenes in Liege.

Professor Hamelius's Experiences.

PROFESSOR PAUL HAMELIUS, Professor of English Literature at the University of Liege, left that place and has arrived in London in mail week. In conversation with a representative of the "Morning Post" he gave an account of his experiences in Liege and of his journey home.

Professor Hamelius said that he left Liege on foot and walked to the railway station at Ans, just above the town, where he got on board a train composed simply of one carriage and an engine. He and several others, including a young Red Cross doctor, travelled some distance towards Brussels by this, but after a time the engine-driver refused to go farther, for fear of German patrols which were about the country. The passengers therefore got out and walked along the line for some distance and then got aboard another train. Once at Brussels their difficulties were at an end. The Professor slept the night there, proceeded to Ostend on the 19th August and crossed to Folkestone on board the Belgian steamship "Princess Clementine" the same afternoon. The passengers included a large number of cultured Russian people who were hurriedly leaving Belgium.

ENTHUSIASM AND EXCITEMENT.

On the first news of the outbreak of war everybody, said Professor Hamelius, responded enthusiastically to the call to arms. The people assisted the Government in every possible way in preparing for the German invasion and submitted to the commandeering of motor-cars, food, horses, etc., with the greatest goodwill. They were one and all filled with the determination to defend the country. The people in Liege were extremely patriotic, and there was not the slightest sign of flinching. There was naturally a tremendous amount of excitement, and they were all extremely nervous. They could hear firing going on at intervals throughout the surrounding country, but the bulk of the people were entirely ignorant of what really was taking place. There were indications that the Belgian troops were steadily contesting the German advance and falling back very slowly, fighting the whole time. The nervousness of the people showed itself in various ways. Women would be busily packing up bundles of their possessions and running out of their houses with them. When asked where they were going they replied, "To my mother's, or some such answer. There was no rhyme or reason in their conduct. They were simply filled with a dread of impending trouble and felt that they must do something to avoid it. The better educated people, the Professor thought, were the more nervous. The ignorant people were liable to sudden panic, but on the whole took matters somewhat stolidly and were free from the terrors of the imagination. As an instance of this the Professor quoted the remark made by his housekeeper. There was heavy firing going on one night from Belgian fort close by his house, which aroused the whole household. His housekeeper opened the door leading into the garden and said to him, "Sir they fire so loud that they keep me awake."

TUNNELS DESTROYED.

As the Belgians retired they destroyed the railway tunnels. Their manner of doing so was to pull up the rails for some distance inside the tunnel and then run an engine, the driver jumping off the locomotive just before it entered. The engine became derailed at the point where the rails had been torn up and so effectively blocked the road. More engines were run in until the tunnel was choked with iron and debris which it would take some considerable time for the Germans to clear out.

The German troops advanced apparently from Vise along the Dutch frontier, thus leaving their right flank protected and a practically clear country to traverse. After some three or four days of this tension in Liege, rumours began to get about that the Germans were approaching and about evening on the 20th August the Belgian soldiers retired to the forts and the Germans took possession of the town. They appeared to enter the place by arrangement, for the civil authorities just previous to the entry of the German troops called together the Civil Guard and ordered them to lay down their arms. Everyone else who had arms was ordered to give them up, and there was, therefore, no resistance of any kind made when the German troops came in. Apparently also the Belgians left most of the bridges in tact in the town, for the Professor knew of only one being destroyed and that was repaired shortly afterwards by the Germans.

The troops on arrival seemed very hungry and much fatigued; but they found ample food supplies in Liege, for they took over all the provision that had been commandeered previously by the Belgian authorities. It appeared that the authorities some little time before the German troop entered gave the people permission

to carry off what they wanted in the way of food and cattle, and people could be leading cows away. Large numbers of cattle were slaughtered and great joints of fresh meat handed out to whoever cared to carry them away.

RESISTANCE NOT EXPECTED.

The German troops, said the Professor, seemed most anxious to conciliate the Belgian people and to create as good an impression as possible. They were evidently surprised by the resistance which they had met with and had clearly not expected it. They complained bitterly of the attacks made on troops by civilians and threatened severe reprisals against any who took part in the fighting. They detained seventeen of the influential people of Liege as hostages and threatened that for every German soldier shot by the civilians one of the hostages should be shot. They adopted these stringent measures in order to secure complete immunity from such irregular attacks. In conversation with a German officer Professor Hamelius gathered that two women had been shot dead for attacking German troops. The Professor explained to the officer that the people were entirely ignorant of the usages of warfare and that it was owing to this ignorance that these things had occurred. "The people," said the Professor, "know no more about the laws of warfare than savages." "Then," replied the officer, "they must be treated like savages." The officer proceeded to state that when a shot was fired from a house it was immediately surrounded and an inquiry was made as to who had fired. If no one admitted having done it, the whole of the inmates were shot.

This same officer told the Professor about the demoralising effect of shrapnel fire. He admitted that, though the German Army was brave and every officer and man trained not to quail before bullets, yet all the while he was urging his men forward to the attack, he himself was filled with a desire to run away, so terrifying was the effect of shrapnel upon him. The officer said it was nerve racking and absolutely unbearable. Professor Hamelius saw also several Belgian soldiers who had been subjected to a similar experience, who were partially unbecome for the time being. Their nerves were entirely shattered. One man had eaten nothing for four days and could not eat, although Professor Hamelius gave him bread and butter. Another man could do nothing but stand upright with dropped jaws, mumbling to himself in an unintelligible jargon.

POLICE GERMAN OFFICERS.

The Professor's experience of the German officers was by no means an unpleasant one. He found them very polite, anxious to cause as little inconvenience as possible, and the hostages which they had detained on entering the town were gradually released as they became more and more assured of the good conduct of the people. There were even some attempts at fraternising on the part of the German soldiery, for they started petting the Belgian children and referring to their own children at home. Professor Hamelius thought that there must have been some arrangement between the Belgian authorities and the Germans by which in return for the peaceful surrender of the place the Germans promised not to bombard the town. Twice was a bombardment begun, and considerable damage done to property, and a few people were wounded, but each time it was stopped after a short interval. The inhabitants took fright and retired to their cellars now and again, but on the whole there were no grounds for so doing. There was no lack of food in Liege even after the arrival of the German troops. In fact in the case of some articles of food prices were lower than those which had been fixed by the Belgian authorities.

SLIGHT REGARD FOR RUSSIA.

Professor Hamelius thought that very little reliance could be placed on estimates of numbers, because the Germans were constantly moving from place to place and a party of troops would be quartered in one large building one part of the day and be occupying another a little later, so that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at a correct estimate. A German officer, in the course of conversation told Professor Hamelius that the troops had not been provided with a sufficient numbers of tools for dealing with barbed wire entanglements, of which there was much about, indeed, they had not expected to meet with it. This officer said, too, that the soldiers had been trained for fighting in the open and were unaccustomed to the kind of fighting they had experienced during their advance, namely, from behind hedges and round corners. Professor Hamelius sought the German officer's opinion about Russia, and his reply was they (the Germans) had not much regard for Russia. It was a colossus that could not move itself.

German Siege Guns.

How Liege Forts Fell.

MR. ALBERT J. LEROY, of London, who was probably the only Englishman in Liege during the siege, reached Rotterdam during the mail week.

He is a steward on the Red Star line and went to China, near Liege for a holiday. He went into Liege and was asked by the mayor to help in digging entrenchments for the defence of the town. This he did willingly, and worked from four in the afternoon until midnight. After that he joined the Belgian Red Cross.

His opinion (says the *Daily Telegraph's* Rotterdam correspondent) is that the Belgians did everything they could for the defence of Liege, but there was a deficiency in infantry that prevented them from making an effective resistance.

The bombardment of the town itself lasted only about seven hours, during which the University was reduced to ruins, the Germans having apparently mistaken the University for the Government House. He saw one shell fall in the town. It blew a house to pieces. Three forts gave in within a week of the first shots being fired. Three forts still held out, and the Germans were compelled to bring great guns through the town. To do this they laid down a military railway upon which the guns were moved, running on flanged wheels about 7 ft. high.

"As a sailor I have been all round the world and have never seen such large guns before. I was told by wounded officers brought to the Red Cross Hospital that these guns could not be used by the ordinary German artillery men. They were handled by specialists from Krupp's. To silence the forts with these guns took only two hours. For one of the forts only four shots were required."

RED CROSS FIRED ON

"I have seen the wounded taken from one of these forts," he said. "Their conditions were dreadful. They were blackened by explosion, and so burned and injured that they died the same night. What I wish you specially to state is that the Germans fired upon the Red Cross. I saw Red Cross wounded and dead. The Germans took their wounded from the Belgian Red Cross on the plea that they were not being well treated, although the chief medical officer had taken German officers to his own house for treatment. The last forts were silenced about fourteen or fifteen days after the Germans first came."

"I was arrested as an English spy and imprisoned for six days in a room at the railway station. By the soldiers I was treated very badly. They kicked me if I dared to move after I had been told to lie down on the straw and sleep. They hit me with the butts of their rifles, and all I had to eat was bread and soup. Finally I was released, and went to Liege out of which I escaped by securing in a false name a pass to go to Maastricht to buy provisions. The journey to Holland took me six hours on foot."

PATRIOTIC UNEMPLOYED.

Mr. Leroy says that the managers of the Belgian powder factory and the firm which constructed the defences of Antwerp refused even under the threat of being shot, to work the powder factory or give up the plans of Antwerp. They were spared. Belgian unemployed refused to accept wages to work in the powder factory or dig trenches. Every night as he lay a prisoner in the railway station ten or twelve trains, each with fifty wagons, passed through carrying German wounded and prisoners.

He confirms the report that the Germans placed citizens before the guns to prevent them being fired upon by Belgians, whose aeroplane flew over the town and dropped leaflets encouraging the people in the fort to hope Liege would soon be retaken by the Allied forces. Only German money is used and German spoken in Liege.



Thrilling Story of the Gordons.

Pte. A. Black of G. Platoon 1st Gordon Highlanders, formerly railway signalman at Grantown, a small town on Speyside, Scotland, has made the following report to Mr. Farmer, the British Vice-Consul at Boulogne:—

"The Gordons were in action all day on Sunday August 22nd, at Mons. On Monday we retired to a new position, marching all day. On Tuesday we were in action again and suffered considerably through the enfilading fire of German machine-guns mounted on motor-cars which caught us in the trenches. At eleven o'clock that night the word was passed along to retire. We rose quietly and slipped away, warning other trenches as we went. Before starting we were told that we had a long march and were bidden to

get rid of all the weight we could. Most of us left our packs in the trenches. About one or two o'clock in the morning as we were marching down a narrow road taking the sides in order to go as quietly as possible, we were fired on from a field on the left. The word passed that it was a French picket. We thought we were retiring on the French lines. Our Colonel (Col. W. E. Gordon, V.C.) ordered us to line the barbed wire fence in the field on the right hand of the road and went alone into the field on the left calling out 'Les Anglais, Les Anglais.' We heard them answer him and it was evident that he was trying to make them understand, still thinking they were French. While we were waiting behind the fence the Germans were getting round us on the far side. The Colonel then came back across the road and into our field and stood in front of us. We were quite helpless. We stood there surrounded. For a few minutes we were talking quietly in the dark asking each other what was going to happen. I heard one word 'Highlanders,' and then they began to shoot. I dropped at once for shelter. Darky Wilson, who had been with me all through in the trenches, said 'now we're in for it,' and fell on top of me shot dead. Some tried to move off to the left, but there was no way to escape. The Germans were within three yards of us and shot straight at every man who was standing. Too frightened to move, I stayed there till light came and then crawled out and looked this way and that. It was like pictures you see with groups of dead men everywhere. I could see the Colonel lying apart from the other men. A number of other Highlanders were making off in the distance. I ran after them and fell in with two others and together we came through to Boulogne walking the whole way."

A DUEL IN THE AIR.

A Dutchman who has returned from Aix-la-Chapelle has given to an *Express* correspondent at Rotterdam the following account of an exciting three-cornered air duel fought by British, French and German aeroplanes, which ended in the flight of the German biplane as told to him by the German Flying Officer. After the battle of Mons, the officer said, "I was instructed to do some important reconnoitring in the northern district of France, especially near Lille and Maubenge. I left Belgium in my Taube biplane with a mechanic. While I was flying into France I suddenly heard the noise of an aeroplane which I soon recognised as a British military Bristol biplane which had come to fight us. Our first tactics were to prevent the Bristol climbing higher than us but the British machine was cleverly handled and soon was 150 yards over us. Several attempts were made by us to fly higher, but the British aeroplane checked them all. It was evident that each of us feared that the other would drop bombs on him. Meanwhile we had turned northward, hoping to reach German camp before the Englishman damaged us or forced us to land. The Bristol was coming closer and closer and we felt like a bird on which a vulture was going to pounce. I said to my mechanic 'I think our last hour has come.' He answered with a laugh 'rather our last half hour.' I am sure that if the Englishman had any bombs aboard I would not be here to tell the tale but fortunately he had none. He could not have missed us and owing to his clever steering he was about fifty yards over us. These were terrible minutes. We are four automatic revolvers at the enemy and he responded vigorously. Our machine was hit several times but not in vital parts. The wings show many revolver bullet holes. We were nearing the Belgian boundary when I saw a small Blériot monoplane come to the aid of the Bristol. The French aircraft reached 1,000 feet in no time and then began flying in circles around us always drawing nearer. The three machines engaged in an unprecedented duel, firing revolvers continually. Our ammunition was nearly exhausted when we had reached a German camp where our terrible situation was speedily realised and our soldiers were firing on the two enemy flying machines in order to cover our retreat and descent. We were saved but needless to say I did no reconnoitring work that day."



The "Emden's" Exploits.

TONNAGE OF THE VESSELS SUNK.

The *Tymeric* is a steel screw steamer of 3,314 tons gross burden. She was built in 1901 by Messrs. Russell & Co., of Port Glasgow. The owners were the S. S. Tymeric Co., Ltd. (A. Weir & Co.).

The *King Lud* is a King Line steel screw steamer of 3,650 tons gross burden. She was built in 1906 by Messrs. Thompson & Sons of Sunderland for the King Line, Ltd. (Messrs. Philips, Philips & Co., Ltd., Managers.)

The *Ribera* (*Y Ribera*) is a steel screw steamer of 3,500 tons gross burden. She was built in 1904 by Messrs. Thompson & Sons of Sunderland for the Bolton Steam Shipping Co., Ltd.

The *Foyle* is a steel screw steamer of 4,147 tons gross burden. It also was built in 1902 by Messrs. Thompson for the Mercantile Steamship Company, Ltd.

The *Gryfevale*, which is the latest *Emden* comedy has played the part of the *Kabinga* in the seizure of the Hooghly steamers, is a steamer of 4,424 tons, built in 1906 by the Grangemouth and Greenock Dockyard Company for the Greyfevale Steamship Company, Ltd.

The *Buresk* is not classified either in Lloyd's Register or Clowes's Naval Pocket Book.

The following is a complete list of the *Emden's* ten victims up to date.—

			Tonnage destroyed
<i>Diplomat</i>	...	...	7,615
<i>Levat</i>	...	...	6,000
<i>Clan Matheson</i>	...	...	4,779
<i>Boyle</i>	...	...	1,147
<i>Triaboch</i>	...	...	1,011
<i>King Lud</i>	...	...	3,650
<i>Killin</i>	...	...	3,541
<i>Ribera</i>	...	...	3,500
<i>Indra</i>	...	...	3,393
<i>Tymeria</i>	...	...	3,314
Total	..		43,956

With the *Buresk* the German Navy has now succeeded in detaining or capturing 91 British ships. Of these the *Emden* is responsible for eleven (including the *Buresk*). She has to her credit nearly one-fifth of the total tonnage accounted for. She still, however, has considerable lee-way to make up before she brings the total British tonnage captured to the level at which the captured German tonnage now stands, namely 1,140,000 tons gross.

“Komagata's” Return.

A TRAGIC SEQUEL.

The following official statement has been issued—

The passengers on the “Komagata Maru,” who were being repatriated by the Government of India, arrived in the Hooghly on Saturday evening, September 26th. The Bengal Government had been asked to arrange for their safe transport at Government expense to the Punjab, and so a special train was arranged to meet the steamer at Budge Budge on the morning of Tuesday, the 29th. A number of Punjab officers and the Magistrate of the 24-Parganas with others, had met the steamer, and after some persuasion prevailed upon the men to land. This was effected about 2 p.m.; but they were still unwilling to believe the assurance of the Magistrate that they were to travel direct to the Punjab. The Magistrate had power under Ordinance No. 5 of 1914 to compel them to follow his instructions in this respect, but he scrupulously refrained from exercising his powers until he found that the men refused to enter the train and were determined to march by road to Calcutta. He then produced the Ordinance and explained its terms to the leaders, but in complete disregard of his orders they proceeded on the Calcutta road and he had no sufficient force to prevent them. Troops and police were then requisitioned to stop them, and they were stopped when they had gone three or four miles. Sir William Duke, who had proceeded with the troops, met them there, taxed their leader with breach of the Ordinance, and told them that what they had to say would be considered at Budge Budge whither they must return. On this they went back without further delay, followed by the police, and at a distance by the troops.

The first special train had already gone off with about 60 men who most willingly had already gone on, and Sir William Duke preceded the party to Budge-Budge and procured a second special. He was actually inside the station making final arrangements when the following occurrences took place.

As soon as the party arrived at the station just after dusk Mr. Donald called for the leader with the intention of explaining the position to him. At this moment the men suddenly became very excited, and, without warning, a hot revolver fire was opened on the police and the officers, while others charged them with staves, knives, and even one or two swords which they had with them. The revolver fire was returned by the four out of the posse of sergeants who alone were armed with revolvers. In a few seconds Sergeant-Major Eastwood was brought to the ground and shot in the back; Sir Frederick Halliday was wounded in the foot, Mr. Petrie was shot through both leg and arm; Mr. Humphreys was seriously injured; Mr. Lomax, assistant Traffic Superintendent, Eastern Bengal State Railway, was fatally shot through the body, and several sergeants were badly wounded in the head. The troops were behind, and the affray was partly screened from them by the railway fencing. Also the police and officers were at first mixed up with their assailants. It was only when this front was cleared, although that may

not have taken many seconds, that the troops could be ordered to fire. Even when they did so, the rioters did not desist immediately but made two or three further rushes, while a party of them occupied some shops from which they maintained a steady fire and here the majority of their casualties took place.

Sixteen of the rioters were killed as well as two innocent on-lookers. In addition to the casualties mentioned above the Punjab police had one killed and six injured.

The Punjabis scattered through the surrounding villages, a certain number surrendering to the police and to pickets. An extensive combined sweeping movement is being made by the military and police to collect the rest and up to an early hour this morning 82 prisoners had been made.

The Government of Bengal deeply deplore the loss of life which has occurred. They were acting in pursuance of the openly declared intention of sending to their homes the passengers who had suffered so much in pocket by the voyages of this ship. They were aware of the existence of a certain amount of strong political discontent amongst some of the passengers, and, in full concurrence with the Punjab Government, considered that their return to their native country should be prompt and direct. Needless to say, no one had the smallest suspicion that any of the party were armed for a desperate and unprovoked attack on British officers.



The War Through German Spectacles.

Wild Exulting Over British “Reverse.”

The official wireless messages circulated from Berlin on 29th August and received in London by the Marconi Company contain the following passages—

“The main body of the German army operating in the west entered the district of Cambrai, after advancing for nine days and gaining continuous victories.

“To the south, in the Vosges, the enemy have been defeated everywhere and are now in full retreat.

“The troops commanded by General von Kluck repulsed the English army at Mauberge and attacked them again to-day south of Mauberge, where they succeeded in encircling them.

“The troops commanded by Generals von Bulow and Baron von Hansen completely defeated eight French army corps and the Belgian troops between the Sambre, Namur, and Maas. The engagements lasted several days and our troops, who have passed Mauberge, are now pursuing the French and Belgians towards the East.”

AN IRON RING ROUND THE ALLIES.

“It is difficult to describe the unbounded exultation of all classes when the news of the British reverse at Mauberge reached the capital. The resentment against England is so deep that news of the surrender of the British army would be received with greater joy and satisfaction than would be news of the fall of Paris.

A portion of the British troops are reported to be shut up in Mauberge.

“The reports from headquarters show how an iron ring is being fastened around the French, English, and Belgian forces, extending from Cambrai to the Vosges.”

(“TIMES” TELEGRAM.)

New York, August 29.

A wireless message from Berlin to the German Embassy in Washington says that a large number of prisoners, chiefly Turks and British soldiers, have passed through Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE LAST GERMAN RESERVE CALLED UP.

The official wireless messages from Berlin on 29th August state that, as the men left behind to guard the lines of communication are “urgently required at the front,” the Kaiser has ordered the mobilisation of the last reserve, who will be employed to protect the lines of communication and to occupy Belgium.

The Russian Defeat.

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN “VICTORS.”

The German official wireless message received in London on 31st August says—

“The news of a German victory over the Russian forces has been received with great rejoicing at Königsberg, where it is hoped that the invaders will be speedily cleared from East Prussia. Hamburg citizens have contributed 200,000 marks to the fund for the relief of East Prussian refugees.

"It is reported from Vienna that the battle with the main Russian force has not yet been decided, but some estimate of the extent of General Bankel's victory at Kraunk may be gauged. After the heroic storming of the Russian position, strongly established among the highest of Nieder Zwithnaduza, the Austrian troops were successful in again defeating the Russians already thrown back at Kraunk together with their reinforcements, consisting altogether of ten divisions and six other corps. The battle is still in full swing, and the Austrian position is favourable."

80,000 Prisoners in East Prussia

(Officially circulated through the German wireless station and received by the Marconi Company.)

Berlin, Sept. 1.

The Russian defeat at Ortelsburg is described by the war correspondent of the "Lokalanzeiger." The variable nature of the country and the extended line of operations made the maintenance of an unbroken front impossible. The right wing of the German army was near Soldau and Gilsenburgh and the left wing near Allenstein, Wartenburg, and Bischofsburg, the centre being at Hohenstein. The Russians made Wartenburg, and Bischofsburg, the centre and the effect of their heavy artillery fire was to reduce the northern part of the town to ruins. They eventually succeeded in breaking through but a movement by the German troops on the right through Weidenberg and on the left through Passenheim was successfully carried out. This operation enabled the army completely to encircle the Russians who were made prisoners.

Later

The reported victory in the East by the army commanded by General von Hindenburg is of greater importance than was at first supposed, 80,000 prisoners, including two general commanders, having been made. The Russian troops in the north of East Prussia have begun to withdraw.

100 GUNS CAPTURED.

Sept. 4.

Major General Holer, Deputy Chief of the Austrian General Staff, has issued the following communication: "After a week's heavy fighting in the plains between Zamosc and Tyszowce, the Austrian army under General Aulenberg achieved a complete victory. One hundred and sixty guns have been captured and the Russians are retreating through the Berg. The forces attacking Lublin are meeting with uninterrupted success. In East Galicia Lemberg is still in our possession, but the situation there is difficult on account of the vastly superior Russian forces."

Berlin Correspondent's Description

The war correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt" describes in triumphant tone the victory over the Russians on the east frontier, in which it is officially claimed that 70,000 prisoners were taken and all the Russian artillery. He says—

We arrived in Hohenstein, a tricoloured town of 30,000 inhabitants. But instead of kindness, war reigns here in all its terrible form. Everything lies in ruins, nothing remains standing. Here heavy clouds of smoke wreath their way towards the sky, there the flames dart forth, sending out an unbearable heat. Dead Russians lie in the streets next to dead cattle. The pestilential air can scarcely be borne. For three days the Russians have kept house here, now they are hunted out. Our heavy artillery, which is working capably, made the farewell very warm for them. Hidden away in cellars and barricaded, there were still Russians here who traitorously shot dead a few men of the Landwehr ("Land Defence" force). These murderers were shot.

The mixed Landwehr brigade bore itself remarkably well by Hohenstein. They had to withstand the first onset of the Russians, who wanted to break through towards the north-west but the heavy artillery intervened. The way along which we are riding was that taken by the Landwehr, supported by the adjoining division on the right, and northwards by the Army Corps coming from Allenstein.

After a heavy fight the Russians were hurled backwards and many thousands made prisoners. Guns and mitrailleuses also fell into our hands in numbers. The Russians were pushed back eastwards against the lakes.

At the same time the army corps stationed to the south of the Landwehr struck into the fierce struggle with a strong right wing. Northwards from the Landwehr division other strong sections of our troops rushed on to the attack by way of Allenstein, Wurtemberg, and Bischofsberg, the left wing, advancing through Tassenheim, was, especially, very strong. Thus the Russians were fallen upon on three, almost on four, sides and driven into the marshes and lakes. At the same time, it must be remembered that the enemy were in greatly superior force. It was through clever operations that the successes were obtained, and also, of course, through the wonderful bravery of all our troops, who thus achieved an unheard of feat.

On Sunday fighting continued with a Russian army corps which had retired. Near Neidenburg the heaviest fighting raged, and partly in the woods, the Germans maintaining the upper hand.

What our troops can endure was shown by the separate sections of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, almost without exception reserve formations, who passed through Hohenstein in the afternoon. The soldier bestrode their horses with wonderful vigour, the marching was fine, the spirit was good, notwithstanding all the wearying work which they had been through.

(REITER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Amsterdam, Sept. 4

The war correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung," describing the defeat of the Russians in the battle of Hohenstein Gilsenburgh-Ortelsburg, says that by this victory the five or six Russian army corps which had entered the southern parts of Eastern Prussia have been completely routed.

The Advance on Paris.

The chief feature in the official wireless message circulated from Berlin yesterday is the disclosure, that the Germans are not now pressing the advance on Paris, but that their main forces have turned south against the French and British armies on the Marne.

(Received by the Marconi Company.)

BERLIN, Sept. 4.

German troops are closing up the north-eastern side of Paris. English cavalry divisions were again defeated yesterday at Senlis, 20 kilometres north-east of Paris.

English and French troops have been put to flight between Paris and Rheims, and are retreating across the Marne.

French troops between Rheims and Verdun are also in retreat and they are endeavouring to cross the Marne.

Such French troops as attempted to resist our advance north-west of Verdun were defeated.

Conde, La Fere, and Laon have been captured without any resistance, and all the outpost forts in the north of France, with the exception of Manbougé, are now in our possession. The attack on Rheims has been commenced, and cavalry under the command of General Colonel Kluck are making raids in the direction of Paris.

The western army has passed the Aisne line and continues its advance towards the Marne, which has already been reached by advance guards. The enemy are withdrawing across the Marne before the advance of the troops commanded by General Colonels Kluck, Bullow, and Hansen, and the Duke of Wurtemberg. They are still holding out in strongly fortified position against the armies of the Crown Prince of Bavaria and General Colonel Heeringen.

[The two last-named armies are on the frontier of Lorraine and Alsace.]

The Kaiser Addresses the Soldiers.

The Kaiser left the Crown Prince at Sorbey, near Metz, and motored to the region in which Prince Oscar is situated, where he addressed the regiment during the evening. The moon shone from a clear sky over the scene where the Emperor delivered his speech to the accompaniment of guns booming in the distance at Verdun. The singing of the National Anthem brought an impressive gathering to a close.

It may now be disclosed that Austrian motor-batteries, which consist of two 12-in. guns mounted on automobiles, have been co-operating with the German heavy artillery in the work of reducing the northern fortresses. The mobility and accuracy of the aim of these guns have been highly praised by the headquarters staff. (These guns are also described as rendering excellent service in the fighting round Givet as well as at Namur.)

Lieutenants Zahn and Rheinhardt, of the Aerial Fleet, have been awarded Iron Crosses for the distinguished achievements.

Kaiser in the Field.

In the official German messages circulated from Berlin by wireless and sent out by the Marconi Company the most unexpected piece of news was the statement that the French centre, consisting of about ten army corps, was defeated on 2nd September between Rheims and Verdun. The following are the portions of the messages relating to the operations in France:—

Berlin, 1st Sept.

The following despatch was sent by Quartermaster General von Stein from the main Headquarters on August 31 (Monday):—

"An army corps commanded by General Colonel Kluck repelled a flank attack undertaken by a weak French force in the neighbourhood of Comblès."

"General Colonel Bulow's troops defeated a superior French force at St. Quentin after having previously captured an English infantry battalion in the course of the advance.

"Elsewhere the troops commanded by General Colonel Hansen forced back their opponents in the direction of the Aisne, near Rethel.

"In face of a superior hostile force the Duke of Wurttemberg's army was compelled to withdraw across the Meuse, but it regained its position later, and is now advancing on the Aisne. Les Ayvelles (?) fortress has fallen.

"Another section of the army, commanded by the Crown Prince, is advancing across the Meuse."

3rd. Sept.

About ten French army corps, comprising the centre of the opponents' army, were defeated yesterday between Rheims and Verdun, French forties from the latter place being repulsed. The pursuit is being continued to-day. The Kaiser was with the Crown Prince's army during the battle, and passed the night in the midst of his troops.

This message was signed by Quartermaster General Von Stein.

BRITISH PRISONERS' Demeanour.

("Times" TELEGRAM)

Copenhagen, 2nd Sept.

The German press is making a great outcry about the sinking of the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse by the Highflyer on the ground that it occurred whilst she was at anchor in the neutral territorial waters of the Spanish colony at Rio del Oro.

British prisoners have arrived at Munster camp, in the Province of Hanover, from France, also some Belgians and French. The British make a very favourable impression compared with the rest, but are exceedingly downcast.

Anger of the Germans.

The official wireless message from Berlin has the following in regard to Belgium:—

Berlin, Sept. 5.

Four Belgian divisions from Antwerp made an attack upon our connections in the direction of Brussels yesterday and the day before. The Belgians, however, were driven back by the troops which we had left behind.

The Belgian population are taking part in the battles almost everywhere, and the most severe steps have been taken for the suppression of these bands of franc-tireurs.

The safeguarding of the lines of provisional halting-places has up to the present been left to the army, but, as the men left behind for this purpose are urgently required at the front, his Majesty has ordered the mobilisation of the last reserve. The latter will be employed to protect lines of communication and to occupy Belgium, which country, now under German administration, will be used to supply the requirements of the army and so relieve our home resources.

According to the "Berliner Tageblatt" Louvain has been bitterly punished for the civilian uprising, which has now been almost quelled.

In the village of Dalheim (Lorraine) the German troops were fired on from behind, and the village was therefore razed to the ground.

Herr Just, a former Minister of the Interior, has been appointed Imperial Commissioner to investigate and to report on atrocities perpetrated by the Belgians upon the Germans.

The Reichstag and the Navy.

The wireless messages officially circulated from Berlin contains the following passages:—

Berlin, Sept. 7.

It is reported that fear of the German fleet has caused great alarm in English seaport towns. In Hartlepool torpedo nets are set in front of the docks every evening, and elsewhere round the coasts the nervousness occasioned by German mines is said to be indescribable. The enrolment of recruits for the British army is proceeding slowly, and from one town of 700,000 inhabitants not more than 100 men reported themselves, the majority of them being tramps. The nation has not been permitted to learn the real situation at the seat of war.

The "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" denies the statement of Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons that the German official report dealing with the exchange of telegrams passing between England and Germany previous to the outbreak of war omitted an important telegram.

A conference between members of the Reichstag was held to demonstrate that the representatives entitled to speak on behalf of the entire population are prepared to stake the whole strength of the nation in the present conflict. The meeting advised the Secretary of the Admiralty that it would approve of all measures which the Admiralty deemed it desirable to adopt. The meeting especially expressed its readiness to guarantee the necessary sums required for the immediate replacement of lost ships and the immediate execution of all measures adopted in 1912. It further undertook to guarantee the immediate construction of substitute ships for 1915 and the reduction of the life of ships from 20 to 15 years. A manifesto embodying these resolutions was drawn up and signed by the following:—Pasche, Baron Gamp, Eraber, Groeber, Wiemer, Count Westarp, Schultz, and Bromberg.



False News.

"The Times" Amiens Despatch.

"It is a pitiful story I have to write. Would to God it did not fall to me to write it."

Thus the Times of yesterday, in an article which, if words mean anything at all, stated that the British Force in France was not only defeated but routed. To say that London was stunned is but to give a faint impression of the way the news was received. Men looked at each other in hopeless silence; women sought each other's company for consolation. And then, later in the afternoon, came an official statement from the Press Bureau, which was a complete and absolute denial of the story published in the Times, as the following extracts show:—

The troops offered a superb and most stubborn resistance to the tremendous odds with which they were confronted, and at length extricated themselves in good order, though with serious losses and under the heaviest artillery fire.

Reinforcements amounting to double the loss sustained have already joined. Every gun has been replaced, and the Army is now ready to take part in the next great encounter with undiminished strength and undaunted spirit.—The Press Bureau.

Still later in the day the Press Bureau issued another statement that it has not thought it necessary to forbid the publication of messages...provided that such messages neither gave away military organisations nor the position of the troops.

What I want to know, and what everybody in Britain will want to know, is: Is it not the duty of the Press Bureau to stop the publication of false news of such a grave character?

For spreading a lie to the effect that the Black Watch had been cut up a man was sent to prison. Is not a published statement that the British Army "is scattered all over the country" more serious than the verbal rumour that a regiment has been cut up?

The Press Bureau owes not only a duty to the Army and Navy, but also to the Nation. This may not be the official view, but it is the view of the mothers of our soldiers.

Only fools expected an easy victory, only fools will be dismayed even if the worst has happened. Against a foe so skilful and brave as Prussia, a foe able to play with such vast masses of men, and so reckless in their playing, our losses are bound to be enormous. When the shock comes we must brace ourselves to stand it, but we have a right to demand that the Press Bureau shall do everything possible to safeguard us from false news.

The real news is grave enough. Reinforcements must be poured into France every Briton with a pair of stout legs, at hand to hold a rifle and an eye to see Prussian must enlist—must enlist at once!

Your business can wait, your homes have only the second call. Your country wants you now.

On the grave of every one of our valiant comrades lie three Germans, and so, though the Allies are retreating and retreating, though they may have to retreat to the Pyrenees and the sea, we shall win in the end if there is a Briton left in France to help our Allies to strike the blow. If all our young men do their duty Britain can raise an army of a million, two million men. We shall want every one of them.

THE MAN IN THE STREET.

Question in the Commons

The following question was asked in the House of Commons on 31st August.

M. Llewellyn Williams (L.—Carmarthen District) asked the Prime Minister whether he was aware that the "Times" on Sunday published despatches from two correspondents, to the effect that the army had met with defeat and disaster, that British regiments had been broken to bits, and that the Secretary for War during the day issued a reassuring bulletin contradicting these sensational messages, and that the Press Bureau yanked the public against such statements "because there are no correspondents at the front, and information is derived at second and third hand from persons who are often in no condition to tell coherent stories, and are without the perspective necessary to construct or to understand the general situation"; and, whether, having regard to the untold pain and anxiety—(cheers)—caused by the dissemination of such misleading statements, the Government will not return to the time-honoured practice of this country and allow press correspondents to accompany our army to the front. (Laughter and Opposition cries of "No.")

Mr. Asquith (Prime Minister) It is impossible too highly to commend the patriotic reticence of the press as a whole—(cheers) from the beginning of the war up to the present. The publication to which my hon. friend refers would appear to be a very regrettable exception, and I trust it will not recur. I doubt whether my hon. friend's suggestion is the best way under the altered condition of modern warfare of dealing with the matter. The Government feel, after the experience of the last two weeks, that the public is entitled to prompt and authentic information of what has happened at the front, and they are making arrangements which they hope will be more adequate. (Cheers.)

Lord R. Cecil (U.—Hitchin) Were these despatches published in the "Times" and other papers yesterday submitted to the Press Censor and passed?

Mr. Asquith: They were.

Question in the Lords.

Viscount Halifax asked on 31st August whether the attention of the Government had been called to communications professing to come from the seat of war, published in the "Times" of Sunday, which were calculated to cause distress and alarm, and which were apparently not justified by the facts. (Cheers.)

The Lord Chancellor replied that attention had been called to the articles in question—very reprehensible articles and articles inconsistent with the facts. (Cheers.) The press had acted very loyally in carrying out arrangements which were thought out long before the war and which have been carried out since, and the Government had no cause to complain with some slight exceptions. But the article of the previous day was a most regrettable incident. "I believe there must be some explanation of it," he added. "Sunday editions come out sometimes when those responsible are not on the spot. I have every hope the incident will not be repeated, and that the loyalty which the press has shown—a loyalty which has been very great—will be observed in the future generally." "I'm sure of these things happened it might be necessary to consider asking Parliament for exceptional powers to deal with such cases." (Cheers.)

Meanwhile the Government were taking steps to supply as fully as they could, and in a more adequate form than had been possible up to the present, a narrative of events from day to day founded on direct information from the seat of war which would satisfy the legitimate public desire to know what was going on.

The "Times" and the Press Bureau.

The Press Association has received the following statement from the editor of the "Times":

"Mr. Asquith's statement in the House of Commons this afternoon renders it necessary to make quite clear the position of the "Times" in publishing yesterday the despatch which has provoked so much criticism in other newspapers to-day. The despatch, which reached the office of the "Times" in the early hours of Saturday evening, was from the pen of an experienced and trustworthy correspondent who has seen fighting in many parts of the world, and is not in the least likely to be deceived by idle rumours. As such it was necessarily treated with serious consideration by the editorial staff of the "Times," and in accordance with instructions was at once submitted to the official Press Bureau.

"The Press Bureau retained the message about three hours before returning it. When it again reached the office of the "Times" certain passages containing references to the correspondent's routes had been deleted. Other passages and embellishments, however, had been added by the head of the Press Bureau, who further conveyed an intimation that in its new form the despatch was approved for publication.

"In these circumstances the editorial staff of the "Times," who were astonished at the decision of the Press Bureau and had made no arrangements for publishing the message, came not unnaturally to the conclusion that it was the wish of the Government that it should appear."

The "Times" on its Defence.

The Press Association has received from the "Times" a further statement regarding the despatch from Amiens published in the "Times" of Sunday last. In the course of this statement it is said—

"In the first place we have been attacked for lack of judgment, for irresponsible conduct, for subordinating public to private interests. In reply we are content to point to the past history and present position of this journal. We enjoy, as we have enjoyed for five generations, the confidence of Englishmen and the respect of the world. This confidence has not been earned by the methods now being attributed to us in such attacks as the successful in all branches of public life are accustomed to disregard. The sense of responsibility handed down from the wars of Napoleon through every great moment in our history for a hundred years has only been quickened, as we may well ask the public to believe, by the present crisis in our national destiny."

In regard to the despatch in question the "Times" says:—

"We not only obtained leave to publish it—we were definitely requested in writing to do so by the head of the Press Bureau. With such a request before us we should have failed in our public duty if we had withheld the despatch from publication. If that despatch was in accordance with the knowledge which was in hands of the military authorities at the time of its receipt by the Censor then he was justified in passing it and in urging its publicity. If it was exaggerated, distorted, as is now maintained, the Censor who urged its publicity made an error of judgment. Time will reveal the truth. In either event our hands are clean."

The "Times" and the Press Bureau in Parliament.

Sir A. Markham (Notts. Mansfield, Min.).—I am not going to refer to the subject after the Prime Minister's speech, but before he leaves the House I wish to draw his attention to what I am sure after the statement he made at question time he will regret. A question was asked with regard to the unfortunate article that appeared in *The Times* yesterday and gave every one in the country cause for the gravest anxiety. I have just had put into my hands a copy of the *Evening News* of this date 6.30 edition, in which the following appears in the stop-press:—

The Times and the Press Censor.

"We have received the following statement from the Editor of *The Times*—

"Mr. Asquith's statement in the House of Commons this afternoon renders it necessary to make quite clear the position of *The Times* in publishing yesterday the despatch which has provoked so much criticism in other newspapers to-day.

"The despatch, which reached the office of "The Times" in the early hours of Saturday evening, was from the pen of an experienced and trustworthy correspondent who has seen fighting in many parts of the world and is not in the least likely to be deceived by idle rumours. As such it was necessarily treated with serious consideration by the editorial staff of "The Times," and, in accordance with instructions, was at once submitted to the Official Press Bureau.

"The Press Bureau retained the message for about three hours before returning it. When it again reached the office of "The Times" certain passages, containing references to the correspondent's route, had been deleted. Other passages and embellishments, however, had been added by the head of the Press Bureau, who further conveyed an intimation that, in its new form, the despatch was approved for publication.

"In these circumstances the editorial staff of "The Times," who were astonished at the decision of the Press Bureau and had made no arrangements for publishing the message, came, not unnaturally, to the conclusion that it was the wish of the Government that it should appear."

The Prime Minister was very severe, and rightly so, I think, with regard to a statement being published which caused so much intense feeling and agony to the people of this country yesterday, but a grave responsibility rests on the Press Bureau.

The hon. member proceeded to take exception to the constitution of the Bureau. The right hon. member for the Walton Division was at its head, and his brother, the hon. member for Warrington, was appointed secretary, and he had letters from newspaper editors who complained that the hon. member for Warrington acted more like a

Staff Officer of the Kaiser in his dealings with the Press. The Prime Minister had stated his intention of going to the country to appeal to every able-bodied man to take up arms but he would do a far greater service to that end if he placed the Bureau in a position to enable the country to take a human interest in what was going on. He thought that the Government should have placed a Minister of the Crown in charge of the Bureau.

"KILLING RECRUITING."

The action of the Government in silencing information was killing recruiting in the country (Some dissent.) The right hon. member for Walton had done his best in a very difficult position and had in the most patriotic manner offered his services to the Government, and he was sure that the Government appreciated the work that he had done. The editor of a large London daily paper had told him that they had to thank the right hon. gentleman for much of the information that they had received. The real fact of the position was that they had to-day at the War Office in Lord Kitchener a gentleman who had the full confidence of the country, but who was not in touch with Parliamentary institutions. The idea of Lord Kitchener was that all information should be held back from the public. He might be a great soldier, but he did not understand Parliamentary institutions and that the human element was what the public desired. Everybody who had any sort of military command seemed to think that the civil power must be subordinate to the military power. But in his view the civil power must always be the predominant power, and on that account the appointment of a soldier as head of the War Office was undesirable. In many cases the action of the Censor was incomprehensible. It could not be explained by the necessity of preventing the publication of information that might be useful to the enemy. The "Evening News" made the statement that an engagement took place between black and black near blank. (Laughter.) Surely the suppressed particulars were already well known to the Germans. If it were necessary to have a Press Bureau at all, and he felt convinced now that its institution was a mistake, a Cabinet Minister should be placed at the head of it.

Mr. Asquith:—I have no responsibility of my own for the Press Bureau, nor does it fall within the administrative sphere of any Cabinet Minister. All my colleagues are at this moment so fully occupied that I should be sorry in the public interest to add to the labours of any one of them.

Sir A. Markham thought it absolutely essential that the Press Bureau should be strengthened by the appointment of a Cabinet Minister as its head, assisted by Lord Roberts and Lord Charles Beresford, and three trained journalists. The Bureau, as at present constituted, had not the confidence of the country. "The Times" had well said that the time was passed when a great and free democracy would consent to go to war in the dark. It was necessary that the full light of the Press should be thrown on the conduct of the war. Otherwise we might have mismanagement similar to that which occurred in the Crimean War.

He lived at Shorncliffe, where troops arrived wounded from the front on Saturday last. There were men in hospital there who stated that after they were wounded they were placed in trains, by chance or otherwise, which took days and days to reach the point of embarkation for this country. No food whatever was supplied to them during a three days' journey in France, and they had to get apples or what other food they could at the station side. On their arrival at Boulogne there was no organization to dress wounds or give first aid. Even when they reached Folkestone there was not even the Red Cross or any organization to dress the wounds of the men, many of whom had kept their boots on for days. (Interruption.)

Mr. Tenant said he hoped these statements were exaggerations. There was a large hospital at Folkestone, and it was improbable that there would be no Red Cross.

Sir A. Markham said his statement was that there had been no preparation for the arrival of the wounded. By good chance Colonel Wilson, in command of the Medical Corps at Folkestone, went to meet them. The hon. member added that he would communicate to the War Office a number of other cases.

Mr. H. Lawson (Mile End, Opp.) considered the attack on the head of the Bureau most unfair and very ill informed. When the war broke out it was intended that the newspaper Press should be represented at the front by authorized correspondents, and it was not the fault of his right hon. friend nor of the Secretary for War that this was not done. It was in deference to the protests of our Allies. He foresaw that the result would take the place of narratives of facts. When the Press Bureau was organized it was not intended that it should take on itself to supply a full narrative of events to the public, but merely that a censorship should be exercised on what should appear, and that bulletins should be issued. His right hon. friend had suddenly been called upon to organize a new service, and he had struggled manfully with great difficulties. If the public had had a certain amount of light from

official dispatches it was largely because he had insisted on this so far as he could. He was sure there had been an improvement in the Bureau and he believed the public could look forward to a better supply of news in the future. As the Press Bureau had been hardly tried, so also had been the newspapers themselves. They had been inundated with stories coming from all quarters of what had happened, and they had had to pick and choose, and perhaps the very existence of the Bureau had made them a little less careful than they otherwise would have been. The Government and the country were under great obligation to the right hon. and learned member for Walton for the way he had worked an essentially empirical experiment which might result in a better system being set up.

Mr. Paine (Aberdeen, N. Min.) said war was not waged for the benefit of the Press. In his opinion it would be quite sufficient for the public information if they had three editions a day. The real authority must be concentrated in the War Office at the present time, and they had to submit to it. Even members of Parliament had to take a third place for a short time.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland, Nat.) thanked the right hon. and learned gentleman the head of the Press Bureau for the courtesy with which he had received every suggestion made to him and for the improvements he had carried out.

Mr. Peto (Wilts, Devizes, Opp.) said he had felt indignation to read the letters in *The Times*, particularly in the night edition, printed alongside the official version of what had happened. He was indignant to see in a newspaper like *The Times* the headline in large print "Broken British Regiments," and then a little smaller "Untarnished Honour of our Troops." As if anyone required the assurance of *The Times* that the honour of our troops was untarnished. Would it not be wise to take powers during the currency of the war to suppress altogether the publication and sale of any newspaper which printed articles at all comparable to those which created such alarm and distress the previous day?

Mr. Llewelyn Williams thought the Bureau had been rather too anxious to censor some of the messages. Lord Kitchener said that our troops, excepting one cavalry regiment, had not been molested since Wednesday. Why, therefore, was not the country told of the issue of that glorious fight on Thursday, Friday, or Saturday of last week? He believed that unless the Government allowed Press correspondents to go to the front there would be a constant repetition of the sort of thing that had pained the country so much.

Lord R. Cecil (Hitchin, Opp.) thought that much of the criticism of the Press Bureau disclosed the absence of a sense of proportion in those from whom it came. When we were fighting desperately for our lives the question whether a particular statement was or was not published in the Press was relatively of very little importance. They had been told that if regiments were seriously cut up the names of the regiments ought to be given, but for his part he could imagine more cruel than to publish the names before there was a probability of the issue of the casualty lists. That, he held, was exactly the kind of information which the Press Bureau should prevent. While he regretted the publication of the alarmist article in *The Times* on Sunday he dissociated himself completely from the criticism passed upon the action of his right hon. friend, who, he felt convinced, had discharged his duty with ability, judgment, and tact.

MR. F. E. SMITH'S REPLY.

Mr. F. E. Smith (Liverpool, Walton).—I hope the House will think it reasonable if I explain at the outset with reference to some criticism which has been made on the constitution of the Bureau, that certainly I never sought an office which I was well aware would mean many antagonisms, much invidiousness, and much that would involve every day the expenditure of almost more hours than ever I worked in the course of a somewhat busy life. Let me give the House an indication of what the general character of the difficulties has been. There was not in existence at the time the war broke out any coercive machinery of any kind by which the publication in the Press of matter injurious to the public service could be prevented. When it was anticipated that it might be desirable that some greater discretion should be shown in the Press in dealing with certain public matters a committee was created, and on that committee there sat the representatives of the great newspapers of the country and also representatives of the War Office and Admiralty. Discussions took place from time to time and indications were given by the representatives of the War Office and the Admiralty respectively of the matters with which it was not thought desirable that the Press should deal. With the outbreak of war it was realized that the system was loose, and it became clear that some new method of controlling the Press must be devised. The censorship in this country has been a dual system, and the quality of the system has been responsible for a great deal of the criticism which has been made and a great deal of the undoubted inequality of treatment. I will give an illustration. The House will be aware that all the cables

go out of the country from different offices. I daresay there are some 10 or 12 offices from which outgoing Press cables are delivered. It is of course necessary - it has not been necessary up to the present - that at every one of these offices there should be a trained band of censors ready at every moment of the day and night to examine the Press cables which are sent abroad and to form a judgment on their propriety or impropriety. That means an enormous staff of some 80 or 90 censors. The work this staff is doing is difficult and novel, and it would be impossible to suppose that 80 or 90 men working on standards which are not always the same should invariably reach the same conclusions, and this is the explanation of a great many of the inequalities of which complaints have been made in the last few days. Mr. Smith described a scheme that was in contemplation for abolishing the necessity for a dual censorship, and testified to the ready co-operation of the Press in the administration of the Bureau. Having explained the system at work, he said that many of the criticisms that had been made were based on a misunderstanding. Complaint had been made that *The Times* was permitted to publish the overhauling of the liner *Galician* by the German armed cruiser four or five days before the other newspapers. That was due to the assumption by *The Times* that the reasons for withholding the publication of the news that the enemy would be informed that his location was known were no longer in force, in that *The Times* was perfectly right; but they ought to have informed him of their intended action so that he might have set the news free for all newspapers at the same time. Regarding the complaint of insufficient information he had received nothing from the War Office or the Admiralty of importance or public interest which had not been instantly published. In regard to the censorship, he said that Lord Kitchener had considered most carefully and patiently every consideration which the mind of a layman could suggest against the necessity of a particular prohibition.

"THE TIMES" MESSAGE.

The right hon. and learned gentleman continued.—Now I pass to the circumstances connected with the articles which appeared in *The Times* and the *Weekly Dispatch* on Sunday. Up to Sunday morning many criticisms had been against the Bureau on its censoring side. It was stated that we were suppressing international information in the publication of which there was no harm. To-day a different criticism is made. It has been stated that the articles in question—and for all I knew it may be true—that the articles in question were in the Bureau for some hours before they were dealt with. Those were just the hours in which the greatest pressure comes for all the newspapers. I think the papers in question—*The Times*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Weekly Dispatch*—were hardly dealt with. I think I had better make the association of the individual papers clear. It was a *Daily Mail* message which appeared in the *Weekly Dispatch*, because the latter paper is published on Sunday. I will tell the House candidly why I think the papers in question were hardly dealt with. From the moment the Bureau came into existence no two papers have behaved better or more loyally to the wishes of the War Office and Admiralty than *The Times* and *Daily Mail*. I should not single them out—because it would be invidious to do so seeing that all the papers behaved well—but for the fact that they have been subjected to so much criticism the statement made by the correspondent presented an accurate picture of what had taken place. I think it would be difficult to contend that it would have been right under any circumstances to stop the article. Of course, the message, which had been received in perfect good faith by *The Times*, really showed on the face of it that it was the message of a man who was speaking from hear-say and without direct contact with the front. I myself examined the article, certain references were excised, and it was returned with my own initials upon it, and I take the responsibility of having returned it, initialled by me in the shape in which it appeared in the paper. I think now that if one had known everything that was going to happen, and perhaps had had a little more time to give to every important article which was clamouring for attention, it would have been better if I had written a note to the editor asking him to consider whether quite apart from the legal powers which I possessed, it was a wise article to publish. I think now it would have been much better if I had done so. I have no doubt, too, that if I had done so he would have suppressed the article altogether. The only observation I will make on the communication made by *The Times* to the *Evening News* to-night is equally that it might have been well if they had conveyed to me, when they sent the message, the fact that they had already a doubt in their own mind as to whether, apart from the censorship, it was a wise article to publish. *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, as I have said, have been specially active in co-operating with me, and I am most anxious that they should be fairly treated in the matter.

An Hon. Member asked whether the right hon. gentleman made any addition to the article.

Mr. F. E. SMITH.—I have been asked by Lord Kitchener as far as possible to assist his object, which was, of course, to obtain recruits. In these circumstances I suggested that a reference might be made at the end of the article to the fact that what was wanted was reinforcements, and still more reinforcements, that and that alone was the nature of the addition made. I am most anxious that it should be clearly understood that I acquit of responsibility the editors of *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*. They received this news believing it to be true, and the discretion I exercised was a discretion to the effect that on the face of it was a report that only purported to come from a gentleman who was not at the heart of things, and furthermore I took the view that it did not come in conflict with the rules laid down.

The right hon. gentleman concluded by referring to the difficulties encountered by an entirely new organization and by assuring the House that so long as he was connected with its administration he would grudge neither time nor labour in considering every interest that could be brought forward as one in which the public were concerned.

Mr. McKENNA said there had been no attempt to attack the right hon. gentleman, whose great ability, knowledge, and exertions had been given to the service of the Government with the greatest personal generosity and with considerable sacrifice to himself. (Cheers.) With such suppression as everybody recognized is reasonable all the information which had been received had been published.

Mr. LAWSON.—Can the right hon. gentleman tell the House whether authorized correspondents are to be allowed at the front.

Mr. McKENNA said there was no change of policy in that respect.

Mr. TENNANT told the House that there were ample preparations for dealing with the wounded in the field, and that when it became known that there were some wounded at Folkestone who had crossed from Boulogne emergency measures were immediately taken at that port. Several Red Cross men who had returned had expressed admiration at the completeness of the arrangements.

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOT (Glasgow, Bridgeton, Min.) pointed out that the article which had been so much criticized was not only passed by the Bureau, but its publication was encouraged, and that it was made the basis of an appeal for additional recruits.

Mr. SHERWELL (Huddersfield Min.) objected to the apparently unequal treatment that the Bureau had extended to various journals. At the outset of the war the Admiralty asked the newspapers not to publish the shipping news, but *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* had persisted in publishing it and were doing so to-day.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, H., Nat.) said that the great scandal of the publication of the article in *The Times* had been intensified and increased by the amazing statement of the Press Censor. *The Times* was placed in a position of discrimination, if not by the Press Bureau at least by other State Departments. He had read the extremely able and interesting articles by *The Times* Military Correspondent and said that they were based on information that was not open to the public. That was a monstrous state of things, and most unjust and unfair to the other newspapers, which had exhibited extraordinary self-restraint and self-denial to meet the wishes of the Government.

Published at the Request of Mr. F. E. Smith.

The Times on September 1st published the following statement:

On Sunday last we published in a special edition a despatch from a Special Correspondent at Amiens which has been the subject of much discussion and has exposed the *Times* to attacks in the newspaper press and in Parliament. We desire, therefore, to make a plain statement of the facts as to the receipt, censorship, and publication of this message.

The despatch was written at Amiens early on Saturday morning by a member of our staff who has known the horrors of war in many parts of the world and has often risked his life in the service of this journal. He is a trained journalist, accustomed to sift fact from fiction, and is specially fitted by experience for the duties which he is now undertaking.

The despatch reached the *Times* office by special courier early on Saturday evening. The extreme gravity of its contents was at once apparent to the Editor and to the Chief of the Foreign Department to whom it was referred. A discussion took place, and it was agreed that, although it must be referred to the Censor at once, it was highly improbable, on the assumption that the news was true, that the authorities would allow it to be published except in the form of an official announcement.

The fact that the despatch was retained by the Censor for three hours without comment seemed to confirm this view; and all preparations for issuing the edition without it were made. Between

11 and 12 o'clock at night, however, our messenger returned from the Censor with the despatch, and with a signed memorandum from the Head Censor.

Certain passages from the despatch had been cut out, other passages which we had ourselves crossed out as undesirable for various reasons were marked *set* with the Censor's initials, and fresh sentences, summarising the effect of the news and pointing its moral, were inserted. The despatch in fact had been carefully edited for publication.

The memorandum accompanying it is marked "Private" and we are therefore debarred from publishing it without the writer's consent. We are entitled, however, to say that in it Mr F. E. Smith, over his signature, begged us to publish it in the form in which he returned it. With this document before us we could no longer hope that our correspondent had been misled, and we published it in accordance with the *fit* at request.

At 3-40 on Sunday afternoon the War Office issued, through the Press Bureau, the far more hopeful and satisfactory account of the battle which we reproduced yesterday, and later a postscript was added, on the same authority, warning the public to accept "with extreme caution" such despatches as the one it had begged us to publish.

NEWSPAPER COMMENT

A number of newspapers yesterday morning and evening commented severely on the publication of the despatch. The facts related above cannot have been before the writers, for we received no inquiries as to our authority for publishing. One paper, for example, informs its readers that the Censor "merely excised names of regiments and places," and proceeds to lecture the *Times* on the duty of journalists.

Another paper refers to the despatch as a "disgraceful outburst," another convicted us of "a grave error of judgment" in obeying the urgent request of the Censor, a third praises the caution and judgment of Mr Smith, who urged us to publish the document which it denounces as untrue and uncensored, and a fourth accuses us of deliberately inflicting "needless agonies" on the public mind. Now that these and other newspapers have been informed that the Censor not only passed the despatch in question, but urged us to publish it, we assume that written apologies will reach us in due course.

IN PARLIAMENT.

The subject was raised, as will be seen from our report, in both Houses of Parliament yesterday by members who were unacquainted with the fact related above, which would have been placed at their disposal had they taken the simple precaution of inquiring at our office. Mr. Asquith referred to the publication as "a very regrettable exception" to the patriotic reticence of the press. In reply to this we may observe that we should have been only too glad to withhold the message if we had not been urged to publish it by the official authorised by the Government to do so.

In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor also referred to the article as regrettable, and suggested that its publication was due to the fact that "Sunday editions come out sometimes when those responsible are not on the spot." Such is not the practice of the *Times*. In the evening in the House of Commons Mr F. E. Smith made a statement on the subject which is fully reported elsewhere. The difficulties of his position are recognised nowhere more clearly than in the office, but if the despatch was not accurate, or at least consistent with the known facts, no special pleading justifies his begging us to publish it or even his *imprimatur*.

The Censor's Addition to the Despatch

The *Daily Mail* yesterday published the following statement at the request of the editor of the "Weekly Dispatch," in which Sunday paper the *Time* Amiens despatch also appeared:—

The report was received at the "Weekly Dispatch" office on Saturday evening, and was immediately submitted to the Official Press Bureau. When, after some hours of detention, it was returned to the editor of the "Weekly Dispatch," shortly before midnight, it was accompanied by the following note from the Censor, who had excised a number of passages from the report. The Censor wrote:—

"I fear I have left you a riddle, but our present position must not be disclosed. Forgive my journalistic effort at the end, but that is what we want. I have passed far more than the W.O. [War Office] would sanction, but I think we should realise the truth."

The above note was written on the official notepaper of the Press Bureau and not marked "Private." It was regarded by the editor of the "Weekly Dispatch" as conveying important official advice to him, and he accordingly published the report in his issue of Sunday morning. It was afterwards published also in the special midday edition of the *Times*.

"The journalistic effort at the end" to which reference is made in the Censor's note consisted of the following paragraph, which was not part of the original report, but was added by the Press Bureau:—

"England should realise, and should realise at once, that she must send reinforcements, and still send them. Is an army of exhaustless valour to be borne down by the sheer weight of numbers while young Englishmen at home play golf and cricket? We want men, and we want them now."

The "Manchester Guardian."

August 31st.

Many thousand of Englishmen, women, and children must have passed an afternoon and evening of bitter misery yesterday (30th August) through reading one or other of two circumstantial accounts of a crushing disaster which was alleged to have befallen our army in France. They were published in a Sunday edition of the "Times" and in the "Weekly Dispatch," and were copied elsewhere. They represented the British Expeditionary Force as being utterly defeated with appalling slaughter, and as having lost almost every officer in some of its regiments. Readers were given pictures of starving fugitives in British uniform and were asked to believe that staff and other officers were scattered all about the country, cut off or in flight before invincible German army corps. The story was offered to the public on the authority of war correspondents, or correspondents, at Amiens—which of course is far from the scene of the real battles. It was a quite untrue story. There had been no disaster, but, as we know to-day, a stand by the British army so gloriously staunch, so magnificently successful, and in its probable results, so momentous that it will surely be remembered for ever as one of the most stirring of all the triumphs of British courage and steadfastness in battle. One can easily imagine how the falsehood took shape. One imagines an excitable or broken nerved man collecting the fragments of hyetrical narrative carried to a distance from a battlefield by chance fugitives from its neighbourhood, probably driven half out of their wits by terror and suffering. Then one imagines the fragments pieced together, not with any insincere intention but in a spirit of neurotic despondency, and the monstrous tale of horrors emerging as the result. Perhaps it was in some such way that the notorious circumstantial account of the (imaginary) murder of all the European legations at Pekin came into existence too. We do not suppose there was deliberate fabrication in either case, but it is horrible to think of the agonies inflicted in both cases, till the truth was known, upon the families and friends of the English people falsely remoured to have been slaughtered wholesale. We cannot help adding that, until a few years ago, it would have been almost unbelievable by any English journalist that these needless agonies would be inflicted by the "Times."

The Press Bureau issued last night a moderately worded rebuke to those responsible for this terrible failure to supply the public with true news. It would have been still kinder on the Censor's part to suppress what he must have known to be baseless. This, however, does not seem to be regarded as any part of the Bureau's duty. It is left therefore, to the public to be its own protector against falsehood in war news. Especially should it remember that war correspondents in the old sense, no longer exists, that no correspondents witness battles now, and that when a vivid and apparently personal account of a battle, or of any part of it, is published it should be regarded with suspicion as being in all probability, built up or inferred by some non-eye-witness out of scraps of narrative picked up from other persons mostly untrained to observe, crazy with fear and excitement, and capable of seeing anything in anything.

The "Morning Post."

We have already discussed the great battle of which the Secretary of State for War has given the nation what we take to be a clear, candid, and adequate account. London was at the same time tortured by a new paper report of the situation across the Channel published with the dubious prestige of a name at one time illustrious in English journalism.... Why, we ask, did the Censor allow to be published this "pitiful story" which it must have known was out of focus if not false in detail and which was, in substance, flatly contradicted the same day by the Secretary of State for War? Such Yellow Press panics and lamentations may have the most serious effect on the policy of certain neutral nations whose future course of action may now be hanging in the balance.... As to the Press Bureau, we presume that it failed to veto this unhappy eccentricity of panic journalism because it had not the power. If this is so, the necessary power should immediately be conferred upon the Government by Parliament.

"Timely."

The "Times" military correspondent says Lord Kitchener's statement is a very plain, straightforward statement, and it is timely because when an army is in retreat and constantly attacked parties become detached, consider themselves the only survivors, and spread far and wide most astounding stories of disaster. The farther we are from the fighting line the worse is the news, and it is only when we reach the front that we find order and coolness to prevail.

The Attacks on "The Times."

In another column we publish a plain statement of the circumstances in which the despatch from Amiens was published in our edition of Sunday last. For its publication we have been bitterly attacked in public and in private, in Parliament and in the Press, and in every case by those who were not in a position to know the facts of the case. These facts are before the world to-day, and we submit them in all confidence to the judgment of every candid reader of *The Times*. We offer no further justification of our action. The facts are before the public: let them judge for themselves. We have no doubt as to the verdict.

There are, however, two observations which we think it right to make on this occasion. In the first place we have been attacked for a lack of judgment, for irresponsible conduct, for subordinating public to private interests. In reply we are content to point to the past history and the present position of journal. We enjoy, as we have enjoyed for five generations, the confidence of Englishmen and the respect of the world. This confidence has not been earned by the methods now being attributed to us in such attacks as the successful in all branches of public life are accustomed to disregard. A sense of responsibility handed down from the war of Napoleon through every great moment in our history for a hundred years has only been quickened, as we may well ask the public to believe, by the present crisis in our national destiny. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit.*

Secondly, we desire to make our position with regard to the Press Censorship quite clear. We welcome a censorship as a valuable support to the Press in time of war. No newspaper can conceivably desire to publish news which is either inaccurate or calculated to assist the enemy; and a Censor with real military knowledge and in close touch with the military authorities is a necessary adjunct to the Press. In the case, however, of the despatch under discussion these conditions were not fulfilled. We not only obtained leave to publish it, we were definitely requested, in writing, to do so by the head of the Press Bureau. With such a request before us, we should have failed in our public duty if we had withheld the despatch from publication. If the despatch was in accordance with the knowledge which was in the hands of the military authorities at the time of its receipt by the Censor, then he was justified in passing it and in urging its publication. If it was exaggerated and distorted, as is now maintained, the Censor who urged its publication made an error of judgment. Time will reveal the truth. In either event our hands are clean.

Distress in Germany.

MR. DUDLEY WARD, late Berlin correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in a recent article in that paper says:—"To judge from copies of the Socialist organ *Vorwärts* which have just reached England over Holland, the war is already producing appalling destitution and misery over a very large part of Germany. There is, of course, the want among the families of those called to the front, but equally severe or even greater is the distress caused by the shutting of the greater part of all industrial concerns. In the Solingen district for instance, where, in normal times three quarters and more of the products are sent abroad, all works except those engaged in the production of weapons are idle. In the great Rhineland-Westphalia industrial district there is the same shutting of almost all works not directly connected with the provision of warlike materials. Among the coalfields of Westphalia there is some slight recovery, and in some cases as much as 60 per cent. of the work done in normal times has been reached. How great are the restrictions even here, however, can be judged from the fact that instead of the usual three shifts all the work required is done in one. Up to now no orders beyond those of the State are allowed to be fulfilled. From Berlin comes the same story, and here in addition are many complaints that in some industries overtime is being worked at reduced wages despite the thousands of unemployed waiting to be taken on. Altogether it was calculated by the trade union authorities on August 25 that there are something more than 100,000 unemployed in Berlin, and that after workers to the number of between 25 and 75 per cent. have been withdrawn from industry for the army. The large stores are dismissing many of their employees and in other cases are reducing wages. A fund for dealing with distress in Berlin caused by the war has been headed by a subscription from the Kaiser of £2,500. Special eating houses for destitute and unemployed are being arranged in the poorer parts of the city where midday meal can be obtained for a penny and free meals for children are being arranged on a large scale. The official boycott of Socialist restaurants and beer-houses has been raised in most centres, and permission has now been given for the sale of *Vorwärts* and other Socialist papers on all railway stations in Prussia. The calling up of part of the Landsturm and the warning of the rest has caused great trouble, since employers are dismissing any of their workers liable to this service and are refusing to take on any others who may be eventually called up.

TETE À TETE



The following communication has been received by all local Governments and Administrations from the Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department.—"In connection with many generous offers of assistance in kind to the Imperial Relief Fund which have been made by all classes of the community in India, I am directed to forward the following list of articles which will be of use to members, British and Indian, of the Indian Expeditionary Force together with the necessary instructions for their packing, despatch, etc.:—"Chocolate, Dried Figs, Dried Appricots, Dried Apple Chips, Dried Dates, Raisins, Pomegranates, Monkey Nuts, Walnuts, Pistachio Nuts, Almonds, Coconuts, Edible pine seeds, Cardamoms, Mineral alum earth (Nepal), Crystallised Sugar, Dry Ginger, Betel-nut, Catechu, Blaked Lime, Hindu Biscuits (Hindu Biscuit Co., Delhi), Tobacco leaf, Tobacco Compressed, Cigars, Cigarettes, Pipes, Portable Hookas, Material for making up hookas, Socks and Belts, Handkerchiefs, Mitten."

THE *Times* in its Sunday edition of 30th August published a despatch from its correspondent at Amiens which caused "False" News. immense shock and anxiety in London. We have not seen the whole text of that sensational message, but from the outburst of general indignation it evoked, it appears to have been of a very disquieting character. We reproduce elsewhere the *Times* explanations, the discussions in both the Houses of Parliament and a few of the comments made by other papers. This despatch was among the chief causes of a tendency to "scare" headlines which for the first time began to appear in certain sections of the press. "Our Army's Fight for Life—Desperate Situation Can Our Men be Saved?" were among the headings leading off the "Observer War Bulletin" sold about the streets on Sunday afternoon, and the article underneath them told how the British army had been on the brink of the most disastrous possibilities "in the whole history of the British army," and how at any moment within the next couple of days the public must expect to hear story of the "final overthrow or deliverance at the last moment of the Allies' northern army." Even the "better feeling" which the *Observer* reported in military circles on the night of 29th August was only admitted to the point of an opinion "that what is left of our army might be saved after all." As a finale the *Observer* "addresses one sentence more to all who have the heart of Britons—no panic, not a trace of it." Then there was the *Times* Amiens article. The one thing to be thankful about was that it appeared on a Sunday. The *Times*, like other papers, is sometimes misled, and its correspondent, acting in all good faith but apparently making his story from diverse information, compiled a narrative which shook London opinion to its foundations. It was, of course, taken that the worst had not been stated, and naturally people, with their old belief in the reticence of the *Times*, took it that things were twice as bad as what was published. It was believed that if the Censor, who had been so immovable against the publication of news which was of trifling significance compared with the *Times* story, had allowed its publication they had not only to read between the lines but to multiply their significance. On a week-day the result would have been an instant rise in the Bank rate, even a panic, and a big collapse of City business, which had been so gingerly reviving in the past week. Happily it was a Sunday, and Lord Kitchener's detailed and reassuring announcement overtook it in England and in the world—except Germany. The unfortunate thing is the Victorian reputation of the *Times* as a semi-official paper, despite all the vicissitudes of that journal and its present alliance with the other papers of Lord Northcliffe's syndicate, is still a lingering article of

faith outside England. The Censor had doubtless made a mistake in permitting the publication of its Amiens telegram, just as he had made previous mistakes in his refusal to permit publication of messages of a more authentic character. But the *Times* declares that its hands and conscience are clean and that of the story it published time will reveal the truth. Is it, in spite of official denials, still convinced of the accuracy of its correspondent's tale?

THE *Times* has preached moderation and practised extremism so long that one is not much astonished nowadays at what it says. In its Sunday issue (30th August) it published the despatch of

The Extremes. its Special Correspondent from Amiens, whose experience and trustworthiness have since been vouched for by the *Times* itself, which was intended to give to its readers the idea that all was lost. Two days later it published another despatch of a different variety sent by one of its special correspondents from Ostend according to which all is lost so far as the Germans are concerned. He writes:—"I managed to get between Ghent and Brussels on Saturday, and on my way back met an officer in the 5th German Foot Regiment. He was perfectly candid over the situation, and in the course of conversation said, 'The morale of some of our troops is not what it should be. Some of the men feel they are only going to butchery. We know, they say, that as we go towards Paris we shall meet with Anglo-French troops superior in training to ourselves and we shall be crushed.' " What did the German Chancellor say of the *Times*? Yes the *édition de luxe* of the *Daily Mail*! When will sensations cease? In view of what has happened one must only believe that the "candid" German officer was only courteous and wished to make the *Times* Special Correspondent happy for at least a week. Or, possibly he may have been busy in practising on the *Times* correspondent the operation known to the vulgar as "pulling one's leg." What purpose it served by publishing such old women's tale?

THE whirligig of time brings many changes and many revenges. Militarist and anti-Semite Fianer, which had broken the sword of Major Dreyfus before his troops as the punishment of a traitor, at last makes amends to him. It is reported from the Hague that the eldest son of Major Alfred Dreyfus, who is serving as a sergeant in the French Army, distinguished himself before Charleroi and was promoted on the battlefield. Major Dreyfus has written to some relatives at Utrecht stating that he applied for a commission in the French Army, and that his request has been complied with by M. Millerand.

WE wonder why Reuter forgot to cable to India the news of an event of the utmost significance to the honour and welfare of the Ottoman Empire, although a message from its agent at Constantinople was published in the English evening papers on 11th September, i.e., on the day the last mail left England. The message stated that "the Imperial Ottoman Government has notified the representatives of the Powers that the Sultan had abolished the capitulations and that henceforth all foreign subjects would be tried in civil and criminal cases by the Ottoman courts." This decision of the Sultan is a wise stroke of statesmanship and it will be hailed with unalloyed satisfaction by those who have no desire to see Turkey shorn of its strength and independence as a sovereign State. The capitulations were originally generous concessions granted to subjects of the Christian Powers by Turkey for purposes of freer commercial intercourse, but in course of time they were converted into most irksome fetters which paralysed the hands of the State in dealing with mischief and sedition at home and unscrupulous intrigue from abroad. We are glad Turkey has seized this opportunity to strike off the humiliating bonds which has become so galling to her sense of honour and impeded her freedom of action in innumerable ways.

IN mail week a meeting of the Committee of the London Moslem League adopted the following resolutions:—
The London Moslem League and the War. "1. That the Committee of the London All-India Moslem League desire to convey, through the favour of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, to his Majesty's Indian troops their good wishes for success in the opportunity accorded to them to share with their British comrades-in-arms in the defence of the Empire on the battlefields of Europe. 2. That the Committee further desire to place on record their conviction that the Moslem States will, in the Titanic struggle in which the nations of Europe have become involved, do all in their power to avoid being drawn into the vortex; and that the Turkish

Government will unwaveringly maintain the neutrality which it has hitherto faithfully observed, and not allow the Ottoman people to be goaded by malign attempts into any deviation from strict fidelity to its pledges." Every Mussalman will echo the sentiments of the League on an occasion when in the face of a great Imperial danger all those stupid artificial distinctions of race and colour were swept aside by His Majesty's Government and such valuable military assets as the Indian troops were not kept idle simply because of the pigment of their skin. It has been suggested in some quarters that the reason why Indian troops were not employed in war against a white skinned enemy was the possibility of their inability to restrain their feelings and outstepping the bounds of humanity in crushing the foe. If one can believe a tenth of what each of the belligerents has to say of the other, we expect most our troops to teach a much needed lesson in humanity and chivalry to Europe. The League's hopes that the Moslem States will do all in their power to avoid being drawn into the vortex are shared by all Mussalmans, and one is relieved to find that the community at least has no Admiral Mahon to suggest an early participation of Moslem states in this war in the interests of their "world position."

THE papers received with the last mail are full of various rumours about Turkey's intentions. We give a few samples of these to show how the process of thought-reading had been working. The Press Association learnt on the 1st September that a feeling of uncertainty was still expressed as to the attitude of Turkey. It is satisfactory to note that the Grand Vizier had again confirmed the assertion of the Turkish Ambassador in London as to Turkey's peaceful intentions. The Ottoman Embassy had telegraphed to Constantinople for information regarding the reported passage of Germans towards Constantinople, and was awaiting a reply. The Exchange Telegraph Company was informed that these men were probably Turkish officers who were in England in connection with the building of the two battleships for the Turkish Government. These officers recently left England to return overland to Constantinople, their services no longer being required in England since the ships had been taken over by the British Government. A Press Association telegram from Kaghyzman, Trans-Caucasia, stated that deep trenches had been dug around Erzerum and beyond, and on many points on the frontier fortifications and wire entanglements had been constructed. German engineers were said to be directing the work. A *Manchester Guardian* telegram from Athens on 7th September stated that the latest news from Constantinople represents that, notwithstanding the pressure exercised by the German Ambassador on Turkey to declare herself in open hostility to the Triple Entente, the Turkish Government was hesitating. This was considered as a partial success for the Ambassadors of the Triple Entente in their strenuous endeavours to dissuade the conservative element in the Cabinet against following Enver Pasha's headlong policy. According to conversations which the correspondent has had with Balkan diplomatic representatives here, the irreconcilable interests of Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey constitute an element making for peace in the Balkans, and the probability was that all the three countries would will not be embroiled in the war, at least among themselves.

SINCE the outbreak of the war rumours have been rife about an alliance between Turkey and Bulgaria to throw in their lot with the Austro-German Powers. Turkey and Bulgaria. Turkey has made her position clear in no uncertain way on more than one occasion. Bulgaria has similarly declared her intention to maintain strict neutrality. The recent report that the King of Bulgaria had sent a telegram of congratulation to the Hungarian army was taken as a proof of Bulgaria's sentiments. Bulgarians qualified to express an opinion say, however, that King Ferdinand's personal act in no way reflects the policy of the Government or the wishes of the people. They say that the telegram, if it ever was sent, expresses only the King's well-known Hungarian sympathies. He lived part of his youth in Hungary, he is bound to Hungary by many ties, and he owns estates there. If a revolution had broken out as a result of the defeat of Bulgaria in the second Balkan war it is to Hungary that he would have retired. They say that the Bulgarian people will never combine with Turkey to join in the war, for the simple reason that they have nothing to gain. Some might say that they could gain Macedonia. Bulgaria undoubtedly would be glad to gain the part of Macedonia that was to be hers in the original settlement, but to stake her existence again in war there must be a very great reward. Macedonia is not that. "What Bulgaria urgently needs is a port. What Turkey most wants is Salonika. The end of the Balkan Wars, however, left Bulgaria as a buffer State between Greece and Turkey, but without a real port. Salonika (if it fell to the Turks as a spoil of war) divided from Turkey by Bulgaria would be a political impossibility, and if Bulgaria got Kavala the situation would become worse for Turkey's

future development. The position is that neither could get what she wants without injury to the other."

The Defences of Antwerp. The Germans have begun the bombardment of Antwerp in real earnest and, according to the latest news, they have taken the inner forts and have even entered the city. The place was considered to be almost impregnable and its easy and rapid fall would be

little short of a unique feat in German military history. The following history of the fortifications of Antwerp will be of interest to our readers. In the art of fortification Antwerp can claim to have been a model to Europe from the earliest days of its history. In the sixteenth century, when the idea of the bastion—the protruding defences built out with the intention of covering, from their two flanks, the portions of the rampart from which they sprang—began to be the dominating principle of fortification, the citadel which the Spaniards built at Antwerp in 1568 was the first example of the complete bastioned system. Nothing remains of it to-day except a restored portion which is used as a museum, but it was the centre of General Chasse's defence against the French troops in 1832. In 1859, when the whole system of Belgium's fortress, as they had been constructed under Wellington's supervision, were overhauled, Antwerp again became a fine example of the fortification theories of its period. It was only just of its period, however for it was the last occasion on which the mediæval enceinte—the continuous line of strong fortifications enclosing the whole town, as opposed to the modern system of detached forts at a considerable distance from the city—was employed, and the coming of high explosives made the old idea of the enceinte a thing of the past. The fortifications, begun in 1859, were carried out as follows.—At that time Antwerp still had its old enceinte. This was removed, and a new one, between eight and nine miles in length, was built, which included not only Antwerp but the two villages of Bechen and Bongerout. Beyond the enceinte, at a distance of about two miles, a line of eight detached forts was built, completely screening the south and south-east sides of the city. The forts are about a mile and a quarter apart, and are each constructed for a garrison of 1,000 men. Each has frontal works of over 700 yards, and is intended for an armament of 120 guns and 15 mortars. There were already one or two other forts in existence on other sides of the city, and the north was to be amply protected in event of a siege by the flooding the River Scheldt over the lowlands. In 1870 Fort Meixern and redoubts at Berendrecht and Oorderen were constructed to dominate an inundation zone. This was the position of Antwerp's defence up to the arrival of long-range artillery and the infinitely destructive modern explosives. With the coming of these it became evident that the defence of 1859 were useless without some extension of the area which they covered to meet the longer range of the artillery. Accordingly it was decided in 1878 to build an outer line of 15 forts and batteries at a distance of nine to six miles from the enceinte of Antwerp, and seven to four from the first line of forts. By 1900 ten of these outer forts had been constructed, and a commission was appointed to fix the positions of the remaining five. Though the maps of two years ago do not show the line as completed, the work was in rapid progress in 1908. The existing defences of Antwerp fall, then, into three sections—the new outer line of forts, the old 1859 line, and the now almost useless enceinte. It will be seen that nearly all the defensive works have been concentrated on the right bank of the Scheldt, the supposition is that no enemy can get round to the west of the city in sufficient strength to be really dangerous. One interesting problem has arisen out of the necessity to fortify this great Belgian port. Antwerp needs growing room and it has been proposed to remove the old enceinte into order to give the city this. But if the old enceinte was removed and a new one built to connect the 1859 line of forts this would be 30 miles in length. And if the city then took advantage of its growing room and spread out to the new enceinte the outer line of forts would be too near to screen the town from bombardment. And a further extension of the outer forts is an extremely difficult proposition; for the whole Belgian army would be hardly strong enough effectively to garrison such an extended position. So Antwerp remains with her enceinte of 1859, and if she does extend it will apparently have to be on the left bank of the Scheldt.

It would appear from various accounts emanating from different sources that the German Socialist Party is overwhelmingly on the side of the War Lord in struggle. Even such a pronounced Socialist organ as the Berlin *Vorwärts* regards the war as a necessity forced on Germany and thinks it the duty of every German socialist to support the Government. The following is from one of

its leading articles which appeared under the title of "The Great Victory". The victory referred to is apparently the repulse of the French in Lorraine on the 31st and 22nd August. The *Vorwärts* says:—"Great have been the successes of the German army against France and the first important decision has come sooner than anyone expected. The rash decision of the French Staff to take the offensive and thereby surrender the great advantages which their system of frontier fortifications would have assured to them has soon been punished. The French have been beaten, perhaps already vanquished, though great sacrifices may still have to be made to reap the fruits of the victory." The *Vorwärts* proceeds to discuss the effect of this success on the policy of the neutral States. It reminds its readers of the maxim of Clausewitz, that war is only a 'continuation of politics' by other means, and it asks what is now the object of the German policy. "When the war broke out the phrase was 'War against Tsarism.' It was this phrase which made the war appear inevitable, even to those who are enemies of war and had advocated a policy which would have excluded 'a continuation by other means,' in the phrase of Clausewitz. Though war is subordinate to politics, when once it has broken out it follows its own laws, and its events settle decisively its political aim. And here is the problem to which we would draw the attention of the German people. From the beginning of the war it was clear that the first blow must be directed against the allies of Russia. Military experts recognised it as an unavoidable necessity first to bring France to her knees in order then, in combination with Austria, to make head against Russia. And the rest of us are compelled to acquiesce in this necessity, much as we deplore the terrible hazard that brings two civilised nations into this murderous conflict. But strategical necessities are not without influence on the political issue. In a military sense the defeat of France is our first desire, but politically the most urgent necessity is the overthrow and annihilation of Tsarism. The defeat of Russia's allies is necessary, because they are the allies of Tsarism, but it is necessary only so far as suffices to prevent them from defeating the overthrow of Tsarism. Just as Bismarck in 1866 built a golden bridge over which the vanquished might enter into an alliance with Germany, so must we now leave open the way for an understanding between the great civilised nations. We must keep before our eyes a policy which avoids attacks on the unity and independence of other nations—attacks that might perpetuate hostility between the three Western Powers, and so put Russia, even after her overthrow, into the intolerable position of arbiter of Europe. No, Tsarism is, and remains, our enemy, and nothing is more distressing than the thought that our forces must be so long tied up in the west that they prevent us in the east from bringing our battle there to a successful completion. Should we not succeed in overthrowing Tsarism, strategical necessity would throw political necessity into the background, and then the final solution would take a form that has always been in the minds of the governing classes. Instead of close friendship between the civilised nations of the west we should go back to the days of the Holy Alliance in which Tsarism would again possess the dominant influence. It would be a return of Austrian and German policy to lines which this war should make for ever impossible. In such a case this war would lose all its justification, we should be in danger of antagonising all who are now neutral, and this war, even should its immediate result to us be victory, would only be the prelude for a new and still more terrible conflict. No, this war should be a war not for aggrandisement, nor for the substitution of German for English and Russian supremacy, but for the freedom of the nations. Freedom from the influence of Moscow, freedom for Poles and Finland, freedom in its political development, and dissolution of the unnatural alliance of two civilised nations with the barbarism of the Tsar—that is the goal which the German people, enthusiastic and ready for all sacrifices, has set before itself."

A GERMAN official communication sent out from Berlin sets out to explain how "painful" it has been for every one in Germany, without distinction of party, Germany's Feeling Towards France. to have been obliged to go to war with France and that, too, at the will of Tsarism. Now that blood has flowed, it continues, this feeling has naturally given place to the firm resolve to have a complete reckoning with France. At the same time more and more voices are being raised in favour of building a golden bridge for France, because a permanent condition of traditional enmity between two nations who mutually complete each other's civilisation would be an enormity. The writer then proceeds to quote *Die Welt am Montag*, which declares:—"The struggle with France must be fought out to the bitter end, yet it must be carried on in the proper spirit. We have not to do with a harmful monster that must be rooted out, but with an honourable enemy, with whom afterwards an honourable, righteous peace is possible. Out of military considerations we must beat France, yes, even crush her, but when we have gained the victory we do not

wish to destroy her. This civilised people will retain also after the war the right of existence. We emphatically reject the plans of phantasists who are already putting forward a programme for the splitting up of entire France. No, we will destroy Tsarism, but France we will maintain. We will so carry on the war and so beat France that, after peace is re-established, it shall be possible to form with France a European community of civilisation." The communication then quotes a passage from the *Vorwärts* article which have reproduced above and proceeds—"We must in consequence keep our eyes fixed on a statesmanship which shall not by conquests and the disturbance of the unity and the independence of other nations prolong for ever the regrettable enmity with the Western Powers, whereby Russia, even after she has suffered a defeat, would be again placed in the position of the fearful and unbearable arbitrator of Europe. For us Tsarism remains the one enemy. This war must not have as its object the making of conquests and the setting up, in place of the British, Tsaristic world lordship of a new one, but the freeing of the nations, their liberation from Moscovdom, liberty and independence for the Poles and Finland, free development also for the great Russian nation itself, the redeeming of two cultured nations out of the unnatural alliance with Tsaristic barbarism. This was the goal which made the German people enthusiastic and self-sacrificing. That this may thus be the result statesmanship has now to see to." That Berlin journals may openly express such opinions, adds the German news agency, although the censor examines and weighs each word, shows that the ideas of the Government cannot differ much from these. "However premature it may at the moment appear, on account of the embittered struggle, yet the hope of an agreement with France in the future is general on Germany's part." This communication is very significant and may have possibly been intended to hint at the policy which Germany may be thinking of pursuing when she has succeeded in "hacking her way through." Was the declaration of the Allies to prosecute the war and make peace conjointly meant as a rejoinder?

THE report that had reached England from Copenhagen that Berlin papers, with obvious approval of the Government, were holding out "golden bridges" to France was confirmed by information received in Paris. The *Temps* said on 29th August that the report had been "discreetly circulated" that Germany was prepared to make peace with France on excellent terms. A telegram from Washington received in Paris about the same time attributed to "an eminent diplomatist" of a neutral country the opinion that the German Emperor would make proposals for peace within two months. The *Temps* saw in these reports evidence of the desire of Germany to induce France and England to separate themselves from Russia. "But that explanation is not the only possible one," says the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. "Other people here consider that the fact that Germany has been successful at the beginning of the war will make it much more easy for her to sue for peace at a comparatively early date than if she had been beaten at once. Had Germany done badly from the first, the Emperor would have been compelled by regard for his prestige and perhaps for the safety of his throne to hold out to the bitter end. But he could now plead that Germany had defended herself brilliantly against overwhelming odds. France will fight to the bitter end to rid herself of the invader but should the war at any moment have reached a point at which it was very much of a draw I doubt whether the opinion of the French people would allow the war to be continued merely to secure a crushing victory over Germany, should Germany be willing to end it on terms that France could honourably accept. A really conclusive victory might, of course, change that opinion. It seems unhappily already plain that, whatever the result of the war may be, France will suffer even more severely from it than from the war of 1870."

A LETTER, received by the *Times*, describing the experiences of two American oil engineers who reached London from Roumania by way of Berlin, says—"The Americans paid a visit to the flying station and estimate that there were over 50 Zeppelins ready waiting to start, and hundreds of aeroplanes ready also. There was immense activity in constructing new craft and in training men, as many as a hundred aeroplanes being in the air at once with learners. From general conversation they gathered that there would be a great combined attack by the naval and aerial fleets at some auspicious moment."

ACCORDING to a Press Association message of 8th September, a German American, who had just arrived at Rotterdam from Essen, reported that at Krupp's Works, which he had visited, all departments were working day and night, turning out new guns and substructures. All the workmen of the firm had been excused mili-

tary service, and thousands of new workmen had been engaged. New Zeppelins with, it was declared, numerous improvements are also under construction, and some are nearly completed. He heard much talk of the new big guns which, it was declared, could easily throw shells from Calais to Dover, and of the intention of the Germans to occupy Calais, and thence to carry out under the protection of these huge weapons a Zeppelin invasion of England. With this end in view, it was intended, he was told, to waste no time on a siege of Paris. Time was too precious, as with the advent of rough weather in the autumn the Zeppelins would be useless. Perhaps the time has passed.

SOME of the English papers publish extracts from the German papers that had reached England about the beginning of September through neutral countries. The War through German Spectacles. Those extracts throw an interesting light on some aspects of the war. It will be remembered, for instance, that the Admiralty reported that on August 18 there was a "certain liveliness apparent" in the southern parts of the North Sea. Some statements which appear in the German press explain in detail the meaning of that phrase. Thus, the issue of *Vorwärts* of August 21 gives the following official announcement:—

"The two small cruisers Strassburg and Stralsund have during the last few days made a journey into the southern parts of the North Sea. The Strassburg sighted two enemy submarines off the English coast, and with a few shots from a distance succeeded in making one of them sink." The official statement leaves it obscure whether the Strassburg thought she had sunk the British submarine. We know, of course, that, as a matter of fact, she did not. The statement continues—"The Stralsund exchanged shots with several British destroyers at long range, and two of them suffered damage." The latter statement, so far as we know, is quite incorrect. Finally, the official report says—"Thanks to this incident, as well as to the report of an airship which has gone as far as Skagar Rack, it may be affirmed positively once more that the German coasts and waters are free of the enemy, and that neutral shipping may pass without hindrance." As to the sinking of the German submarine U 15, the *Berliner Tageblatt* makes the following comment:—"The material loss is substantial, on the other hand we understand that during the last few days three new submarines have been commissioned so that the loss of the U 15 is wiped out. Besides which, some new torpedo-boats have just been made ready for service. Indeed, there is no need to emphasise the fact that a feverish activity now rules in our dockyards in order to get more warships ready for sea." The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of August 24, compiles a list of the achievements of the German fleet up to date. It includes the mine-laying of the *Königin Luise*, the action of the *Goesbeu* and *Breslau* in "breaking through the hostile fleets in the Mediterranean—an exploit which the enemy will not find it so easy to imitate"—the journey of the *Strassburg* and the *Stralsund*, and the raid of the German submarines against the British fleet. Says the *Fremdenblatt*:—"What the German submarines have accomplished is not yet known, but the expedition will not have been devoid of success." As we know, its only result was the sinking of the U 15 by the cruiser 'Birmingham.' From another issue of the *Berliner Tageblatt* it appears that the German Government has through a neutral country, made a formal protest to the Russian Government against the alleged action of Russian troops in burning and plundering Prussian territory on the line of their advance. Says this document—"Germany makes public protest against a method of conducting war which is so contrary to international law, and if the conduct of the struggle in consequence assumes a particularly brutal character Russia alone must bear the responsibility."

SOME of the most thrilling passages in the despatch sent by Field Marshal Sir John French related to the efforts of the Germans to drive the English army against Maubeuge on August 24 and 25 and surround it there. One of these passages reads:—"The French were still retiring, and I had no support except such as was afforded by the fortress of Maubeuge, and the determined attempts of the enemy to get round my left flank assured me that it was his intention to hem me against that place and surround me. I felt that not a moment must be lost in retiring to another position." Then, speaking of the afternoon of Wednesday, August 26, General French says:—"At length it became apparent that if complete annihilation was to be avoided a retirement must be attempted, and the order was given to commence it about 3-30 p. m." The German newspapers of this date which reached England furnish a very interesting commentary on General French's reports, for they show that both the German General Staff and the German people believed with the utmost confidence that on August 25 and 26 the English army was on the point of being captured or destroyed. In the official headquarters report

appear the words:—"The army of General von Kluck has defeated the English army near Maubeuge and attacked it repeatedly to-day south west of Maubeuge while encircling it round (Unter umfassung)." The German General Staff made a very bad miscalculation, and great must have been the disappointment in Germany when no information came that the encirclement had been complete. How complete was the German confidence that the English army was on the point of destruction may be judged from the following passage in an article by the military expert of the *Berliner Tageblatt*:—"While in the extreme north our line drove its attack deep into France, near Maubeuge the tragic fate of the English Expeditionary Army has been partially fulfilled, and the news that it has been cut off from the Allied line cannot now be far distant. Some days ago the English cavalry brigades were thrown back on Belgian soil, then followed the struggle east of Maubeuge, and now the army of General von Kluck has succeeded in hurling back and encircling the English. Such an encirclement by the German troops, accustomed as they are to victory, usually leads to nothing less than annihilation, as to which the English will now no longer be in doubt." Also, the *Berlin National Zeitung*, on reading the official statements which appeared to indicate that the Germans had got in between the French and British, indulged in the following description of the fate awaiting the British army:—"The British Expeditionary Corps, which was so enthusiastically greeted by the French on its landing in Boulogne hardly three weeks ago, is cut off from its communications and can only now save itself by flight to the French harbours of Dunkirk, Calais, Havre, or Cherbourg. There thus awaits before the fragments of the British army a retreat which is a lively reminder of the historic retreat of the British General Sir John Moore in the Spanish campaign against Napoleon. It is the fate of British armies on the Continent, after failures in warfare, to be obliged to flee to harbours of safety, whence they can sail home again under the protection of the guns of the British fleet. It is really very questionable whether Field Marshal French will succeed, like his predecessor Moore, in getting the fragments of his army safely to England." These predictions read quaintly in the light of Sir John French's report.

The Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in a long despatch on 30th August after noting the alterations made in the composition of the French Press Bureau, which it was hoped would remove the deep dissatisfaction felt on account of the suppression of news, says:—"We are still without any information here as to the casualties on the French side since the beginning of the war. They have been very heavy on both sides, and probably exceed even proportionately the losses in any war for a long time past. On both sides two regiments have in some cases had to be merged into one and even in the new regiment thus formed the companies are often very small. I hear from an excellent source that the French casualties in the battle in the north up to last Tuesday, August 25th, were about 80,000. Indeed my informant said that he believed that these figures included only killed and missing, but not wounded. I give the figures with all reserve, but they are not at all improbable, at any rate for the total casualties. The fact that a soldier is killed, missing or seriously wounded is privately communicated to his family, often after several days. It was only yesterday morning that the Russian public learned for the first time by the statement in the official communication that the French had stretched from the Somme to the Vosges, that our forces had retreated to within so short a distance of Paris, and that eight departments of France were invaded. Up to then the official communications had been worded in such a way as to suggest that our forces were still near the frontier. False news, coming like a bolt from the blue, naturally caused great alarm and led to all sorts of rumours. It was a great mistake not to prepare the public for this news. It is possible, perhaps probable, that this retreatment is in accordance with deliberate tactics adopted in order to draw the enemy's forces on until they are exhausted and then attack them. This would mean that General Joffre had adopted the tactics which Jaures always declared to be the only course. Indeed the whole of the present campaign up to now has confirmed the prophecies and proposals of Jaures, who is proved to have known more about military tactics than the military experts. Military experts are now almost unanimously of the opinion that the offensive tactics first employed (especially those in Alsace-Lorraine) were a mistake, and that had Jaures's plan been followed from the first our position would now be much better than it is and our losses much smaller. Even, however, on the hypothesis that the French retreat has been deliberate, the German advance seems to have been so extraordinarily rapid that the plan cannot have entirely succeeded, and there must have been incidents of which we know nothing. It is probable that some French railway lines are being used by the Germans. Even now we are not being told the whole truth. Nothing has been heard here of the reported and very

probable German occupation of Arras, which I first learned from the *Manchester Guardian* of Friday, and we know nothing at all of what is passing in the invaded departments."

A SUFFICIENTLY instructive view of the economic situation in Germany at the end of the first four weeks of the war is afforded in an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the writer of which incidentally waxes very indignant over England's war on German trade, though the indignation is a measure of how hard the trade war is likely to hit the Germans. "We may note with satisfaction," says the review in question, "that the first fright and confusion produced by the outbreak of war in our economic life has rapidly vanished, thanks to the co-operation of all circles in the endeavours to meet the altered conditions. If this has not been entirely achieved it is hardly to be wondered at. Railway traffic, that had been almost entirely ceased, and to some extent a reflow of savings to the banks and savings banks may be observed. On the open money market, too, things are easier. According to the last statement issued by the Reichsbank, a further issue of notes approaching 11 milliards of mark was permissible without going under the (gold) backing of a third required. The private war credit banks which have been established at numerous places will considerably relieve the State Bank in the direction of loans. Stock Exchange business is at a complete standstill, and until the general position has sufficiently cleared it will certainly be wisest to let things so remain. Even when a commencement is made it must be a gradual one, starting with home Government stocks, municipal bonds, &c. In view of the status of the Reichsbank and the general money and credit conditions, it is necessary to wait before issuing the planned big war loan. For the present the Reichsbank is available for the covering of the considerable cash needs of the war. Presumably the issue of the war loan will only be decided on when further decisive German victories can be stated. In no case is there any occasion for anxiety in regard to the provision of this money. It is an open question also whether the markets of neutral foreign States cannot be taken into consideration for the German loan. News is lacking regarding the general economic conditions in England, but an extraordinarily bad impression has been made by the English economic war that has been started against Germany with such petty means, and much less on account of the disadvantages which might result therefrom for Germany as on account of the spirit which this expresses and which with brutal clearness reveals the motives which have impelled England to participation in this war. It is the attempt to destroy Germany economically, the troublesome competitor on the world market. This goal, and the means used in reaching it, recall the time when England, in the year 1798, robbed the German merchants settled in London of their privileges and turned them out. What England is now undertaking against Germany, and in which it does not stop at the breaking of agreements, as in the case of the German patents, reminds us of such instances as that referred to in times long past, whose revival is not apparently hindered either by culture and morals or by the elements of justice."

We practically know little as to the condition, economic and social, under which Russia is fighting, but it is probable that they cannot be as reassuring as those prevailing in France and England.

War Conditions in Russia

A native of Bolton, who holds a responsible position in St. Petersburg, in a letter written on August 12th and received in Bolton on August 29 says:—"I am sorry for the poor women and children left here. The Government is doing all it can to help them, and all sorts of collections are going on. Notices are up that no landlord can turn out the wife of a soldier for non-payment of rent. All wine and beer places are closed, and I never saw Petersburg so sober. At a large number of mills notices are already posted up that in two weeks' time they will shut down. What a terrible prospect for the working people and I expect it is the same in Germany. All provisions have been much dearer here, but to-day notices are posted stating the prices to be charged for meat, bread, &c., and anyone asking more than these prices is to be put into prison or pay a fine of 8,000 roubles. That is the best thing the Government has done yet. Notices are put up at my mill that the work-people will get their accounts in two weeks' time. It is rumoured that those in official positions will also have their salaries stopped. If that turns out correct I am off to England."

PROFESSOR HARNACK is one of the most eminent and famous German scholars, whose name commands great respect abroad. At the outbreak of the war between Germany and England he is reported to have made a speech in which he described the conduct of Great Britain as that of a traitor to civilisation. The

following are extracts from a letter which has been addressed to Professor Harnack by a number of well-known British theologians, including Principal Selbie, Principal Forsyth and Professors Herbert T. Andrews and H. H. Scullard:—"We, the undersigned, a group of theologians who owe more than we can express to you personally and to the great host of German teachers and leaders of thought, have noticed with pain a report of a speech recently delivered by you, in which you are said to have described the conduct of Great Britain in the present war as that of a traitor to civilisation. We are quite sure that you could never have been betrayed into such a statement if you had been acquainted with the real motives which actuate the British nation in the present crisis. Permit us, in the interests of a better understanding now and subsequently, to state to you the grounds on which we, whose obligations to Germany, personal and professional, are simply incalculable, have felt it our duty to support the British Government in its declaration of war against the land and people we love so well. We are not actuated by any preference for France over Germany, still less by any preference for Russia over Germany. The preference lies entirely the other way. Next to the peoples that speak the English tongue, there is no people in the world that stand so high in our affection and admiration as the people of Germany. Several of us have studied in German universities. Many of us have enjoyed warm personal friendship with your fellow countrymen. All of us owe an immeasurable debt to German theology, philosophy, and literature. Our sympathies are in matters of the spirit so largely German that nothing but the very strongest reasons could ever lead us to contemplate the possibility of hostile relations between Great Britain and Germany. Nor have we the remotest sympathy with any desire to isolate Germany, or to restrict her legitimate expansion, commercial and colonial. We have borne resolute witness against the endeavour made by foes of Germany to foment anti-German suspicion and ill-will in the minds of our fellow-countrymen. But we recognise that all hope of settled peace between the nations, and indeed of any civilised relations between the nations, rests on the maintenance inviolate of the sanctity of treaty obligations. We can never hope to put law for war if solemn international compacts can be torn up at the will of any Power involved. These obligations are felt by us to be the more stringently binding in the case of guaranteed neutrality. For the steady extension of neutralisation appears to us to be one of the surest ways of the progressive elimination of war from the face of the earth. All these considerations take on a more imperative cogency when the treaty rights of a small people are threatened by a great world Power. We, therefore, believe that when Germany refused to respect the neutrality of Belgium, which she herself had guaranteed, Great Britain had no option, either in international law or in Christian ethics, but to defend the people of Belgium. . . . It has cost us all the deepest pain to find the Germany which we love so intensely committing this act of lawless aggression on a weak people, and a Christian nation becoming a mere army, with army ethics. We loathe war of any kind. A war with Germany cuts us to the very quick. But we sincerely believe that Great Britain in this conflict is fighting for conscience, justice, Europe, humanity, and lasting peace. . . . We have been grieved to the heart to see in the successive acts of German policy a disregard of the liberties of State, small or great, which is the very negation of civilisation. It is not our country that has incurred the odium of being a traitor to civilisation or to the conscience of humanity."

THE RUSSIANS have rechristened St. Petersburg Petrograd, perhaps to remove its Teutonic Association, but Teutonism in Russia. Teutonism in Russia goes further than names. Of the real rulers of Russia are many Teutons both in name and blood. According to one account, most of them belong to the Teutonic nobility of the Baltic provinces, which is largely descended from the crusading order of the Teutonic knights who conquered and converted these provinces in the fourteenth century. But Russia has imported Germans on a considerable scale ever since Peter the Great brought them to carry out his work of reorganisation. If all the German names of men and cities in Russia are to be Slavised, there will be a rechristening on a large scale. The Russian General in East Prussia at the present moment bears the German name of Rennenkampf. The Russian Ambassador in London is Count Benckendorf. At the same time, curiously enough, the German Ambassador bore the Slavonic name of Lichnowsky. The famous Russian defender of Plevna, by the way, in the Russo-Turkish War, bore the German name of Todleben. Among places, the Tsar's palace itself must change its German name of Peterhof, and the great neighbouring fortress of Kronstadt (Crown City) must be given a Slav translation.

THE following throws further light on the *Times'* announcement that the German Consul has been sent away from Tripoli. Mr. Austin West, the Special Correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, wired thus from Milan and it was received in London

on the 9th September.—"Despicable intrigues on the part of the German Consular staff in Tripoli to foment a general Mussalman rising in North Africa have just come to light through the vigilance of the Italian authorities. To make clear the position of affairs I should mention that prior to the Italian occupation of Tripoli German interests there were represented by the Belgian Consul, Comendatore Laby, an Italian subject. Last month, however, a new consul arrived there from Germany, bringing with him as his secretary one named Cook, and it very soon became apparent that these two, who were in reality German army officers, had come on a special mission, the object of which was to corrupt leading citizens to help in the undoing of France in Tunis and Great Britain in Egypt. From that time a certain unwonted liveliness had been noticeable in the movements of the native population of Tripoli to and from the Consulate. But the local military commander had his eyes open and realised full well that such a propaganda was directed primarily against England and France, and that the circumstances suggested a development in the nature of an anti-European movement. Opportunity for defeating these machinations was afforded, when one day the German Consul, having wrongly inferred from his name and perfect German speech, that a certain prominent resident, Signor Umberto Wiedlich, was a Teuton subject, summoned him to the Consulate and made a proposal that he should muster a large Arab contingent to start for Tunis on an important secret mission. 'You've mistaken your man,' answered Wiedlich, indignantly, 'for the truth is I am a Neapolitan.' This matter Wiedlich reported to the military police, and Major Ridolfi, of the Royal Italian Carabinieri, was charged with the duty of putting the German suspects aboard the first outgoing steamer, which happened to be the Memphis. On the day before the steamer sailed a special German messenger arrived bearing confidential correspondence and bringing £4,000 in gold to the Consulate from the German Embassy in Rome. The authorities, however, refused to allow the messenger to disembark. The *Corriere della Sera*, in giving further detail of the Consul's suspicious behaviour, says that Italy cannot afford to wait at such knavish tricks, the consequences of which might well prove as ruinous to her own interests as to those of her neighbours."

A PICTURE of the psychic experiences of a soldier plunged for the first time into the pandemonium of a modern battle is given in the *Reich*, a Russian paper, by a wounded artillery officer. He says:—

"At daybreak positions were assigned to us, and the Commander of the brigade handed us a plan of the action of our artillery. From that moment horror possessed our souls. It was not anxiety for ourselves or fear of the enemy, but a feeling of awe in the face of something unknown. At six o'clock we crept from a mark which we could not distinguish but which we understood to be the enemy. Towards midday we were informed that the German cavalry was attempting to envelop our right wing, and were ordered in that direction. Having occupied our new position we waited. Suddenly we see the enemy coming, and at the same time he opens fire on us. We turn our guns upon him, and I give the order to fire. I myself feel that I am in a kind of nightmare. Our battery officers begin to melt away. I see that Germans are developing their attack. First one regiment appears and then another. I direct the guns and pour a volley of projectiles right into the thick of the first regiment. Then a second volley, and a third. I see how they fall among the men, and can even discern the severed limbs of the dead flying into the air after the explosion. One of the enemy's regiments is annihilated. Then a second one. All this time I am pouring missiles in among them. But now the nervous feeling has left me. My soul is filled with hate, and I continue to shoot at the enemy without the least feeling of pity. Yet still the enemy is advancing, rushing forward and lying down in turns. I do not understand his tactics, but what are they to me? It is enough for me that I am occupying a favourable position and mowing him down like a strong man with a scythe in a clover field. During the first night after the battle I could not sleep a wink. All the time my mind was filled with pictures of the battlefield. I saw German regiments approaching, and myself firing into the thick of them. Heads, arms, legs, and whole bodies of men were being flung high into the air. It was a dreadful vision. I was in four battles. When the second began I went into it like an automaton. Only your muscles are taxed. All the rest of your being seems paralysed. So complete is the suspension of the sensory processes that I never felt my wound. All I remember is that a feeling of giddiness came over me, and my head began to swim. Then

I swooned to the ground, and was picked up by the Medical Corps and carried to the rear."

The special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian and Daily Telegraph* gives the following graphic picture of the western sweep of the German hosts as seen from behind:—"At half-past one on Thursday, August 20, the German army started its entry into Brussels. Never before have I seen a more wonderful and impressive sight. It was impossible to imagine that these men had been fighting continuously for ten days, or that they were even on active service. First of all came six cyclists, then a detachment of cavalry, and then a great mass of infantry. Then guns, field guns, then more infantry, then huge howitzers, then a pontoon train, and then more infantry; and so on from half-past one on the Thursday until Sunday morning, August 23, without a break. All the horses of the cavalry, guns, and trains were in wonderful condition. The men also struck me as being very fresh and very keen. Each company was accompanied by its travelling stove, the fire of which is never allowed out. There is always something hot for the troops. Time and time again the German soldiers have told me that it is only this hot coffee or hot soup ever at hand which keeps them going on their forced marches. An aeroplane kept its station ahead of this invading horde. It signalled both during the day and at dusk by dropping various coloured stars. All the movements of the troops were regulated by these signals. I calculated that in all some 250,000 men passed through Brussels, but thousands more never entered the city, but marched south direct from Louvain. This immense horde of armed men after passing through Brussels continued their march south, splitting into three huge columns. One marched by Waterloo to Nivelles, and there split into two portions, the one marching on Mons and the other on Binche and Charleroi. But the flower of the German army, commanded by General von Kluck, and accompanied by the Duke of Holstein and many notabilities, turned off at Hal, and by forced marches of thirty miles a day gained Tournai by Enghien and Ath. Then I realised for the first time how the Allied left was being threatened by this overwhelming mass of men. I do not know which way they went after reaching Tournai. I have seen these companies, followed by their smoking kitchens, march thirty miles a day for six days on end. The men sleep as they walk. They fall exhausted into ditches by the roadside. I have seen the non-commissioned officers kick them until they woke, prod them with bayonets, curse them with unrepeatable oaths, and then give them hot coffee or soup, replacing them in the broken ranks like so many tin soldiers in the nursery upset by someone knocking against the table. The human element does not count in this army. The men have never been given the chance to think. They are just there to march. They are fed when they cannot stand, and are killed when the moment arrives which suits their chiefs."

The Secretary of the Islamia College Committee has, at our request, furnished us with the following proceedings of the meetings of the College Committee and the General Council at which the question of accepting the Government grant in aid on certain conditions was finally decided:—"At a meeting of the Islamia College Committee, held on September 15, 1914, the following resolution was passed:—With the permission of the Chairman (literally, "as directed by the Chairman") the Secretary laid the question of Government grant before the Committee for its consideration. Mention was made of the Director of Public Instruction's letter to the Secretary, College Committee, dated the 21st July 1913 (I) as also of the letter No. 30, dated the 18th May, 1914, (II) sent to Government in accordance with the instruction of the College Committee and the General Committee. The opinion which had already been expressed in regard to the loan of two officers of the Indian Education Service was discussed and the Shahdara Scheme draft (III) incidentally alluded to. After this mention was made of the Director of Public Instruction's letter No. 53, dated the 6th January, 1913, (IV) and the whole correspondence commencing with the Director of Public Instruction's letter, dated the 21st July 1913 (I) were carefully examined:—V.—Letter from the Secretary, College Committee, dated the 14th March, 1914. VI.—The Director of Public Instruction's reply to the above, dated the 6th April, 1914. VII.—Application for grant in compliance with V. VIII.—Letter to the Secretary, College Committee, dated the 19th August 1914 received on 21st August re proposal No. 67, 1914 (application for maintenance grant) sanctioned by the College Committee on 7th May, 1914, and approved by the General Council on June 3rd 1913. IX.—The Director of Public Instruction's letter No. 684 in answer to a written request for a copy of the detailed orders.

The Secretary stated that on the receipt of the detailed orders many members of the Anjuman and some of the members of the College Committee had made enquiries of him as to the posts to which the condition of Government approval was to apply and as to the scope and meaning of the expression 'Government approval.' They had also referred to the dissatisfaction which the Muslim Press had expressed in regard to this very condition. On the basis of this criticism and also because the question was bound to be raised in the College Committee, a letter was sent to the Director of Public Instruction on the 5th September, 1914, (X) in which, in view of the criticism, it was submitted that the condition of Government approval was unnecessary (as the grant was sanctioned only for a period) and that its cancellation was sure to give considerable satisfaction to the Muslim public. It was also submitted that some members of the College Committee were thinking of adopting the Aligarh Constitution. If, however, none of these suggestions could be accepted the Director of Public Instruction was requested to favour the Committee with official interpretation of the condition relating to "Government approval" in clear, unambiguous language. It was also represented to him that though the Committee was anxious to do all to win the Government's goodwill, it could not afford to ignore or disregard public opinion as the college depended, for its maintenance, on public subscriptions. In reply to this the following letter, dated the 9th September 1914, was received from the Director of Public Instruction:—"You say that the condition that the appointment of the new staff should be subject to the approval of the Government has been criticised in the Press, and has caused some doubt as to whether the grant should be accepted. My view is briefly as follows: All grants of public money to private bodies are made subject to the condition that the grants are expended on the subjects for which they are given. In this case the main object of the grant is the improvement of the staff, and the condition criticised is merely a safeguard that the money is spent on engaging a competent staff. The condition does not imply any desire whatever on the part of the Government to interfere with the discretion of the managing body in making appointments. So long as it is clear that they are fulfilling their part of the contract, it merely reserves to Government the right of objecting to incompetent men being paid for out of public money. Such a contingency is not in the least likely to arise, and approval in ordinary cases would be merely a matter of form. The condition of course, applies only to posts of which the cost is met from the grant. I do not think, therefore, that an application to Government for the withdrawal of the condition in question would have a chance of success. Considering that the grant is on a liberal scale, the conditions attached to it seem to me as lenient as could be hoped for, and if the grant is refused, I shall sincerely regret, as a friend of the college, that an opportunity which is not likely to recur has been thrown away" (XII). The Secretary then read out the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi's letter. After considerable discussion it was decided that the College Committee should form its opinion about the whole question of grant, and recording it, should submit the same to the General Council for consideration with as little delay as possible. One member was of opinion that the matter should be discussed and opinion thereon formulated in the General Council and not in the College Committee. After much discussion and deliberation the following was agreed to:—I. The grant which the Government of India have sanctioned on the recommendation of the Punjab Government is as follows:—(1) Grant of Rs. 26,000 in the current year for the seven months 1st September 1914 to 31st March 1915, and thereafter Rs. 30,000 a year. During the initial years savings may be used for capital expenditure and preferably funded for the carrying out of the scheme of removal to Shahdara should that be sanctioned and mature. (2) It is not considered necessary to give the grant necessary for the full pay of the principal. The recurrent items included in the scheme for which a grant is given are accordingly the following:—

		Rs.	Rs.
(a) Science	Biology Asstt. Professor	... 200	to 380
	Physics and Chemistry Professor	... 400	to 600
"	Asstt. Professor Chemistry	... 200	to 380
(b) Arts	European Professor of English	... 400	to 600
"	Professor of Arabic and Persian	... 200	to 350
(c) Administration.	Additional pay of Principal.	... 300	
"	Supdt., Hostel	... 100	
		1,800	to 2,650

II. The conditions are as follows:—(1). The college accounts

should be audited. (2). The appointment of the new staff should be subject to the approval of Government. (3). Condition (2) is an alternative to the suggestion that two officers of the Indian Educational Service might be lent to the College, as is being arranged in the case of the Khalea College, and while that offer is kept open in the event of suitable officers being available, the condition requiring the approval of Government to the appointment of the new staff will meet the case for the present. (4). The recurring grant is limited in the first instance to a term of three years and its periodic renewal is subject to the working of the college being proved to be satisfactory not only as regards educational results but in respect of the tone and discipline of the institution. Of these conditions, Nos. 1 & 4 are clear. As to No. 3, the College Committee and the General Council had after full consideration expressed their opinion (in letter II) that it was not quite practicable to secure the services of two officers of the Indian Educational Service. Firstly, because when officers were not available even for Government institutions, it would be all the more difficult to secure suitable and sympathetic officers for denominational establishments; secondly, because the grades of their pay and the rules governing their appointment and leave, etc., would be quite different from those of the rest of the staff and thirdly, because such officers would have, in any case, to work under the Principal who would, in all circumstances, be appointed by the Anjuman. And then there was the possibility of the Professors drawing more pay than the Principal. There were thus many good grounds on the strength of which the Committee and the General Council were not prepared to avail themselves of this offer; and now again the College Committee have come to the same conclusion. The Government having graciously left the matter to the discretion of the College Committee it is decided to leave this offer alone and to consider the alternative proposal only. Condition No. (2) was certainly not quite clear, but it is evident from the satisfactory interpretation contained in the Director of Public Instruction's letter, dated 9th September 1914, that the Government has no desire whatever to interfere with the discretion of the managing body in making appointments, so long as it is clear that they are fulfilling their part of the contract, it merely reserves to the Government the right of objecting to incompetent men being paid for out of public money. As the Director of Public Instruction has stated, the occurrence of such cases is highly improbable, and generally Government approval would be a purely formal affair. Besides, the condition would apply only to those posts the salaries whereof would be paid out of the grant. It is evident from this satisfactory interpretation that this condition does not apply to posts the salaries of which are paid out of the Anjuman Funds. Nor does the Government assume the function of weighing the comparative merits and qualifications of the various candidates. Only intimation of appointment will have to be sent to Government, and if a person has been appointed whom the Government deem objectionable, the appointment will not count for purposes of grant. Precisely the same condition applies to appointments of Professors by the Punjab University. In short, this interpretation of the condition completely removes the objections and doubts that had been created in the minds of the public. It was resolved to convey grateful thanks to the Government of India and to the Provincial Government for sanctioning this grant, and to assure both the Governments that the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was anxious to discharge its educational duties and obligations in as thorough and efficient a manner as possible and that the welfare of the institutions it maintained and controlled was wholly dependent on the encouragement and support of the public and Government. In the end the Anjuman hoped that "its work would continue to give entire satisfaction to Government. It was further decided to submit these minutes to the General Council as soon as possible. The General Council confirmed the proceedings of the College Committee held on 15th September, 1914, and appended these explanations (1) That the Government offer as to lending the service of Professors belonging to the Indian Education Service is in the opinion of the General Council also impracticable and the Council resolves that if by any chance the grant is conditional on the acceptance of this offer, then the Council regrets that it cannot avail itself of the grant. (2) That of the new posts, only these will be subject to the formal sanction of the Government specified in the Director Public Instruction's letter, dated 9th September 1914 (the translation of which appears in the College Committee minutes) whose entire pay is met from the Grant, and the Principal's post, as already decided, will remain subject to the sanction of the General Council only.

We publish below the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Mohamed Ali and Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan Sahib, Hon. Secretary of the Muslim University Association, in regard to the exclusion of Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat Mohani from the list of graduates declared to have been elected

members of the Muslim University Association. The facts constituting this illegality are set forth fully in the correspondence. Mr. Mohamed Ali wrote the following letter to the Hon. Secretary, Muslim University Association, on the 22nd September 1914:—
 'Sir, I have the honour to enter my emphatic protest against your exclusion of Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat Mohani from the list of graduates declared to have been elected members of the Muslim University Association. 2. Neither you nor the seven gentlemen elected by the Foundation Committee on the 26th and the 27th July, 1913, for having the Muslim University Association registered are entitled to act or exclude any graduate otherwise eligible. Nor can the Association itself even when it is fully constituted—which it cannot be without the election of the full complement of 20 graduates—adjudicate on the claims of any graduate elected or excluded. The right belongs only to the Foundation Committee. 3 This opinion concerns only the question of the legal eligibility of Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat Mohani and I reserve my opinion on the question of the suitability or otherwise of that gentleman for membership of the Association which is to be given in the course of an election by ballot by me along with other members of the Graduates' Guild. 4. Unless the question of Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat Mohani is settled, the members hitherto elected are not entitled to act legally as electors of the Ulama. 5. Kindly specify the reasons why Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat is considered by you to be ineligible for election, and state the Resolution of the Foundation Committee according to which he is ineligible.' The Hon. Secretary, the Muslim University Foundation Committee, sent the following reply on 6th October 1914:—
 "Dear Sir, I am in receipt of your letter dated the 22nd instant? (ultimo), about Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat Mohani, and I have also seen your editorial note in the *Hamdard* of 24th September. You are obviously labouring under the misconception that Mr. Fazlul Hasan's enrolment fee was received first of all in my office and that his name was enrolled in the register of the Guild, and that notwithstanding his name having been enrolled, he was excluded from election. This, however, is not the case. In fact Mr. Fazlul Hasan applied last of all for enrolment and he came to see me for the first time on 15th July, the final date fixed for enrolment of votes. I had special reasons against the enrolment of his name, and I distinctly informed him that I could not accede to his request without consulting the other 6 members authorised by the Foundation Committee to carry out its resolutions. I actually returned the fee left by Mr. Fazlul Hasan, but he refused to take back his money. I accordingly consulted my colleagues, and the majority declared positively against the enrolment of Mr. Fazlul Hasan, and his name was therefore never registered as you could have elicited from my letter published in the *Hamdard*—the registered names being altogether 22, of which 3 were already elected and the remaining 19 now declared as members of the Association. Thus you will see that it was entirely the question of Mr. Fazlul Hasan's enrolment and not of his 'election after enrolment', as supposed by you. 2. As for my reasons of consulting my colleagues about Mr. Fazlul Hasan's enrolment, I shall lay them before the Association, when putting up his case before that body to whom I am responsible as its elected Secretary. 3. The Foundation Committee under its resolution No. 13 delegated the power of carrying its resolutions into effect to 7 members who certainly have discretionary powers to safeguard the interests of the proposed Association. If the Association does not agree with the views of these members, it is at liberty to over-rule their decision. 4. As regards Mr. T. A. Alam and Dr. Ansari's case, you yourself seem to admit to a certain extent the special reason of the former's. As for Dr. Ansari, of course, I shall deal with his case just as I would ordinarily do when a vacancy occurs amongst the graduate members of the Association and when there is no other candidate on the list." Mr. Mohamed Ali wrote on the 7th October, 1914, as follows on the receipt of this reply:—
 "Sir, I am grateful to you for your letter of the 6th October 1914 in reply to mine of the 22nd September. 2. I have laboured under no misconception as you imagine. My contention is and has always been as follows. The Foundation Committee, which is the fount and origin of all authority, passed some resolutions on the 26th and 27th July 1913, authorising the creation of the Muslim University Association and appointed you, as its Honorary Secretary, and six other members to co-operate with you and have the Association duly registered. The Foundation Committee resolved at that meeting that 20 Members of the Association should be elected by Moslem graduates from among themselves and clearly laid down two and only two conditions for eligibility, namely, five years' standing as a graduate and the payment of a certain prescribed fee. Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hastrat Mohani fulfilled both these conditions when he paid his fee, which you acknowledge to have received, and *ipso facto* became eligible for election. 3. The Foundation Committee did not give you individually nor jointly with your 6 colleagues any power to refuse to enrol any person who fulfilled the above conditions, and it is no concern of Mr. Fazlul Hasan's or mine whether you are acting *ultra vires* on your own responsibility or have fortified an illegality by obtaining the support of some others as well. An illegal act does not become less illegal

because instead of one person committing it, half a dozen do so. In fact your own knowledge of law would convince you that on the contrary acts which are perfectly legal when a single person commits them sometimes become illegal when others join him in committing them. Legality and illegality have nothing to do with majorities and minorities. 4. If, as you say, you did not register Mr. Fazlul Hasan's name when he on his part had done all that he was required by the Foundation Committee's Resolution to do, you failed to do your obvious duty and I am astonished to find that you plead that as a bar to Mr. Fazlul Hasan's election. 5. You tell me that you had 'special reasons' against the enrolment of his name. This in no way affects his position or ours. Those reasons may have existed on the 6th and 7th July 1913 also, in which case you should have persuaded the Foundation Committee to except Mr. Fazlul Hasan, whether by name or by qualification—or rather, disqualification. If your special reasons came to exist subsequently, you had nearly a year in which to call another meeting of the Foundation Committee and persuade it to modify its previous resolution so as to disqualify Mr. Fazlul Hasan. You have failed to do either and have no right now to plead such a failure as a reason for rejecting the enrolment of Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani. 6. Whatever opinion I may have about the desirability of Mr. Fazlul Hasan's election as a member of the Moslem University Association, nobody with any intelligence can have two opinions about his *eligibility*, and those who deemed him to be an undesirable associate should have done their duty by enlisting in large numbers in the Graduates' Guild and outvoting him in the election. It is a sad commentary on our graduates that all but twenty-one refrained from doing that which Mr. Fazlul Hasan—the so-called 'undesirable'—was patriotic and prompt enough to do, namely, to pay his fee in time to be enrolled and elected. This fact alone places him higher in rank than the 'desirables' who may now object to his election. 7. But I do not apprehend that many graduates will object to his election. His only offence known to us is that six years ago he published in his Review an article written by a student of our College which two of the law-courts in the United Provinces considered, during a period of panic, to be seditious. For that offence he has suffered enough and more than enough and law does not rob religion of its monopoly of eternal damnation. Such punishments must be left to the Judge of us all, not must we confuse the Here with the Hereafter. The student, who wrote that article for which Mr. Fazlul Hasan suffered incarceration in the common jail with all its rigours, is not only still at large but an undergraduate of our College, who would I hope, in due course become a graduate and qualify himself for membership of the Moslem University Association. That would be an irony too great even for those who are relentlessly pursuing and persecuting Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani. That is not the way to weed off revisionists from sedition, but to compel the high-spirited to seek salvation in sedition. 8. All this I write not because it can in the least affect the question of Mr. Fazlul Hasan's election, for he has already been duly elected. I write this only to convince you and through you those whose wishes you are respecting in the matter that your 'special reasons' are no reasons at all and are specially ill-suited to the requirements of *to-day*. 9. I am credibly informed that you are endeavouring to place the case of Mr. Fazlul Hasan in proper perspective before those who suspect him and I trust it will not be considered impertinent of me to say that such endeavours are in every way worthy of you personally and worthy of the great position you occupy in the community. In all such endeavours I wish you success. Mr. Fazlul Hasan is in no worse position than the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji who is a colleague of His Excellency the Viceroy in legislating for the Indian Empire, and if Government of their own accord exempted Mr. Bannerji from a legal disqualification, is it not strange that we of our own accord should disqualify Mr. Fazlul Hasan when neither Government requires it of us nor our own rules sanction it? I repeat that I wish you success in your endeavours to clear the position of Mr. Fazlul Hasan, but if such noble and entirely worthy endeavours are covered even by the suspicion of casuistry, they will be robbed of all their credit. 10. In conclusion I will only add that the decision of the Foundation Committee to make every Moslem graduate of 5 years' standing eligible for election as Member of the Moslem University Association if he paid the prescribed fee, could have been modified only by the Foundation Committee and not by you or your 6 colleagues or by the Association itself, and now that on the last day fixed for the payment of the fee only 20 qualified graduates who had not been elected by other bodies had paid the prescribed fee, and Mr. Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani was one of them, not even the Foundation Committee can unseat him.



The Comrade.

Sidelights on the Final Issue.

In the vast welter of opinion occasioned by the furious conflict in Europe, we find nothing so remarkable as the triumphant, almost savage shouts of chauvinists both of the press and the platform at the so-called collapse and failure of the pacifist ideals. They declare in exultant tones that the peace propaganda of Europe has ended in truth, that the peace advocate had always talked silly moonshine and that the real, grim forces of thought and feeling that sway the world have swept him and his bundle of naive doctrines once for all into the dustbin. They find in this war a curious satisfaction of mind, a complete vindication of the views that they had always preached about the incorrigibility of human nature and the philosophy of armaments. There is, however, one thing supremely amusing in their attitude. They dismiss the whole tribe of pacifists as charlatans or imbeciles who wanted to stifle the whole world with peace whereas for its life and development war was a vital "biological necessity." In the same breath they are crying aloud for the utter, absolute smothering up of German militarism with a view to secure *permanent peace for Europe*. They welcome this war as finally establishing the necessity of war in the development of human affairs and as silencing, at any rate for a long space of time, the inconvenient babble of pacifism. They at the same time call aloud for the grinding down of Germany to the extreme limits of political, military and commercial impotence that the world may securely enjoy peace. The contradiction and the fallacy of this position may not strike the chauvinist temper, but the immediate purpose that it is designed to serve is fully grasped by the chauvinist mind. It is well to remember that Germany does not claim monopoly of the type. He flourishes in France and England as well, and is just now bulking large in public prints. He loves nothing in his heart but the mailed fist, the shining armour, the methods of blood and iron. He wants to "go" full tilt at Germany now that he has had a chance, and he takes up the future "peace of Europe" as a necessary tag to coruscate the consciences that he has readily and strenuously helped to mobilise. The class he stands for is unfortunately the most powerful and dominant force in the public affairs of Europe. He worked for the war by exploiting every sanctity human and divine. He is working now with full vigour to maintain at boiling-heat the passions that he has energised. Those that differ from him have little hope of salvation at his hands. All the honest and kindly folk, who have been scared by his clamour or by the ghostly and dark suggestions of their own idealism into an attitude of acquiescence about this war, he is cleverly pressing into his service. Now that he has got the opportunity of his life-time, he is riding the situation at his will. He has started new and catching cries. He thinks it is necessary to convince everybody that the future of mankind is bound up with the wiping out of Germany from the map of Europe. Those who doubt this simple, short and efficacious cut to the millennium are, of course, traitors to the cause of civilisation and peace. He has just now discovered a new Russia, a land of prayers and of saints, of simple kindly colonels and grand Dukes, of beautiful dreams, of generous impulses, of soul-nourishing piety. He is seriously talking of conscription for England. Incidentally he has not forgotten mortals of lesser clay whose chief concern is with material gain and loss, and he is cheering their little souls with visions of fat prosperity by devising plans of a trade war. When one hears his earth-shaking and cloud-compelling din, one feels a little spasm of wonder at the irony of things that have yoked the Welles and the Shaws of sunny Utopias and beautiful dreamland to his dark and iron destiny. We need not study the mechanism of his mind. A few illustrations would suffice just to show its actual working at the present time.

What would he do if Germany is "beaten to her knees"? He would of course do everything to prevent her ever rising on her legs again. He abhors militarism and armaments (God save the mark!) and would remove root and branch the causes responsible for their growth. Their visible symbols must go first of all—the German army, the German fleet, the German guns and fortresses and munition, the German Krupp and the German Kaisers. But this is not all. He has on such occasions an evident taste to think philosophically and he has made his case morally complete for the awful things that he is preparing for the Germans. "Germany must be rendered politically and militarily innocuous"—that is the prescription, for he is absolutely certain that "between this consummation and the ruin of European civilisation there is no middle way." And least the thick-skinned map of the street may not find it easy to get this formidable formula into his head, he argues somewhat as follows to illumine his path to the moral heights he has scaled. According to him, if the

cultural acquisitions of modern times are to be preserved to the human race, the cancerous growth of systematic double-dealing and cynical faithlessness must at all costs be cut out. The German State has been guilty of such systematic double-dealing. It, therefore, becomes an outlaw. And it behoves European diplomacy to keep it well in view towards the end of the war when peace conditions come up for discussion. The practical lesson that should be derived from this is obvious. The limitation of Germany's liberty to make mischief in future must be effected not by those moral checks which treaties and conventions supply, but by the impotence which material force inflicts. The German people of to-day are endowed with a mental and moral mechanism which differs widely from that of the rest of mankind. Germany was bitten with an insatiable greed for territory and power. This was the prime cause of the war. A repetition of this state of things would be fatal to Europe, and a repetition is inevitable if at the close of this war Germany is not struck powerless. Nothing short of material impotency can secure the much suffering peoples of Europe the permanent peace with which the commercial and industrial activity and consequently the national and individual life which alone is worth living, are possible. The corollaries to this proposition are self-evident. The struggle must be carried on till one side or the other is beaten beyond recovery. Then and only then can Europe hope for salvation.

A sharp distinction has been and is still being made by several well meaning people in Great Britain between the German people and their Government. But the dominant voice in public affairs to-day declares that the German chiefs responsible for the war are much more numerous than the British public is apt to believe. They include, we are told, University professors, publicists, school-masters, the bulk of the civil servants, and most of the officers—in a word the intellectual and educated classes of Germany. Practically, therefore, there is little to choose between the people and their Government. The whole nation, so to speak, stands indicted. Can the intellectuals of Germany as well as its political chiefs be wiped out of existence? For the future peace of Europe no less heroic remedy would seem to be possible. Mr. Wells has talked of this war as "a war of the mind." The triumph of his "idea" very likely involves a wholesale extermination. On his doctrine of the freedom of thought this would be a fine commentary. The Inquisition of the Middle Ages that fought heresies with such ruthless rigour would seem to be a mild affair in comparison.

And how the "material impotence" is to be inflicted? In the first place, it is to be a matter of *£ s d*—so says the dominant voice. Germany must compensate for all the destruction her armies have wrought in Belgium and France, and pay indemnities to those whose homes and properties have been destroyed, pay for the support of the widows, the parents and the children of those who have been slain, pay for robbing the western world of two years of carrying French railways, for the interruption of the North Sea fishing industry, for the loss of every penny occasioned by enforced idleness or foreign imprisonment, for every ship and life she has destroyed.

But how is Germany to pay? some will ask. She will soon be bankrupt, even if by some perverse turn in the wheel of fate she recovers lost ground in France and her unopposed occupation of Belgium. Even then her colonies are only worth so much, nothing near the £100,000,000 she will be asked to pay to Belgium, the £200,000,000 she will owe to France, and the never uncalculated sum she will (in addition to her war fleet) be required to make over to Britain and Russia. Well she will only meet her obligations, which will have to be enforced by territorial occupation on a large scale by a virtual revolution—says the dominant voice. All the German States must go into the melting-pot, Prussia most and first of all. The private estates of all her rulers and princes—first and foremost of the Hohenzollerns—must be expropriated by the Revolutionary Government and be applied to the redemption of German territory. If Germany likes to retain, after war is over, her present, or something near her present, territorial divisions and dynasties, she must allot to her chosen princes, kings and emperors a reasonable civil list payment for value received. But all their private estates, their vast domains, their house treasures and trusts and concealed funds must become national property.

But in the Day of Reckoning justice must not end there, says the dominant voice in the shape of Sir Harry Johnston. "Whether Turkey strikes or not at the Allies, she has already injured them in devious ways. No longer—the German prop and aid removed—must the autonomy and preservation of Armenia be delayed. Russia must have the fullest satisfaction and security she cares to demand, that the Bosphorus and Hellespont shall be no more a padlock on her trade and enterprise and on the world's need for Russian grain and Russian oil. The least the Western world can do for her in return for saving Western civilisation and restoring Poland to nationhood is to provide her with that free access to the Mediterranean which is necessary to her development. Belgium must have territorial enlargement in several directions, France a Rhine frontier, the international character of the Baltic Sea must be secured for all its limitrophe nationalities."

We wait to learn, by the way, what the dominant voice has to say about Italy.

In contrast to such grasping instinct and boundless greed, the symptoms of which are growing among the class we have referred to, the following remarks of a Russian paper about the final settlement read astonishingly mild. The paper says—"The war must be terminated in such a way that it shall leave no vengeful aspirations on either side. The change in the map of Europe must be final, and no nationality must be opposed in the satisfaction of its legitimate ambitions. The ideal is, however, irreconcilable with the existence of an Empire like Austria-Hungary. It is also irreconcilable with the hegemony of Prussia to Germany. Further, it is irreconcilable with the division of Poland and the Treaty of Bucharest. The unifications of Russia, Italy, Germany, Roumania, and Serbia must be completed. France must recover what has been taken from her, and Bulgaria also. A hundred years' fight for the principle of nationality must finish with a decision free from all compromise and therefore final."

We can offer no better comment on the greed of the cynically selfish and the mistaken enthusiasm of the idealist than the following words in which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald states the real issues—"I read and listen to the mutual flamboyancies of those who tell us that this is the last war, that from it is to date the overthrow of the military castes of Europe, that from the destruction of the Berlin War Office the Peace Temple at The Hague is to come into real being. It is all moonshine. Far more likely is it that this war is the beginning of a new military despotism in Europe, of new alarms, new hatreds and oppositions, new menaces and alliances, the beginning of a dark epoch dangerous, not merely to democracy, but to civilisation itself. To prevent this we must work with might and main, and our success will be measured by our clearness of sight and courage in explaining to our people now how this war has come, what it really means, and how it is to be ended." Bernhardism made elsewhere cannot shatter Bernhardism "made in Germany." Yet it is exactly this force that is being summoned to fight for the issues which Mr. Asquith outlined in the House of Commons. What this ultimately would mean to civilisation and Europe, we would discuss in our next.

The Campaign—V.

We regret that owing to various circumstances we could not give our review of the campaign from week to week, and the compelling episode of the "Choice of the Turks" forced upon us the unwelcome task of reviewing in our last issue the entire situation with reference to Turkey, thus interrupting the continuous resumé of the events of the campaign. Now that we revert to the subject we find ourselves only a little to the west of Liège, while the Germans have in the meantime not only reached the environs of Paris, but also turned back from the attraction of the capital of France to the trenches which they had evidently prepared for themselves beforehand along the Aisne and the Oise. This necessitates a change of our own plans also if we mean to keep pace with the fast moving Germans. Therefore, instead of giving a detailed account of the fighting we shall have to confine ourselves to the main events of the campaign, and devote ourselves to an explanation of the chief operations of the Allies and the enemy, setting forth the probable purpose of each, and stating how far that purpose was in fact achieved, and how success or failure in one affected the next.

I.—THE 11·2 IN. GERMAN HOWITZERS AND GUNS.

In our issue of the 12th September we had taken final leave of Liège but we did not then know that we should have to commence this article with another reference to it. However, we have to revert to it to correct an error into which we had fallen through the guidance of one of the *Times* Correspondents. We had stated that there appeared to have been no big siege-guns when the attack on Liège commenced, and that the Germans did not evidently wait for the arrival of the siege howitzers with the enormous 11·2 in. calibre. This is disproved in two important particulars. In the first place, the Germans had brought up their siege guns when the attack on Liège commenced, and, in the second place, they were not their well-known howitzers "with the enormous 11·2 in. calibre" but their wholly unknown siege howitzers with the still more enormous 17 in. calibre hot from Krupp's furnaces and for the first time exposed to the gaze of a gaping world. A typical piece of siege gun for high angle fire is the 11·2 in. Krupp howitzer, of which the *Hammer* hopes to give a sketch in an early issue. It is 12 calibres, about 11½ feet in length. It has a charge of 28½ lbs. smokeless powder, and fires a steel shell weighing 470 lbs. or 760 lbs. (5½ or 9½ mds.) It is provided with a shrapnel shell of the former weight which contains 1,888 bullets. It will not be amiss if we also give some particulars of the 11·2 in. German naval gun which is mounted on her battleships—though not the most recent

ones (on which 12 in. guns are mounted, while those now being completed are to have as large as 16 in. guns) but those completed before 1911,—and on her latest battle-cruisers including the *Queen*. The weight of the gun is 33.3 tons or over 900 maunds. Its projectile or shot weighs 529 lbs. or about 6½ maunds. When the projectile passes the muzzle of the gun it has a velocity of 2,854 feet per second, or about 82½ miles per minute, and its energy at the time is such that it can lift a weight of one ton to a height of 29,878 feet or more than the height of Mount Everest. Turning this into maunds and miles the muzzle energy of this gun is such that it can lift a maund to a height of 154 miles. If wrought iron was placed against this gun it would pierce it to the extent of 40.2 inches. It can fire one round per minute. These are the particulars with reference to the German naval guns of only 45 calibres or 48.75 ft in length. The 112 in. naval gun of Germany which is 50 calibres, or 48.83 ft. in length weighs 48.9 tons or nearly 1,200 maunds. It fires a charge of 291 lbs. or more than three and a half maunds. Its projectile weighs 760 lbs. or 9½ maunds. Its muzzle velocity is 2,871 feet per second. Its muzzle energy and armour piercing value must be correspondingly larger. Krupp's naval and coast defence ordnance of the same calibre is heavier in weight, fires a heavier projectile and has also a higher muzzle velocity and muzzle energy, and it perforates from 49 to 52 inches of wrought iron, while it fires 2 to 3 rounds per minute.

II.—THE NEW GERMAN MONSTER AND ITS WORK.

If the new 17 in. Krupp howitzer has particulars varying in the same proportion as its calibre differs from the 112 in. piece, it must be about 17 ft. long, must have a charge of about 48 lbs. of smokeless powder and must be firing steel shells weighing about 1,150 lbs. or 14 maunds. Its shrapnel shell must be weighing more than 700 lbs. and containing some 2,850 bullets. We reproduce (on page 258 of this issue) an extract from the *Daily Telegraph* entitled "German Siege Guns" which contains its Rotterdam correspondent's interview with Mr. Albert J. Leroy of London who was probably the only Englishman in Liège during the siege. He tells us not only that the Germans used these tremendous new weapons of offence against Liège, but describes the effect they had on the extremely strong fortifications of Brialmont. "To silence the forts with these guns," says Leroy, "took only two hours. For one of the forts only four shots were required." He also tells us that three forts gave in within a week of the first shots being fired, which tallies with the telegram of the 6th August from Paris, published by the *Times*, announcing the silencing of two of the Liège forts, and with the Zurich telegram of the 7th August, which gave details of the capture of the forts stating that the general attack had been directed in the beginning towards the forts Chaudfontaine, Boncelles and Flemalle. We are informed that the last forts were silenced about 14 or 15 days after the Germans first came, three forts holding out and compelling the Germans to bring their great guns through the town.

III.—SIEGE GUNS OF THE BELLIGERENTS AND LOCOMOTION

If it was a remarkable feat of mechanical engineering to construct such guns, it was no less remarkable to carry them to the seat of war. Hitherto the heaviest guns are those mounted on battle-ships, or used on coast defences and the "safety armament" of important forts. Once mounted they are not removed from their platforms or whatever other contrivance they may have on which they are mounted, for their weight is so great that they do not easily lend themselves to locomotion, while they require like steam or oil engines, a strong concrete "bed" to be prepared for them so as not to sink in the ground. When a serious siege has to be undertaken it is necessary to organize one or more siege trains in addition to the troops of the field army. Both heavy and light siege units enter into the composition of a siege train. Heavy siege units are seldom mobile in the sense that light siege units are, the ordnance comprising the former having usually to be transported by some special means, such as ordinary rail or ship, to some place from which special siege railways would admit of its conveyance to a place in battery. During the siege of Sevastopol a civil engineer, Robert Mallet, designed a 36 in. mortar, but it never reached the seat of war. In 1904, the Japanese, however, made use of their 11.1 in. coast howitzers at Port Arthur. At the siege manoeuvres in France in 1906 the heavy siege units were represented by their 5.1 in. gun and their 10.7 in. howitzer. The official British pieces are a 6-in. gun and a 9.4 in. howitzer. As a typical piece the 10.7 in. French howitzer may be taken which the French transported by special horse draught, as it was found too heavy for the type of siege railway made use of at the mock siege at Langres in 1907. Its total equipment weighs 22 tons or nearly 600 maunds, and it is transported in four components, namely, the piece, the carriage, the slide, and the platform. A battery of six pieces would thus require, exclusive of ammunition transport, 24 vehicles that would weigh 180 tons or 2,136 maunds.

The howitzer was designed originally for coast defence. It weighs about 5½ tons or about 157 maunds and its bed weighed 6½ tons or about 172 maunds. To this equipment was added a slide and a platform consisting of a thick plate of iron upon which the slide moves. But the Germans have now not only invented a heavy siege unit, of almost twice as large a calibre as the British howitzer, but had also brought it to Liège within a few days of attacking it, and have since then been carrying it about almost as if it was an ordinary field-gun, for not only have Liège, Namur, and Antwerp felt its effect in the present war but the soldiers in the trenches along the Aisne river have also experienced a shower of the "Jack Johnsons" as its shells are called. And the latest that we hear from Athens is that these monsters have been mounted on the Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts. Germany has certainly astonished the world with the ease with which she moves such heavy ordnance about, and whether one thinks that these guns came along the Danube across Austria, skirting Servia and traversing Roumania, and thence, through the Black Sea, into the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, or whether one believes that after all the *Gosben* and the *Breslau* refused to give battle to the *Gloucester* for fear of risking the loss of their awful cargo, one cannot withhold from Germany the truest tribute of astonishment and wonder. We heard a great deal in the early part of the war about the superiority of the French artillery, but since the real fighting commenced on the Sambre at Mons and Charleroi, the Allies have frankly admitted both the power of the new German ordnance and the accuracy of the German artillery. Leroy tells us that when the Germans were compelled to bring these great guns they laid down a military railway upon which the guns were moved, running on flanged wheels about 7 ft. high. We have yet to know how these guns have been taken to the trenches on the Aisne and to Russian battlefields across rivers and forests. For the present, at any rate, the Germans have clearly carried the palm with these new monsters and belching huge flames of fire.

IV.—THE LURE OF LIÈGE.

We have dealt with these guns at great length because they suggest to us a conjecture about the earlier stages of the German plan of campaign. In our very first article in the issue of the 12th August, we had stated that if the French poured over into Belgium to meet Germany half way they would be playing her game and equalizing the chances of loss. An obstinate defence without risking too much in any pitched action north of the well-known line of French fortifications at La Fère, Laon and Reims would clearly be the best French strategy. Time would thus be gained for England to play her part, and the further the German troops got south of the Semois the better the British chance of striking in the rear. We stated that it would not be a bad thing for France's chances of final victory if the first great battle of the war could be deferred until the Germans were in the Aisne valley, where the battle is now raging. It is true that the taking up of a strong position on the Aisne by the German armies, marching through Belgium and Luxemburg would have represented, as we stated in that issue, the successful achievement of the first stage in the German plan of campaign against France, and in spite of the confident assertions of Mr. Hilaire Belloc, based on his intimate knowledge of the exceedingly difficult country of the Ardennes, we had relied on other authorities for our own assertion that it was not easy to see how a German success up to that point could be prevented. To obtain her primary objectives, Germany, as we then stated, was prepared to waste a large number of men. On the other hand, we expressed the fear that the French Generals might not relish the idea of giving ground and that they might strain every effort to meet the Germans before the latter had got off Belgian territory. This, we stated, would be to fight the Germans' battle and to risk giving the colour to the whole war by an initial blunder due to military pride. We had suggested that the French should make allowance for the conditions under which alone their allies could come to their help. Therefore France must be patient and give ground. We recommended to her to take Catinat as a model for her generalship, and *Reculer pour mieux sauter* ("Wait for something better") as her motto. The only way to baffle the German plan of campaign was to leave the development of its inherent difficulties to time and distance. The Germans, we said, would be far less formidable at Reims or Vouziers than they would be at Libramont or even Sedan. It would, we thought, no doubt be disagreeable to French sentiments to see the first battles of the war occur on French soil, but, we had added, victories there would be better than defeats further north. Germany had always counted on the strength of her offensive, while the French had always prepared themselves to defy Germany by the stubbornness of their defence on which they had lavished enormous treasures, often at the expense of their field army. But the national temperament of the French was at war with their military policy, and this has now cost them more than they are evidently prepared to acknowledge. Well, we have heard a great

deal about the lure of Paris; but if any army was ever lured it was set the German but the French, and in the light of Leroy's statement, we are now inclined to think that, the Germans, after having experimented with their new howitzers on the casemates and cupolas, glaces and revetments of some of the forts of Liège, and having found four shots sufficient for one of them, purposely refrained from knocking down the others so as to lure the French into Belgium and clip their wings in their initial flight. We would have been very chary of launching this as a prophecy at the commencement of the campaign, and even now, after the event, we put this forward only as a hypothesis.

V.—OUR HYPOTHESIS.

It must be remembered that the French Ministry for War did not announce until the 14th of August that French troops had entered Belgium at Charleroi though small bodies of the French must have entered Belgium earlier, and it was announced that there had been an interchange of the Belgian and French staffs. The British Expeditionary Force had also landed at Boulogne on the 14th, and unless the German intelligence in the field was just as bad as Mr. McKenna makes out German espionage in England to have been, the Germans must have come to know of the landing of the Expeditionary Force soon after the event. It is now clearly understood that the earlier successes of the Belgians which were so grossly exaggerated were not achieved against the main German armies but were only advanced guard actions. Is it not possible that the German advanced guards were not only covering the several armies concentrating behind them, but were also purposely kept weak and allowed to appear to be beaten by the Belgians so as to encourage the French and the British to come into Belgium and there crush a feeble foe that had met with a check in its very first movement? By the 15th of August it was generally believed on the side of the Allies that the Germans had planned neither to turn to the right nor to the left through Belgium but to keep steadily on to the appointed course, and it was a matter for considerable exultation that the first fighting line of the German army instead of facing south had had to turn practically west. Instead of France being invaded it was Belgium. With the German guns facing west the Allies were reported to be considering the interesting question whether the Germans would dare to attack Namur summarily or have the nerve to neglect a fort which the Allies declared to be much stronger than Liège. And what were Germans doing? It is our belief that by the 7th of August the Germans had reduced the three forts mentioned by Leroy, and even if they had not taken possession of the town of Liège till the 10th it is admitted by the Allies themselves that they had invested the entire ring of forts which were still intact. According to an English correspondent who was present at the great assault on Liège, the German artillery practice was perfect, shells exploding on the ramparts of the forts and smashing the disappearing carriages of the guns at Fort Fléron which was silenced. This news was conveyed in a message from London, dated the 11th August, and we may take it that this was at least the fourth fort reduced before the Germans occupied the town of Liège. Although the telegrams from the Allies continued to tell us of "violent attacks" on the Liège forts from time to time, it appears that once the Germans were masters of the town and had reduced a number of the forts, the bombardment was neither persistent nor violent. In fact, Leroy confirms this indirectly, for he mentions that to reduce the last three forts the Germans coolly set about laying down a military railway upon which their guns were moved through the town in order to reduce the last three forts. This may have been either necessary, or only adopted as an excuse for delay. To the west of Liège they met with a reverse at Hélien on the 12th and at Eghesée on the 13th. On the 15th they were once more defeated at Dinant, this time by the French. All these and the legend that the Liège forts were still intact were sufficient encouragement for the French and the British to advance into Belgium and make short work of this disturber of European peace. The bubble of German invincibility had on their own admission been pricked and the French must have found ample support in these events for their own passionate desire to attack their assailant before he set foot on French soil. If any other proof was needed of an unexpected check having been received by the enemy in Belgium it was furnished by the Uhlan who allowed himself to be captured in Belgium with a map in his possession showing that the Germans were timed to reach Brussels on the 3rd August—just a day before they actually invaded Belgium—and to reach Lille on the 5th August—only a day after the commencement of hostilities. A still more plausible witness was the German subject in France, who received a notification to report himself at Reims on the 15th day of the mobilization, namely, on the 15th of August. By the 18th of August the mobilization of the German armies was scheduled to have been completed, and we may take it that in fact also it was completed about that date. For a couple of days there was a full lull in the fighting, and then on the 17th August the Kaiser and his

staff arrived from Berlin at Mainz and the landing of the British Expeditionary Force in France was announced. After that things got interesting all of a sudden. The Belgian seat of Government was removed the same day from Brussels to Antwerp, and although it was announced that this was done for strategic reasons, and a good deal of confused comment was freely offered about the advantages of working on "interior lines"—a phrase which hardly appeared relevant in this connection, we agree with the *Times*' Military Correspondent that this move was very dangerous inasmuch as it foreshadowed the retreat of the Belgian Army to the entrenched camp of Brialmont's construction where it has ever since been cooped up. By the 18th, as the sketch map showing the position of German forces on different dates, which is issued as a Supplement to this week's *Comrade*, shows, considerable bodies of German troops had crossed the Meuse at Huy without any fear of the Liège forts even if these had not all been captured by the date. German advanced guards had reached the river Dyle by the 19th and reattacked Diest. They had also bombarded Tirlemont, and the Allies had given ground and commenced to evacuate the advanced positions occupied as the result of the previous day's cavalry drive. It now appears that Diest and Aerschot were occupied by the Germans on the 19th. On the 20th Louvain was occupied, and the same day, the retreat of the Belgian army from Louvain to Antwerp having cleared the way, Brussels was occupied by German troops under General von Arnim. It was asserted that Brussels was sacrificed to tactical exigencies and that the Belgians' gallant subordination of themselves for loyal co-operation with the Allies showed splendid grit and courage. But there is evidence to show that with all their gallant subordination of themselves and loyal co-operation with the Allies, and in spite of their splendid grit and courage, the Belgians did not like it a bit and there was a great soreness of feeling in Belgium at the sacrifice of its capital without any effort having been made by the Allies to defend it after the Belgian army had been asked to betake itself to Antwerp. But the fact is that the French had fallen between two stools. They had not had the patience to stop in France and await the attack of the Germans, and they had not had the promptness to bring into Belgium as large a force as was necessary to save the country from the Germans. In other words, they had fallen a victim to the lure of Liège, which the Germans had designed for them. They had not come sufficiently forward to save Brussels and they had advanced too far forward to avoid a crushing defeat at Charleroi. Alost and Wetteren were taken by German advanced guards on the 21st, and the whole of Flanders was overrun right up to Ostend. The battle of Charleroi, the first great encounter between the Germans and the French, commenced on the 21st when the two combatants disputed the possession of the town. On the following day, the 22nd August when the Germans attacked Namur also, such overwhelming forces were brought by them against the French at Charleroi that they were compelled to withdraw. Thus ended the battle of Charleroi. On the 23rd three of the Namur forts were destroyed and the town was evacuated by the Allies by 5 p. m.

VI.—THE BRITISH RETREAT.

Shortly after the other forts also fell at the bidding of the 17 in. howitzers, as their experience at Liège had led the Germans to expect. Our hypothesis is that just as all the Liège forts could have been reduced before the French had entered Belgium so too all the Namur forts could have been silenced before the English had taken up a position on the line Conde-Mons-Binche on the 22nd August if the Germans had wished it. It suited them to draw in both the English and the French before they swept down upon them and that the Belgian forts fell not a day later nor a day earlier than the Germans desired. On the 23rd August, the day on which the first of the Namur forts to fall were silenced, also occurred the engagement of the British army for the first time at Mons, with greatly superior German forces. No clearer account of this action can be given than in the terse and manly despatch of Sir John French, dated 7th September. The concentration of the British Expeditionary Force was completed only on the 21st August, and General French was able to make dispositions to move the force during the 22nd to positions he considered most favourable from which to commence operations which the French Commander-in-Chief, General Joffre, had requested him to undertake in pursuance of his plans in the prosecution of the campaign. The line taken up extended along the line of the canal from Conde on the west through Mons and Binche on the east. Early on the morning of the 23rd August General French assembled the commanders of the first and second corps and the cavalry division and explained the general situation of the Allies and General Joffre's plan, and discussed with them the immediate situation. From information received from French headquarters which had evidently not been sufficiently disillusioned even after the retreat from Charleroi, General French understood that little more

than one or at the utmost two German Army Corps, with perhaps one Cavalry Division, were in front of his position, and he was confirmed in this opinion by the evidence of his patrols and the observation of his aeroplanes which gave no indication of any attempted outflanking movement by the enemy. But about 3 p. m. reports began to come in to the effect that the enemy was commencing an attack on the Mons line apparently in some strength, and that the right of the position from Mons and Bray was being particularly threatened. This led to more or less a general retirement and Binche was occupied by the Germans. About 5 p. m. he received a most unexpected message from General Joffre by telegraph, telling him that at least three German Corps were moving on his position in front, and that the second Corps was engaged in a turning movement from the direction of Tournai. He was also informed that the two reserve French Divisions and the fifth French army on his right were retiring, the Germans having gained possession on the 22nd August of the passages of the Sambre between Charleroi and Namur. This forced a retirement from the Mons position to a position in the rear resting on the fortress of Mauberge on the right and extending west to Jenlain south-east of Valenciennes, on the left. The retreat began at day-break on the 24th when the news of the retirement of the French, and the heavy German threatening on his front reached General French, and was confirmed by aeroplane reconnaissance. Those who would like to study the account of the retreat in detail with all the perils of rearguard actions against a persistent and pushing enemy must carefully read Sir John French's despatch. It is full of arresting interest, and were it not for the skill and leadership of General Sir Horace Smith Dorrien and General Sir Douglas Haig and the other commanders, and the cool courage of the men themselves, it is doubtful if the British army engaged at Mons would have escaped from the bear-bug of General Kluck's enveloping army on the German right. No doubt the Expeditionary Force suffered heavy loss, but it could not well have been avoided, and it is a wonder that the British losses were not considerably heavier. Particularly interesting is the incident concerning the attempt of the enemy to hem the British force against the fortress of Mauberge which was temptingly left open for Field Marshal French to enter in search of support. But in vain was the net spread in the sight of the bird. Nevertheless, had not General French with great presence of mind and determination kept himself clear of the fort the British Army, which had escaped from Mons by the skin of its teeth, would now have been an army of prisoners surrendering within the walls of Mauberge along with their French comrades who numbered about forty thousand.

After the Conde-Mons-Binche line had been relinquished three other lines were occupied on three successive nights and had to be relinquished at day-break. It had been decided to occupy the Cambrai Le Cateau-Landrecies position, and although the ground had been partially prepared and entrenched on the 25th August when the Expeditionary Force had retired from the Mauberge-Baval position, it was not found possible to stand in this position either. In view of the retirements of the French on the right of the British, their own exposed left flank and the sweeping enveloping arm of General Kluck coming closer and closer, and, above all, the exhausted condition of the British troops, Field Marshal French determined to withdraw from this position also, and to continue the retreat till he could put some substantial obstacle such as the Sambre or the Oise between himself and the enemy. The new line selected was Vermand St Quentin Ribemont. The first Corps had continued its march throughout the 25th and far into the evening, arriving at a Landrecies at about 10 o'clock. Field Marshal French had intended that it should go further west so as to fill the gap between Le Cateau and Landrecies, but the men were exhausted and could not get further without rest. The enemy, however, would not allow them this rest and about 3-30 p. m. a report was received that the fourth guards brigade was heavily attacked in Landrecies by troops of the 9th German Army Corps who were coming through the forest on the north of the town. Thanks to the re-inforcements received from two French reserve divisions on the right of the British force, and Sir Douglas Haig's skill, the First Corp managed to extricate itself from an exceptionally difficult position in the darkness of the night and to resume at dawn its march south towards Wassigny on Guise.

But the worst day was the 26th. At day-break it became apparent that the enemy was throwing the bulk of his strength against the left of the position which had been taken up on the previous evening by the Second Corps and the 4th Division, which had their right on Le Cateau, their left in the neighbourhood of Caudry and the line of defence continued thence by the 4th Division toward Seranvillers. The guns of four German Army Corps were against them, and it being impossible to send them any support from the 1st Corps which was incapable of movement, Field Marshal French ordered General Smith-Dorrien to use his utmost endeavours to break off the action

and retire at the earliest possible moment. On the 24th the French General Sordet who was in billets at Avesnes had promised co-operation and support on General French's left flank, though he had said that his horses were too tired to move before the next day. On the 26th General French sent him an urgent message to do his utmost to come up and support the retirement of his left flank. But he did not comply with this urgent request and the plea once more offered was that his horses were too fatigued! The comfort of the French horses was evidently of greater account to him than the existence of the troops of the great ally of his country! There had been no time to entrench the position properly and the artillery was outmanned by at least 4 to 1. At length it became apparent that if complete annihilation was to be avoided a retirement must be attempted, and the order was given to commence it about 3-30 p. m. This was the most difficult movement, but it was covered with intrepidity and determination, by the artillery. Fortunately, the enemy had himself suffered too heavily to engage in an energetic pursuit. The retreat was continued far into the night of the 26th and through the 27th and 28th on which date the troops halted on the line Noyon-Chauny-La Fere, having then thrown off the weight of the enemy's pursuit, (General Sordet and the French cavalry division which he commanded assisted in the retirement and in driving back some of the enemy in Cambrai, while General D'Amade with his two reserve divisions moved down from the neighbourhood of Arras on the enemy's right flank and took much pressure off the rear of the British forces.

VII.—"THE 120-MILE NON-STOP TREK"

But although there was an appreciable easing of the situation after this ceaseless retirement with rear-guard actions which commenced at Mons in the 23rd August and really constituted a four-days battle ending on the 26th, the retirement did not end there. As a writer in the *Daily Mail* says, it was a "120-Mile non-stop trek" forced on the British by the initial reverses which in their turn were due to the lure of Liège. In the despatch of Sir John French we get a candid description of these reverses, but we have not yet come across a word of explanation from the French General Staff of the reverses or a justification of their strategy. Even the casualties have not been mentioned, although all sorts of inferences have been drawn from Germany's delay in publishing the casualties in the latter phase of the campaign. But whether the French explained their reverses or not, the reverses remain, and as the sketch maps of the position of German forces, which we publish this week as a Supplement, will show, the Germans had reached as far south as Coulommiers, La Fere Gaucher, Senonne, Fere Champenoise and Vitry La Francoise. To some extent we have already shown why the German right receded from Paris and instead of investing Paris the Germans have entrenched themselves along the Aisne and the Oise. Further details will be given later, but one fact needs no emphasis after a glance at the sketch map, and that is the fact of the total collapse of the French defence during the last two weeks of August and the first week of September, notwithstanding the remarkably strong line of defence La Fere-Lacon-Reims-Chalons whence they could have defied German attack if they had not been lured by the exaggerated description of resistance offered by Liège, but where they could actually make no stand in their precipitate flight from Charleroi.

VIII.—THE ADVANCE OF SIX GERMAN ARMIES.

So far as we can make out from the news published in England—the telegrams sent to India were too meagre to make anything intelligible—six different German armies have advanced or tried to advance, in the western theatre of war. As the London *Observer* says, their course appears like six showers of rockets falling on a line drawn through Paris. The six armies, taking from east to west were as follows: The sixth Army, commanded by the Crown Prince of Bavaria, attacked from Lorraine through the gap of Epinal in the barrier-chain of fortresses which we explained in some detail in the issue of the 12th August. The fifth army, under the German Crown Prince, attacked immediately north of the barrier-chain through Luxemburg by Stonay, where the bridges cross the Meuse, towards Chalons. The fourth army, commanded by the Duke of Wurtemberg, was entrusted with the difficult task of getting out of the Ardennes and marching across the Meuse, by Moniers and Sedan, towards Rheims. The third army, under General Hansen, coming down from Charleroi and Namur, had also been marching towards Rheims, a point of such importance owing to the railway and road connection and its whole strategic position as to be the master-key of the routes to Paris. The second army, under General Bülow, seems to have advanced from Mons towards Laon and Le Fere. The first army, commanded by General Kluck, at first heavily engaged with the English, seems afterwards to have diverged to the West, to have crossed the Somme east of Amiens, and

that to have carried its great outflanking march straight down towards Paris. Across the whole of Northern France, along successive battle fronts some hundred miles wide, the Allies were forced back further and further, as our sketch map clearly shows, as if by elemental pressure. The *Observer* is forced to confess that this colossal effort to envelope and crush was designed by the Germans "with solid ability and has been executed with thorough audacity unexcelled in the annals of war."

IX.—THE "PRE-CONCEIVED OBJECTIVE."

We see in the movement nothing perhaps of the individual genius of Napoleon whose strategy we attempted to explain in our issue of 12th September. Mr. Bonar Law is perhaps quite right in observing that the militarism of the Germans is Napoleonism without a Napoleon. But German strategy, as we tried to make clear in our last article on the campaign, was modest enough not to have based its calculations like French strategy on the probability or even likelihood of having Napoleons among the Generals of the national army. German strategy, and to a great extent even German tactics, rely upon a "preconceived objective," and we have seen in this campaign how the German Generals and German soldiers have executed the orders of those who conceived this objective with great audacity and the good fortune that favours the bold. It is true, and we have already explained it, that the obvious disadvantage of the German tactics of envelopment is that once the Commander-in-Chief has set his army in motion he loses control of the operations, and the initiative passes into the hands of his subordinates, making co-ordination difficult, and condemning the whole army to adhere to a plan previously settled although fresh and valuable information may be received which suggests a modification of the original programme. This disadvantage to some extent appears to have been illustrated in the present campaign also. For it is very probable that the German General Staff did not expect that their six armies which commenced to advance across an almost straight frontier extending from Upper Alsace to the Dutch Limburg would, within a month, occupy a position in which the armies between Nancy and Paris would form a line almost at right angles with the forces operating from Mulhausen to Nancy. The German forces standing from Mulhausen to Liège made on the 16th of August a line almost as straight as an arrow, but within a fortnight the line appeared like a bow and in a few more days the bow was so bent that, as we stated in our issue of the 12th September, it was in danger of breaking. This was evidently because, while the third army had swung round Givet with sufficient rapidity and the second army had wheeled at a still greater pace further west, and the first army under General Kluck had swept all before it like a whirlwind, the fourth army under the Duke of Wurtemberg had taken much longer to get out of the difficult country of the Ardennes, and the fifth army commanded by the German Crown Prince had met with still greater difficulties in getting through the Stenay gap and marching through the Argonne, while the sixth army commanded by the Crown Prince of Bavaria, although it had taken Lunéville and marched across the French frontier right up to Epinal, had not succeeded in breaking through the barrier-chain of French forts and in crossing the Moselle. This by itself is sufficient to explain why the wide-flung German right was contracted and receded from Paris. But a no less important reason for this change of plan was the fact that the "preconceived objective" of the German General Staff had to be altered, and it must have taken some time for the first and second armies to be once more got into control. That "preconceived objective" was Paris, and when the French Government evacuated Paris and went to Bordeaux on the night preceding 3rd September, Paris lost its chief attraction for the German General Staff.

X.—THE CHANGE OF PLANS.

And what was the result? A glance at our sketch map would show that immediately afterwards the right wing began to contract and recede. And although on the 8th of September the German forces reached points more southerly than they had done before, the German front had also receded a good deal in an easterly direction. The Germans decided to "neglect" Paris, and, while retreating northward across the Marne, made considerable attempts at what we called in the last article on the campaign as the lifting of the latch from the inside. Apparently Verdun has been able to withstand the blows of the German Jack Jehannons better than Liège, Namur, Mauberge and Antwerp, and the Germans are still endeavouring to reduce this northern-most barrier in the chain of fortifications. They desire to widen the gap across the Franco-German frontier for the passage of their armies which was made by the reduction of Longwy—another result of their advance which, like the capture of Lunéville was never cabled to India. But although the Germans are still endeavouring to reduce Verdun as well as to open a passage for themselves near Epinal or Toul, their objective in the retreat across the Marne has evidently been to entrench themselves along the Aisne and the Oise and exhaust the armies of the Allies by fighting a parallel battle from a position in which they had entrenched

themselves carefully, before making their next advance. The wonder is not that the Germans retreated across the Marne, but that an army with enveloping tactics so difficult to control after it had once set out to achieve its pre-conceived objective should have altered its plans so quickly after the change of circumstances brought about by the evacuation of Paris. Although the change of plan was made about the 3rd September, that is, immediately after the transfer of the French seat of Government from Paris to Bordeaux, it was not till the 7th that the Allies clearly understood it, and even then it did not seem intelligible to them that the retreat of General Kluck's army was not due to the pressure of the Allies. They proclaimed it, although somewhat diffidently as a reverse similar to their own retirement from Belgium, and even after the 14th September when the German withdrawal practically ceased, they attributed it to the pressure of Russia in the East. At least this is what one understands from the perusal of British newspapers. But we who know how Russia had to be on the defensive when the Germans advanced practically all along the 500 miles of the Russo-German frontier, and particularly in the Governments of Suwalki and Lomza are in a better position, than English journalists a month ago being clearly prophets after the events to say that the German withdrawal to the Aisne was in no way due to Russian pressure.

XI.—REASON FOR THE CHANGE.

We have already given in this article three reasons for this withdrawal, the unequal rapidity of advance of the various German armies; the change in the German objective caused by the evacuation of Paris by the French Government and the desire of the Germans to break through the barrier-chain of fortifications. We have also hinted at another reason, a corollary of the second, namely, a desire to beat the armies of the Allies in the field after exhausting them in the parallel battle on the Aisne. It seems that the lure of Paris was not as great for the German General Staff as the Allies had imagined, and most probably the Germans had already decided what they should do in the event of Paris becoming a comparatively negligible objective. For we have been told that the armies which had been advancing rapidly enough on Paris had also taken the trouble of preparing entrenchments for future use, and every account of these trenches indicates that they are like semi-permanent fortifications which must have taken time to construct. This leads us to our second hypothesis that all this forethought is indicative of a desire to fight a defensive-offensive battle on equal terms with the Allies. This could not have been possible if lured by Liège the main French army had not gone beyond the well-known line of fortifications, Chalons-Rheims-Loan-La Fère, only to retreat behind this line, and that so precipitately as to allow the Germans to take them and after retiring make a considerable use of them. As for the desire of widening the gap on the eastern side, it was not only because German armies knocking at the gates of the French fortresses would have entered France through it, but because the line of communication between Metz and Paris would have been much shorter than the line of communication between Cologne and Paris which passed through two hostile countries instead of one. As the crow flies the distance between Cologne and Paris is about 240 miles, while the distance between Metz and Paris is only 170 miles, so that the considerable saving of 70 miles was an important consideration. These and not particularly the pressure of Russia were the reasons that induced German right to retreat to the Aisne, and the serene complacency with which the Germans are fighting in their trenches does not apparently betray the anxiety with which they were credited by the Allies. The hour-glass does not now appear to be much in evidence. In fact, if there ever was a race westward it was run by two competitors and not one, and if Germany was galloping towards Paris, Russia galloping towards Berlin. And unless Russia can reach Berlin before the end of this month she is not likely to reach the post at all whether Germany reaches Paris or not. The roads to Berlin would become impassable when the snow begins to fall, and although sledges can work on the ice, frost is not always to be trusted, and when the thaw sets in the whole country becomes a treacherous bog.

XII.—THE TACTICS OF ARTILLERY.

Next week we shall deal with the Eastern theatre of war, but before we leave the Western theatre let us try to make one matter clear. The present war is likely to prove even more than the campaigns of Napoleon a war of the artillery. Field artillery has nowadays been used, firstly, to assist, if necessary, the advanced guard in the preliminary fighting; secondly, to prepare; and, thirdly, to support or cover the infantry attack, "preparation" consisting chiefly in engaging and subduing the hostile artillery. The task of the guns is to destroy the opposing guns and artillery-men, a task which engages almost all the resources of the assailant's artillery in the struggle for artillery superiority which is often spoken of as "an artillery duel." Shielded guns, enhanced rate of firing, perfection in indirect "laying" apparatus (including "elevation", or the vertical inclination of the gun, and "direction", or the horizontal inclination to the

right or left, necessary to direct the path of the projectile to the object aimed at) and many other factors have modified the lessons of 1870, and complicated the work of achieving victory in the artillery duel so far that the simple "hard pounding" of former days has given way to a variety of expedients for inflicting the desired loss and damage. One point is, however, clear, and meets with universal acceptance. "The whole object of the duel," say the French regulations, "is to enable the artillery subsequently to devote all available resources to its principal task which is the material and moral support of the infantry during each succeeding stage of the fight." One side must be victorious in the end, and not until the hostile artillery is beaten out of action the victor has acquired the power of pressing home the attack. The British regulations (1906), indeed, deal with the steps to be taken when, though the artillery of attack is beaten, the infantry advance is continued, but only so as to order the guns to "reopen at all costs," in other words, as a forlorn hope. The second part of the preparation, the gradual disintegration of the opposing line of infantry, has practically disappeared from the drill books. The next task of the guns, and that in which modern artillery asserts its power to the utmost, is the support of the infantry attack. The artillery and the infantry co-operate, "the former" say the British *Field Artillery Training* (1906), "by firing rapidly when they see their own infantry . . . press forward, and the latter by making full use of the periods of the intense artillery fire to gain ground." Thus aided, the infantry closes into decisive ranges, and when it gains ground to the front, every gun "must be at once turned upon the point selected . . . the most effective support afforded to the attacking infantry by the concentrated fire of guns and field howitzers. The former tie the defenders to their entrenchments (for retreat is practically impossible over ground swept by shrapnel bullets), distract their attention and tend to make them keep their heads down, while the shell from the field howitzers searches out the interior of the trenches, the reverse slopes of the position, and checks the movement of reinforcements toward the threatened point." In these words the British *Field Artillery* drill-book of 1902 summarizes the act of "covering" the infantry advance. Unofficial publications are still more emphatic. The advance of the infantry to decisive range would often be covered by a mass of one hundred or more field guns firing shrapnel at the rate of ten rounds per gun per minute at the critical moment. Against such a storm of fire the defending infantry, even supposing that its own guns had retired and were again in action, would be powerless. Captain O. E. Atkinson of the 1st City of London (Royal Fusiliers), to whom we are indebted for these observations, remarks that it was in recognition of the appalling power of field artillery (which is increased in ratio out of all proportions to the improvement of modern rifles) that the French system was elaborated to the perfection which it has attained in recent years. But even from the meagre telegrams which we have received about the operations of the French armies, it is clear that General Joffre himself has had to acknowledge the superiority of German tactics of "preparing" for and "covering" the infantry assault, and there seems to be a universal recognition of the accuracy and the power of German artillery. The field artillery in defence is always at a disadvantage and the initiative gained by the Germans after the fighting at Mons and Charleroi and retained throughout the following fortnight no doubt helped them to bring out to the full the effectiveness of their artillery.

XIII.—POWER AND MOBILITY OF GERMAN ARTILLERY.

We shall deal a little later with the circumstances under which the German infantry advances so rapidly, but in dealing with artillery tactics it must be noted that the effectiveness of this arm on the German side was due not only to the number and power of their guns and the accuracy of their practice, but also to the rapidity of their marches. The importance of having the artillery well up at the front of a marching column, is perhaps best expressed in the phrase of Prince Kraft von Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen—"Save hours not minutes." The Germans in 1870 so far acted up to the principles that Prince Hohenlohe when asked at the beginning of the battle of Sedan for a couple of guns was able to reply, "You shall have ninety." The German regulations say very plainly, "the horses have not done their work until they have got the guns into action, even at the cost of utter exhaustion." Forced marches such as that of the British 62nd Battery, R. F. A., in the battle of the Modder river, when it marched 32 miles mostly through deep sand and arrived in time to take part in the action, even if rare, are nowadays expected to be within the powers of field artillery to accomplish. Horse artillery is capable of more than this, and, as to pace, of manoeuvring at the cavalry rate. Heavy guns are the least mobile and would rarely be able to keep pace with the infantry in a forced march. As a rule field artillery walks four, trots nine, and gallops at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. A fair marching pace is four miles an hour for field and five for horse batteries. A march of fourteen miles would, according to the German regulations, be performed under

favourable circumstances by field battery in five hours and horse battery in four hours. Every gun represents a compromise between power and mobility and each type of artillery has been evolved in accordance with the relative requirements of these conditions in respect of the work to be performed. After the Boer War the question was raised whether field artillery, as the term is usually understood, should not be abolished and only heavy guns and horse artillery retained with the field army. We do not know the details of German field artillery, but we shall not be surprised if the tremendous weight and calibre of their new howitzers and the startling rapidity of their advance turn out to be merely indications of their having combined both power and mobility to an extraordinary extent instead of merely effecting a satisfactory compromise between the two. Horse artillery must be regarded as field artillery of great mobility and manoeuvring power, and its chief value lies in augmenting the weak fire-power of the mounted troops and in facilitating their work as much as possible. Thus when cavalry meets serious opposition in reconnoitring, the guns may be able to break down the enemy's resistance without calling for assistance from the main body of the cavalry, and in the action of cavalry *vs.* cavalry the chief duty of the horse artillery is to shatter the enemy's cavalry, that is, to "prepare" the success of the cavalry charge by breaking up as far as possible the enemy's power of meeting it. In the cavalry battle covering fire is practically impossible, owing both to the short distances separating the combatants and to the rapidity of their movements. But steps are taken "to enable all the guns to bear on the enemy's cavalry at the points of collision." The ideal position for the horse artillery is out to a flank, the cavalry manoeuvring so as to draw the enemy's cavalry under enfilade fire and at the same time to force them to mask the fire of their own horse artillery. We have little doubt that in the enveloping movement of General Kluck's army the horse artillery of the Germans has played no insignificant part. Another and the most important function of the horse batteries is to reinforce, with the greatest possible speed, any point in the general line of battle which is in need of artillery support. For this reason the artillery in each Army Corps generally includes field-batteries.

XIV.—HOWITZERS AND READY ORDNANCE.

But evidently it is the German howitzers that have taken the most prominent part in fighting an enemy that understands the value of cover and knows how to dig itself in. Even the field howitzers are generally somewhat less mobile than field guns. They have, however, far greater shell power. The special feature of the howitzer is, as we have stated in an earlier article, the "searching" of the interior of earthworks, a task which is beyond the power of high velocity field guns which pour forth a direct fire. They are also used for demolishing work, which is equally beyond the power of even a high explosive shell of field gun calibre. The first of these conditions implies a steep "angle of descent" which implies a high "angle of elevation." The second requires great shell-power, but does not call for high velocity. The howitzer, therefore, is a short gun firing a heavy shell at high angles of elevation. Ranging must be done very accurately, and yet economically, as but few of the heavy shells can be carried on the wagons, and the shells descending almost vertically upon the enemy lose the long sweeping effect of the field shrapnel which neutralizes minor errors of ranging. The projectiles employed are high explosives and shrapnels, the former for the demolition of the field works, casemates or buildings, and the latter for use against men behind cover. There is, besides, heavy field artillery including all guns of 4 in. calibre and upwards mounted on travelling carriages. In South Africa, where firm soil was usually to be found, 6 in. guns were employed as heavy field guns, but in Europe even the 5 in. British Service gun is likely to sink into the ground. In Great Britain guns only are used by this branch, but continental armies have light siege trains or heavy artillery of the field armies as a rule composed of howitzers of a heavier calibre than the field howitzer, the 15 cm. (6 inch) howitzer being most commonly met with. But this artillery has a different tactical rôle and it is always with a view to the attack of permanent or semi-permanent fortifications. They use high explosive shells and time shrapnels, the former for razing and demolishing cover, the latter against personnel. The tactical principles upon which heavy artillery does its work are based in the main on the long range (upto 10,000 yards) and great shell power of the guns. This power enables the artillery to reach with effect targets which are beyond the range of lighter ordnance, so that even if they are dispersed along the front of the armies, they can concentrate their fire on any points though they could not have otherwise done so owing to their want of mobility. In the attack, besides the general task of all guns, the heavy artillery demolishes cover, and buildings held by the enemy and during the infantry assault they can sweep a great depth of ground effectively. In the defence, long range fire has great value, specially in sweeping approaches which the enemy must use. In pursuit, the heavy artillery can reach the main body of the enemy during its retreat.

even if it has left the rear guard, as in the case of the British retreat from Mons. Only in retreat the want of mobility of these guns militates against their employment in exposed positions such as rear guards usually have to take up. But the Germans who have surpassed all past records in bringing into the field a heavier howitzer than any ordnance yet employed even in sieges have evidently such confidence in the success of their offensive and their rapidity of movement that they have practically neglected to think of the consequences of such tactics in retreat.

XV.—THE GERMAN INFANTRY AND ITS RIFLE FIRE.

While the superiority of German artillery and the rapidity of all arms has been acknowledged, we hear a general condemnation of the shooting of their infantry. But before we condemn the Germans on this score, let us understand the objective of their infantry. It is a well known fact that in an attack very few bullets find their billets. We do not know the latest opinion in England and France about the exact proportion of casualties to the number of rounds fired by the assailants. But we may be sure that this ratio bears no recognizable proportion to the death-roll due to the sniping done by the Afghan on our frontiers to whom a rifle and a few rounds of cartridges are as the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind. Continental armies have no reason to be so parsimonious in the use of ammunition and enormous quantity of lead passes through the barrel of a rifle before life passes out of the body of a single soldier under cover. The Germans have, therefore, never set much store by careful shooting by their huge hordes when on the offensive. They have always preferred mobility to accuracy in shooting by the general body of their troops, and for power they rely more on mass than on marksmanship. This is clearly borne out by the German regulations of 1906 which define the offensive as "transporting fire towards the enemy, if necessary to his immediate proximity", and they consider that the bayonet attack only "confirms" the victory. While in Germany movement "transports the fire," in France fire is regarded as the way to make movement possible. Now the Germans have evidently thought that for the mass of their troops to stop and take aim is more likely to make them much slower in their attack than more effective in aim, and at the cost of the accuracy of shooting they have been deliberately purchasing their marvellous rapidity of movement. They, therefore, refrain from halting to shoot, but go on firing as they march, shooting from the hip, and thus saving time and effort and the exhaustion due to recoil, instead of shouldering the rifle. Unless the rifle rests on the ground or on some mechanical contrivance to steady it, accuracy of aim is exceedingly difficult. Kneeling or lying flat on the ground and then getting up at intervals in the course of the assault takes time. If the assailants halt and shoulder their rifles while standing, both arms act as factors likely to alter the angle from which the shot is fired and thus vitiates the aim. If, however, both arms are dropped as far as they can go and the trigger is pulled, although the "direction", or horizontal inclination, may vary, though not to any great extent—for keeping the right arm close to the side would prevent it, and in any case the variation would not be appreciable when a long line of troops is being attacked—the "elevation", or vertical inclination, could not vary except very slightly. Again, the recoil would only carry the right arm in the direction in which it naturally goes when the man is marching. Thus, without losing the accuracy of aim altogether, the Germans, firing from the hip, while still moving on, must have gained enormously in rapidity of movement. Their guns having proved superior in the artillery duel, and their howitzers searching the trenches of the enemy as effectively as they have been doing, the objective of the infantry seems to be not so much the accuracy of aim at long range, but the traversing of the intervening space in the shortest possible time. With the enemy pinned down by the artillery, the infantry's one object was to be up and at him as quickly as possible, and it appears that the firing from the hip while marching has been as effective a device as could have been thought of for executing the German conception of the offensive, namely, "transporting fire towards the enemy, if necessary to his immediate proximity." To make up for the shortcoming of the mass of the troops in accuracy of aim they seem to have designed the system of having with each unit of infantry a body of sharpshooters to pick out the officers of the enemy and take deliberate aim.

XVI.—FROM FREDERICK THE GREAT TO WILLIAM II.

In the war of 1870 it was noted that "more and more German infantry was pushed forward to support the firing line, and, like its predecessors, each reinforcement, losing most of its unwilling men as it advanced over the shot-swept ground, consisted on arrival of really determined men, and closing in the firing line, pushed it forward, sometimes 30 yards, sometimes 100, until at last rapid fire at the shortest ranges dislodged the stubborn defenders. Bayonets (as usual) were never actually used, save in sudden encounters in woods and villages. The decisive factors were: first, the superiority of the Prussian

guns, secondly, heavy and effective fire, and, thirdly, deliberate short range, and above all the high moral of a proportion of resolute soldiers, who, after being subjected for hours to the most demoralising influences, had still courage left for the final dash. "These three factors," says Capt. Atkinson, "in spite of changes in armament, rule the infantry attack of to-day." The Germans still adhere to shock tactics, for although "individualism" has gained ascendancy everywhere, "drill" is still the basis of the German infantry. For long after 1870 Europe in general followed the lead of Prussia. But controversy in the early stages took the form of a contest between drill and individualism, for until about 1890, the material efficiency of the gun and the rifle remained very much what it had been in 1870, and the only new factor bearing on infantry tactics was the general adoption of a "national army" system similar to Prussia and of rifles equal, and in some way superior, to the chasseur. There was in fact an equilibrium among the national armies, and the question was how in such conditions was the attacking infantry to force its way forward, whether by fire or movement, or by both. France sought the answer in the domain of artillery; but for the moment the lead in infantry training was admittedly in the hands of the Prussians. The extremist statement in favour of drill pure and simple advocated a return to the "old Prussian fire discipline" of Frederick's day for giving fire its maximum efficacy. Volleys and absolutely mechanical obedience to word of command represent the most complete application of fire-power that can be conceived, and Frederick, who had drilled his soldiers so well that the firing line managed to manoeuvre with some approach to the precision of the barrack square, could rely on his troops' *pelotonfeuer* or company volley, which gave him an advantage of 5 shots to 2 against all opponents. The bayonet attack, if the rolling volleys had done their work, was merely "presenting the cheque for payment" as a modern German writer puts it. The cheque had been drawn, in the fire-fight itself. But the proposals of the extreme close order school appeared merely pious aspirations, not so much because of the introduction of the breechloader, as because it was feared that the short service "national" army could never be "drilled" in the Frederician sense. But hitherto the present campaign has shown that, given a sufficiency of numbers, such as Germany enjoys, at least so far as France is concerned—though in no theatre of war does she now outnumber her opponents—Germany can still give a good account of herself, because she has shown "drill" also in the Frederician sense to be still possible notwithstanding the short service "national army," and close-order formation to be far from impossible in spite of all the critics of such tactics. The spirit of the German offensive can best be judged from the following extract from the German regulations: "In the offensive the entrenching tool may be used where it is desired, for the moment, to content one's self with maintaining the ground gained. . . . The entrenching tool is only to be used with the greatest circumspection because of the great difficulties of getting an extended line to go forward under fire when it has expended much effort in digging cover for itself. The construction of trenches must never paralyse the desire for the irresistible advance, and above all must not kill the spirit of the offensive." This war has shown that such a spirit can surmount the obvious difficulties and damage entailed in close formations, and it is obvious that the Germans have for the moment upset the equilibrium of national armies because infantry and artillery have discovered a way of hacking their way through, both by fire and movement.



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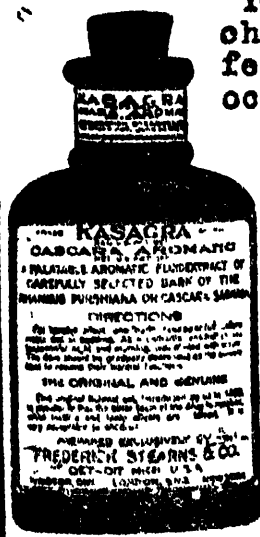
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CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Russia, Our Ally	285	Iran's Appeal to Austro-Hungarian Races	309
What Germans Are Thinking	286	The Nine Languages of Slav and Teuton	309
Turkey's Abrogation of the Capitulations	287	"Russia of the Novelists"	309
Press Opinion	287	A Placemont of the Ottoman Ambassador in Washington	310
With the Germans	289	Turkish "Massacres"	310
The Turning of the Tide	291	Constantinople during the Balkan War	310
The Secret of a Battle	292	German Rejoinders at British "Defeat"	311
Mr. Asquith's Speech	293	British Prisoners' Life in Germany	311
German Theologians	293	German Warnings	311
France and the War of Revenge	295	German Socialist Leaders' Death	311
The Submarine	297	Another "Voyage"	312
A Reply from H. G. Wells	298	Sweden's Attitude	312
"Facing Realities"	299	Spies and Cigarettes	312
Battle of the Air	299	The Censorship	312
The War Through German Spectacles	301	A Mis-quotation	312
India and the War	302	LEADING ARTICLES	
Ordinance Applied in the Case of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan	303	The Alternatives	312
SHORT STORY		The Case of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan	315
Matra	305	After the War	317
"The Comrade War Bulletin"	307	ADVERTISEMENTS	318
THIS A TEST			
The Capitalism in Turkey	308		
Turkey and Greece	308		
Mr. Lloyd George on the War	308		
"The Will of William the Bandit"	309		

Russia, Our Ally.

An Unchanging Tyranny

(By W. C. ANDERSON)

If you walk through London you will often see the British flag and the French flag and the Belgian flag; you will seldom or never see the Russian flag. In theatres and music halls bands treat you to the inspiring French national anthem and the uninspired and uninspiring British national anthem; you rarely hear the Russian national anthem.

What explains this attitude? Is it merely that Russia is far away and unfamiliar. It lies deeper than that. We have never been quite comfortable with our new friend. We have opened our doors to the Russian refugee, and we have learned a great deal from him as to the methods of his Government. Now, the Russian autocracy is cruel, stupid, and unchanging. Of all the European countries now at war, Russia is the only one where the Government has made no attempt to get nearer to the people. Elsewhere, there have been concessions and amnesties; in Russia, as things were they remain.

When the war broke out, M. Vladimir Bourtzeff, the well-known reformer, appealed through the medium of the foreign

Press to the Russian Government to seal a bond with the people by granting amnesty to all political prisoners. This view was endorsed energetically by the non-official and Liberal newspapers throughout Russia. The Government never even pretended to be conscious of the agitation in Siberia, in the dungeons, in the torture chambers, the motto is "Business as usual."

After the revolutionary events of 1905, Masloff, one of the best known of the Social Democrats (if I remember rightly he belongs to the more moderate wing) escaped to Germany, where he has since resided. When the war began he had to go back to his own country. He reached Finland and was immediately arrested by the Russian police. The authorities ordered his deportation to Orenburg, which is almost on the frontier of Siberia. Doctors have protested that in his present state of health Masloff cannot possibly survive the journey. His friends have appealed to the Government that he should be sent instead to South Russia, but I do not think there is the slightest likelihood that attention will be paid to the petition.

A word about Finland itself. Is not this a war with clean and holy sword for oppressed nationalities? Has it not driven Mr. John Hodge to weep by the graves of his ancestors who fell for religious liberty? So we must not forget Finland. Blotting from mind her long oppressions, Finland announced her willingness to stand in against Germany. Nevertheless she was not spared all the rigours and evils of harsh military law. Her newspapers have practically been suppressed, her Trade Unions have been dissolved, meetings of any sort are prohibited—even private gatherings between groups of friends in their own houses are frowned upon.

In this country, leading articles in the newspapers are, as a rule, exceedingly dull and tiresome. In Russia, a quite wise remark is sometimes allowed to appear, and invariably gets the editor in trouble. At the beginning of the war, in the course of restrained and cautious article in the *Retch*, complaint was made that the Government maintained its rigid unsympathetic attitude toward the people despite the sacrifices the war laid upon them—sacrifices they were willing to undergo. The editor was arrested, and was given the alternative of paying a fine of £300 or going to prison for three months. This did not happen some years ago, but since we joined with Russia in the holy war of liberation.

The Central Authority in Russia has always been jealous of the Municipal Councils. It has been the traditional policy of the autocracy to hamper and restrict at every point the local Councils. Autocracy hates and dreads any revolution of power and authority. This idea has been carried so far, has become so much a matter of wont and custom, that at this moment the Municipal Councils are being deliberately interfered with and crippled in any measures they take to relieve distress caused by the war.

The old régime is wholly triumphant in Russia: the bravest men and women languish in prison, and the tongue of freedom is almost dumb.

Here arises a dilemma—the inevitable result of much mischief diplomacy. As between Prussia and Russia we are between the devil and the deep sea. The German workers I love. Beautifully characteristic was the reply of the Russian peasants when mildly reproved for giving bread and fruit and flowers to German prisoners: "Are we not children of the same God? If we are good to their prisoners, will they not be good to ours?" It is this spirit, in whatever terms expressed, which will outlast the war, and end all war—else might we despair.

But I love not the Prussian military caste nor the Russian autocracy. I do not want to see Europe dominated by Germany. Junkerdom is blustering, swaggering, and savage. The Von Reuters and the Fockers and the Crown Prince Wilhelms are enemies of the spiritual inheritance and evolution of the race. Apart from the fact that this country and our courageous soldiers are involved—and I do not pretend to be indifferent to these facts—the crushing of Belgium and of Republican France by Kaiserism would be a distinct blow to the future progress of European democracy.

But I cannot close my mind, like a trap, to all other considerations. War has a terribly contracting effect upon the mind. I agree that aggressive, irresponsible provocative talk should be avoided, specially while the military situation is so grave and uncertain as it is, but if we blind ourselves to all future consequences we are heading for sheer disaster. The end of the war will find the democracies still impotent, the diplomats still masters of the situation.

Unless some effective counter-stroke can be organised, the hopes of Russian reformers vanish for half a century, if Russia emerges with military glory from this mad struggle, and there is a real danger that she will be able to dominate the whole of Europe. The purpose of this war, it appears, is to smash Prussian militarism. I, for one, should not lament the downfall of militarism in Prussia or elsewhere (though the one thing absolutely certain about the war is that Prussian militarism, whatever happens, will not be destroyed, but we must be short sighted indeed if we fail to see that with the destruction of the German and Austrian armies no power on earth can stop Russia taking what she wants and extending her sway over the whole of Eastern Europe.

First of all she will unite into one, German, Austrian, and Russian Poland. Grand Duke Nicholasewich, who is a second edition of the Tsar, will be set as ruler over it, and the new country will enjoy the shadow of autonomy and the reality of bureaucratic government. It will be granted a more or less democratic Diet, under the absolute control of a Senate composed of Russian officials. She will also turn her attention to the Balkan States. There will be a Greater Serbia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Greater Bulgaria and Roumania, and in each case they will have at first the semblance of self-government then gradually be moulded by Russian pressure. And if tyrannous autocracy has been unbending in the hour of stress and difficulty, what will be its attitude in the hour of victory? Is all this a matter that can be lightly regarded? Will it be a fitting close to a holy war of liberation on behalf of small nationalities? Is there not in all this the germ of future tyranny and desolating wars?

In this country there are many Russian refugees. I think we shall have to take counsel with them and with the Socialists of neutral countries like Italy and Holland and Norway and Sweden to see what can be done to prevent the entire submerging of freedom in Russia and throughout Eastern Europe when this war of liberation is over.—*The Lubow Leader*



What Germans Are Thinking.

A FIGHT FOR EXISTENCE

A correspondent has placed at the disposal of the *Morning Post* a private letter written in Axa-la-Chapelle on August 27. The letter is written by a German lady, and it is exceedingly interesting in that it gives a clear account of what the civilian population in Germany thinks and believes.

The writer is convinced that "all educated and intelligent Englishmen" must condemn the war, for which only the British Government and its policy are responsible. Germans, she says, have for years feared that they would be driven into this war, and that even their peace-loving Emperor would lose patience one day. Now it has come, she adds, one can see "what a strong, wonderful Germany has arisen out of the apparent luxury." She speaks of the unanimity and enthusiasm with which the Reichstag voted the war credit, and of the enthusiasm aroused among the German people by the publication of the telegrams exchanged by the Emperor with the Emperor of Russia and King George. These telegrams prove to the people, she writes, that their Emperor did everything in his

power for the maintenance of peace, and that there is in the whole political world perhaps no such honourable and upright man as His Majesty.

The writer then continues:—

GERMANY'S FIGHT FOR EXISTENCE.

We know that we are fighting for our existence, as our adversaries, who could not overcome our superiority by doing better than we now desire simply to kill us all, in order to be relieved of our competition. Embitterment, of course, prevails everywhere, but also incomparable self-sacrifice. During the past three weeks 1,200,000 men have offered themselves for military service voluntarily, so that the lists have had to be closed. The soldiers who passed through our town looked magnificent, every article of their clothing and equipment was perfectly new and strong, and the passage of the troops was an accomplished order. Soldiers had to be received in the houses, but everybody received them gladly, for they behaved in every respect so well that one had perfect confidence in them. And what terrible things are being said in France about the poor fellows! They are accused of committing all the outrages perpetrated by the Belgians on them.

ALLEGED BELGIAN ATROCITIES

"There was a poor young fellow in the hospital here whose eyes had been put out by a ten-year-old Belgium girl as he lay wounded by bullet. A doctor of the Dutch (Red Cross) Corps saw it. In other cases the hands and feet of the wounded were knocked off, and the throats of wounded men lying in houses over which the Geneva flag waved were cut in the night. German officers declare that the Belgians have behaved worse than the Hottentots did. It is, however, not Belgian soldiers who have done these things, but women, children and old men, and their punishment was terrible. They were shot under martial law, and their houses, often whole villages, had been burnt down. One must almost be sorry for the people in their blindness, they are instigated by their authorities to do these things.

"We naturally rejoice over our magnificent victories, the Belgian newspapers now appear in the German language, the postal and railway systems are in the hands of Germans, and as the French have been so badly beaten in Lorraine, and Namur and Liege are in our possession, we can hope that the war will not last long. We owe them to those who originated the war.

"The weather has been most favourable and the harvest, which was exceedingly good, has almost all been gathered in, partly with the help of the school children. Germany is much richer than we imagined, and the price of provisions has either not gone up at all or has gone up only a little. Every care is being taken of the unemployed, and also of the women and children of the men in the field. Business is hardly affected here."

THE GERMAN LADY WRITES FURTHER.

"We are gradually becoming very indignant about the great tolerance shown by our Government to all foreigners—Belgians, Russians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen—whom it permits to remain here. Connections are even being made for the poor among them, and some are allowed to continue taking their "Kai" without payment. When will Germany put an end to her false kindness? She must how disgracefully her own subjects are treated in most of the other countries. We shall never forget the atrocities perpetrated in Belgium, where the richest people hardly ever were terribly treated and had to flee, and where women had their children thrown out of the windows at them, and many went mad.

"We hope, of course, that the *terror trautunicus* will ultimately win the victory for us, but even if the superior force of our enemies should crush us we can at least still be proud of being Germans, honest and upright to the last. Nobody here, however, thinks of our downfall even if England should bring the other half of the world against us, which it is to be hoped she will not be able to do."

In a postscript, dated August 29th, the writer says.

COUNT ZEPPELIN'S PROGRESS

"A brief report arrived yesterday of an immense victory for the Germans in Belgium, and in the evening of a victory over the French at St. Quentin. Our troops are now not far from Paris. Zeppelin does wonders over the fortresses, and we can contemplate the future with equanimity. . . . we are greatly amused when we read in foreign newspapers that we are barbarians. As if barbarians could construct Krupp cannons and Zeppelin airships, as if they could produce the Wagner Festspiel, Strauss operas, all the wonderful museums, and ships like the Emperor! It is enough to make one laugh. The poor, degenerate French people, however, know no better."

In a second postscript, dated August 31st, the lady writes:—

"We are very sad about the loss of our four small cruisers, but the misfortune is small in comparison with our huge victories, and it is only the second reverse in this war. Now we have again taken 30,000 Russian prisoners, who are glad to have a good meal in Germany."

Turkey's Abrogation of the Capitulations

Communication to the Powers.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENTS.)

Constantinople, 10th Sept.

The Porte has informed the Foreign Embassies of the decision of the Council of Ministers to abolish the privileges of the Capitulations for foreign subjects in Turkey. This will take effect on the 1st of next month.

The Turkish newspapers publish a translation of a communication sent by the Porte to the Foreign Embassies notifying the abrogation of the Capitulations.

This communication declares that the Porte is inspired in its decision solely by the desire to assure judicial, economic, and fiscal liberty of action in the interest of the progress of the country, and it points out that the Porte entertains no unfriendly intentions towards any foreign Powers, that the Porte is acting in the supreme interests of the Ottoman Fatherland, and that it is ready to conclude treaties of commerce based upon the principle of international law.

The removal of the Capitulations means the placing henceforward of foreign subjects entirely under the protection of the Ottoman authorities instead of the Embassies as heretofore, and the abolition of foreign post offices, in fact the subjecting of foreign residents in Turkey to the laws of the country.

The Minister of the Interior is addressing a circular to provincial authorities announcing this important decision and enjoining the protection of foreigners, who, the circular says, are to be treated as respected visitors to the country.

Popular Enthusiasm

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, 9th. Sept.

Processions of the Turkish population, with bands of music and banners, passed through the city this evening demonstrating and cheering for what they describe as the "obtaining of independence."

Turkish Embassy Statement.

Reuter's representative has received from Reşid Râif Bey, Councillor of the Turkish Embassy in London, an explanation of the Ottoman attitude with regard to the abrogation of the Capitulations. The Councillor, in reply to a question, said:

"It is wrong to suppose that Turkey's action implies any bellicose attitude on her part. Against any suggestion of that sort I energetically protest. The declaration of the Porte means that in the Turkish view the time has arrived when Turkey should enjoy the same status as other independent countries. It is not immaterial that Turkey should take action at this moment, in view of the fact that only last week Great Britain and Austria, for instance, agreed to the abolition of the Capitulations in regard to the late Ottoman territory now acquired by Greece. Furthermore, it is to be noted that even a Government like Montenegro enjoys entire economic and political liberty."

Asked why the Powers of the Entente had not first been consulted in this matter, Reşid Râif Bey said: "I am not prepared to say that they were not. In any case certain of the Great Powers some time ago agreed in principle to give Turkey economic and political liberty, and other Powers, like England, in conjunction with France and Russia, have repeatedly assured us of their goodwill to help Turkey in the amelioration of her material and economic conditions. It is quite erroneous to suppose that in taking this action Turkey is influenced by a spirit of bias against any particular Power. It is not a sign of any intention on the part of Turkey to depart by a hairbreadth from her repeated declaration of strict neutrality."

The Powers' Protest.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENTS.)

Constantinople, 11, 12th. Sept.

The text of the reply of the Ambassadors of the Entente Powers and of the Italian Ambassador to the Porte's communication notifying the abrogation of the Capitulations is couched in identical terms and the substance points out that the capitulatory régime in Turkey is not an autonomous institution of the Empire, but is the outcome of international treaties, diplomatic agreements, and contractual acts of diverse kinds.

Consequently this régime can only be modified on the basis of an understanding with the contracting Powers, and failing such an understanding before October 1 next the above mentioned Ambassadors would be unable to recognise the exequatory force, beginning on that date, of the unilateral decision of the Sublime Porte.

The terms of the Austrian and German replies were differently worded, but uphold the same standpoint.

Petrograd, 12th. Sept.

A telegram from Constantinople says that the question of the abrogation of the Public Debt is under special consideration.

U.S.A.'S Attitude.

New York, 12th. Sept.

It is predicted by administrative officials that the United States will join the protest of the Powers against the abrogation of the rights of foreigners by Turkey, although no action has as yet been taken, and the American Ambassador has no instructions to join the protest already delivered.

"National Independence" Day.

Constantinople, 11th. Sept.

The street processions and public rejoicings on the occasion of the abolition of the Capitulations were continued last night. The principal arteries of the city were decorated with flags and illuminated. A mass meeting was held in Stamboul, and in the evening a banquet of three hundred covers, at which Cabinet Ministers were present was given at the City Prefecture to celebrate the proclamation of national independence.

A Berlin Version.

Amsterdam, 12th. Sept.

According to an official statement published in Berlin, the Triple Entente, fearing that Turkey would interfere in the present war in favour of Germany and Austria-Hungary, made an offer to the Porte to consent to the abolition of the Capitulations if the Porte would agree to maintain neutrality during the present war. The Porte replied that its neutrality could not be bought but at the same time published an Imperial Decree abolishing the Capitulations.

Reuter's Agency learns there is no foundation whatever for the statement issued in Berlin. It is pointed out that it is entirely disposed of by the fact that all the Powers are protesting in Constantinople against the Decree abolishing the Capitulations.



Press Opinion.

The "Manchester Guardian."

None of us in England will make it a grievance against Turkey that she has decided to put an end to the Capitulations. Most of us will be more inclined to say that she is perfectly welcome to do so. The Capitulations are a set of treaties, or rather voluntary grants, some date from the fifteenth century. They began as gracious, or slightly contemptuous, permits given by the enormously powerful Turkish Sultan of that time to the unbelieving traders of various European nations to live and trade unmolested in Turkey. As the Turkish power declined and other Powers grew stronger the Capitulations came to be regarded by foreigners as legal weights to be aggressively assailed and exceeded. At the same time the number of foreign residents in Turkey has pretty constantly increased, so that the Turkish Government has for a long time had in the midst of its own subjects a very large population of foreigners of all nations who under the Capitulations, paid no taxes except Customs duties, could not be sued in the local courts, and enjoyed the ambassadorial privilege of "inviolability of domicile"—that is to say, each of their houses was, in a legal sense, not in Turkey at all, but was built on an outlying patch of English, German, French, or Austrian territory, according to the dweller's nationality.

Such an arrangement is obviously humiliating as well as troublesome to any Government against which it is maintained. We discovered that for ourselves as soon as we came to govern Egypt and found how annoying it was to have to watch a foreign ship full of smuggled goods during the week that might elapse before the Consul of her owner's country found it convenient to come and see us board her—for without his presence it would have been a breach of a Capitulation to do so. If Turkey chooses to throw off a system which we in her place, have found to be an extreme nuisance, we can only say that we can well understand her motives, and that she may feel assured that our Government will put no obstacle in the way. Everyone in England can guess that she is having no easy time just now, with Germany pestering her to sacrifice her own peace and prosperity on the chance of repairing Germany's failing fortunes in the war. And it is very sincerely regretted here that our exercise of our legal right to take over the two Turkish men-of-war which stood unfinished in British ship-yards at the beginning of August should have been construed as a piece of unfriendliness, as we fear it was, by Turkish public opinion. There is no such feeling in Eng-

land towards Turkey. There is only a feeling of sympathetic goodwill towards her in the difficulties which we believe to surround her. Government's efforts to save the country from being dragged into the European war against its own sense of right and of prudence.

The "Nation."

TURKEY has formally denounced the Capitulations. These hoary treaties, which date from the sixteenth century, were in their origin an evidence of the Turk's disdainful tolerance of Christian traders. They had become the badge of Turkey's inferior status in the family of nations. They rest, in a word, on the legal fiction that every foreigner's house in Turkey is a fragment of his own country, and remove foreigners from the reach of Turkish law and, to some extent, of Turkish taxation. They were liable to grave abuse, but the excuse for their maintenance was that Turkish court could not be trusted with the interest of European subjects. All the Powers have entered a formal protest against Turkey's action, but this is probably only a preliminary to negotiations which may be undertaken after the war. To gain the abolition of the Capitulations would be worth more to Turkey materially, and above all, morally, than any success which could have conceivably come to her by fighting. She must, meanwhile, seriously undertake the reform of her courts. On the whole, the Capitulations, like all devices which humiliate and depress a nation, wrought more evil than they prevented.

The "Near East."

The action of the Porte in announcing the "abolition" of the Capitulations, some have hailed it as a manifestation of praiseworthy spirit on the part of Prince Said Halim Pasha's Cabinet. Others, even less informed on the subject, have entirely ignored an event which, had it happened six months ago, would have profoundly affected the money markets of two continents and aroused the angriest of buzzings in innumerable diplomatic hives.

Without doubt the move is one of internal politics, and the proclamation almost seems to be addressed more to the Ottoman "gallery" than to the various Foreign Offices. It may be assumed that there is more weight in the protest of the Ambassadors delivered at the Porte than in the incident which gave rise to it. The Ottoman Empire for some centuries past has been engaged in contracting international obligations of singular far reaching nature, and it is not creditable to the intelligence of the members of the present Cabinet to assume that they are seriously of the opinion that treaties are to be lightly evaded. Indeed it is obvious to any person that a Great Power which goes to war with another Great Power because of the violation of a Treaty in one part of Europe is hardly likely nonchalantly to acquiesce in the wholesale abrogation of documents dating back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth and repeatedly confirmed since that date.

As an example of how Capitulations may be abolished, we may point out that Japan, Siam, and Zanzibar have been able to rid themselves by means of diplomatic negotiation, tedious no doubt, but in the end far more efficacious than the somewhat unusual methods apparently in favour for the moment in Constantinople. We are fully prepared to admit that in Turkey cases have arisen where the Capitulations have been onerous, where they have militated against the best interest of the country, and, in the case of the postal privileges so widely exercised by foreign States, actually harmful to the Ottoman Exchequer. But as it takes at least two to make a Treaty, so must it take two to break one satisfactorily.

II.

The powers that be in Constantinople are agitated. Amid the clash of arms which is now shaking Europe to its foundations it is too much to expect of the warrior Turk that he should accept readily the rôle of a passive spectator. But apart from a natural propensity for fighting he is convinced at the present moment that he has an excellent object for which to fight. Two unsuccessful campaigns have left him with certain clearly defined grievances; they have also given the military authorities valuable experience, and these have satisfied themselves that, if not hopelessly outnumbered by a confederation of enemies, the Turkish Army is now in a position to render a good account of itself. Thus it comes to pass that there is a very bellicose spirit in the Ottoman capital, a spirit reminiscent of the Potsdam atmosphere which a number of the higher commands in the Turkish Army have so freely breathed. With Germany light-heartedly engaging in a conflict in which she

seems to have taken special pains to avoid the shadow of her shadow, an excellent opportunity offered to the Ottoman Empire to settling her own scores. At a more opportune moment, the German and Austro-Hungarian armies, she could count upon picking up quite a number of acceptable prizes, but if she were to strike on her own behalf under the German aegis, the prospect of far more valuable spoils loomed before her. Unfortunately for such a programme, before Turkey had drawn her sword at Germany's bidding, the latter was shown to have made serious miscalculations, while Austro-Hungarian armies had failed miserably against both Serbia and Russia. At the same time the Porte's political strategy met with no success, for it found that any attempt to provoke hostilities would involve the Ottoman Empire in a struggle against a confederation even more powerful than the one which had worked Turkey's humiliation in the first Balkan War. As a result of this discovery military ardour in Constantinople has given place to military exasperation. A partial mobilisation had been effected, and it was felt that Turkey, having rattled the sword in the scabbard, must do something. If the Treaty of London could not be torn up, a substitute must be found for an exhibition of martial spirit. What could be better than the Capitulations? They concern mainly the Great Powers, and the Great Powers being at war among themselves would not be likely to make common cause against Turkey. Accordingly the Capitulations are declared to be abolished as from October 1st, and the Ottoman Empire is invited to celebrate the proclamation of national independence.

For the Powers which have Turkey's interests at heart and were fearing lest she should embark on a war that could only have ended in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, it comes as a relief to find that the Porte's military activities have led for the moment to nothing worse than a Hamboyant tilting at a windmill. The difficulties of the Turkish Government are realised. It is not altogether master in its own house; the military element is strong and has to be humoured. The proposed abrogation is less serious in its effects than the course to which the extremists were committed, and offers what a declaration of war would not have offered—a basis for negotiation. Young Turkey, however, has much to learn in the school of international diplomacy. Some idea of the crudeness of her present venture will have been gathered from the fact that the proposed abrogation of the Capitulations has met with a simple *non possumus* from the Powers concerned. Not only does Italy associate herself with the Powers of the Triple Entente in an Identical Note to the Porte on the subject, but even Germany and Austria-Hungary, who are making such bids for Turkish help in the war of the nations which they have so rashly provoked, show no readiness to give way to Turkish susceptibilities on this point. The Capitulations, as diplomatic phraseology expresses it, do not represent a unilateral convention, to be repudiated at the mere wish of the Porte, they are a binding contract which can only be determined by mutual agreement of the contracting parties. It is true that in a case of war between the parties the Capitulations ought to lapse automatically, and the anomaly, to which reference was made in these columns last week, of allowing the German and Austro-Hungarian Consuls to continue their functions in Egypt has been stopped at the instance of Great Britain. But in the case of Turkey the Capitulations must hold good until they are abolished by the consent of all concerned. Hitherto Ottoman respect for the pledged word has been one of the most valuable assets of the Empire. It would be an ill omen for the new régime if it sought to introduce into Turkey's foreign relations the Potsdam doctrine that treaties are merely scraps of paper, to be kept or torn up as self-interest dictates. Before such a step is taken it might be well to see what measure of success attends the German exemplar.

Elsewhere in this issue we deal with the origin and full significance of the Capitulations which Turkey wishes to annul. They cover a wide area in their operations, and it cannot be denied that they constitute a very definite limitation of Ottoman sovereignty. On the other hand, they are a distinct safeguard for the country. By far the most important aspect of the Capitulations is the judiciary privileges reserved for foreign States. If these were removed there can be little doubt that Turkey would quickly find herself in a serious conflict with various countries. Ottoman conceptions of justice are still where they were in the Middle Ages, if we may judge from incidents as recent as the experiences of El Masri. If such treatment can be meted out in Constantinople to a highly placed Turkish officer it is not difficult to imagine what might be the fate of a hapless foreigner left to the tender mercies of the local authorities in distant parts of the Empire. Even the Capitulations have not been sufficient always to secure respect for international comity in Turkey. Until, therefore, the Porte can show that Ottoman conceptions of justice and the liberty of the subject have more closely approximated to Western standards there can be no question of the abolition of the Capitulations. On the other hand, as great as the Powers' faith upon the Porte's observance of its pledged word, there is a strong

28th October

of necessity, and not from any desire to improve the condition of the country. The efficiency of the Turkish Government has come to be recognized, and if a few safeguards could be introduced it might be allowed to supersede the foreign capitulations. In some instances must be hard put to it to justify their existence. Here at least is a basis for negotiation between the Powers and the Ottoman Government. Much of the progress that Turkey has made in details of administration is apt to be counteracted by the fact that the Government is apt to be counteracted by the majority of the Cabinet has to be subordinated to the ambitious of a few extremists, it is difficult for foreign Governments to give the Porte credit for what has been achieved under the new régime; for the ordered course of events is liable to be disturbed at any time by a military pronouncement. To seek to abolish the Capitulations before the question of domestic reform has been seriously dealt with can only expose the Porte to loss of face at home and abroad. The foreigner is not likely to show much appreciation for a system of administration which fails to satisfy Armenian, Arab, or even Turk.

III.

The reported abolition of the Capitulations by the Ottoman Government, to which reference has been made elsewhere, has left the city rather cold. The impression is that no step will have been taken by the Government towards the abolition by October 1, and that, as a result, the threat will die its natural death. On the other hand, it is admitted in authoritative circles that the Capitulations are a thorn in Turkey's side, and that their abolition is bound to come—not hastily, as was intended by the Ottoman Government but duly and in good form as soon as the European war is over. For the time being, therefore, the Young Turks will be well advised to let the matter drop. They have shot their bolt, and it will find its mark—after the war.

The Decree of the Muharrem and its Annex are not, it is argued, affected either one way or the other by Turkey's threat. Consequently, the status of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration is not, and cannot be altered in any way until the Decree itself has been modified, and this cannot be done by Turkey without consulting the Powers, as otherwise her credit in Europe would be destroyed. Reuter's message from Constantinople to the effect that it was intended to modify the Decree is therefore taken with a grain of salt, and from inside information I gather that the various Foreign Offices are inclined to regard the report in the same light.—*The New East*.

Public Debt Administration.

"A Bondholder" writes to the *New East* :—

The Capitulations must be abolished for the welfare of the "Ottoman Fatherland." This phrase has the stamp of "made in Germany" about it, but for the past few years—ever since the Revolution, in fact—there has been a growing feeling in Turkey that this thorn in the flesh should be removed.

Let us set aside such aspects of the question as the trial of foreigners in Turkish courts, the abolition of the foreign Post Offices, etc., and see how the disappearance of the Capitulations would affect Turkey economically and how it would influence the foreign creditors of that State.

Should the Ottoman Empire gain her financial freedom she would be able to impose any Customs tariff that would suit her, irrespective of the wishes of the Great Powers, and she could create monopolies and levy new taxes, all of which would be applicable to foreigners resident in the Ottoman Empire. Without entering into the merits of the case, it is evident that the proposed abolition of the Capitulations is a move which the Turkish Government would at any other time have hesitated to make, and is one which, were not Europe otherwise engaged, would create a much deeper impression than has so far been the case. From the point of view of European and American residents and business men in Turkey, however, and of the holders of Turkish stock, it is a move of the first importance.

Until the exact scope of the proposed modifications are known it is not very easy to say how the Ottoman Public Debt Administration will be affected. Whilst during the past years the Turkish Government have scrupulously respected the rights of the bondholders under the Decree of Muharrem and Decree-Annexe, even under the most trying circumstances, the tendency of late has been to get hold—legitimately, of course—of as much of the Debt's money as possible. There can be no doubt that should this new *coup diplomatique* succeed it will affect the Debt administration in many ways, but it is not at all probable that the bondholders themselves will suffer directly. Turkey has shown that she cares for the goodwill of her bondholders, and knows that all hope of foreign financial aid would be lost should she entirely disregard their interests; she feels, however, that this international administration, this *impérisme à império*, is an anomaly

and that the large sums devoted to sinking fund purposes, and in the future could be more usefully employed were they under her immediate control.

In the case of a change in the financial *impérisme à império*, the bondholders may find that, apart from changes in the administration of the Debt itself, such as the possible gradual reduction of the number of foreigners employed, a reduction may be made in the amount set aside annually for sinking fund purposes (thereby lengthening the life of the Debt and not materially affecting the holders of Turkish stock) also a reduction of the amount held in the reserve fund, the sum of two millions being considered by some Turkish financiers as too high.

But, as was stated at the beginning of this article, the Powers and the bondholders have yet to have their say; a bilateral engagement cannot be dissolved by one party by a stroke of the pen, and unless the present situation has completely paralysed all political and financial authority the other parties interested in the Capitulations and the financial agreements entered into by the Ottoman Government will still have a good deal to say in the matter.



With the Germans.

Treatment of Belgian People.

From the Headquarters in the Field of the Ninth German Army, Mr. E. Alexander Powell, the *New York World* and the *Daily Chronicle* special correspondent, writes :—

Three weeks ago the Government of Belgium requested me to place before the American people, through the medium of the *New York World*, a list of specific and authenticated atrocities committed by German armies upon Belgian non-combatants. To-day General von Boehn, commanding the Ninth Imperial Field Army, and acting as mouthpiece of the German General Staff has asked me to place before the American people the German version of the incidents in question. So far as I am aware, I am the only correspondent in the present war who has motored for an entire day through the ranks of the advancing German army, has dined as guest of a German army commander and his staff, and has had the progress of the army on the march arrested so as to obtain photographs of German troops. This experience came about in a curious way. After the encounter in the streets of Ghent on Tuesday last between a German military automobile and a Belgian armoured car in which two German soldiers were wounded, the American Vice-Consul, Mr. Van Hee, persuaded the burgomaster to accompany him immediately to the headquarters of General von Boehn, commanding the Ninth German Army to explain the circumstances and to ask that the city should not be held responsible for this unfortunate affair.

In conversation with Van Hee, General von Boehn remarked that copies of the *New York World* containing articles written by Mr. Alexander Powell criticising German treatment of the Belgian civil population had come to his attention, and he regretted he could not have the opportunity to talk with Mr. Powell and give him the German version. Mr. Van Hee said that by a fortunate coincidence I happened to be in Ghent, whereupon the General asked him to bring me out to dinner on the following day, and he issued a safe conduct for me through the German lines.

I took with me the *New York World's* war photographer, Mr. Donald Thompson. As I was in some doubt as to the propriety of taking my Belgian military driver into the German lines I drove the car myself.

RESCUE OF GERMAN SOLDIERS.

Before we passed the city limits of Ghent things began to happen. Entering a street which leads through a section inhabited by the working classes we found ourselves in the midst of a mob of several thousand excited Flemings. Above the sea of angry faces rose the figures of two German soldiers, mounted on work horses. It seems that they had strayed into the city by mistake. As we approached a burly Belgian raised his case, and the crowd made a concerted rush for the Germans. A blast from our siren opened a line through the crowd, and I drove the car alongside the terrified Germans.

"Quick," shouted Van Hee in German: "off your horses. Get into the car. Hide your rifles. Sit on the floor, and keep out of sight!"

The crowd, seeing its prey escaping, surged around us with a roar. For an instant thing looked very ticklish indeed. Van Hee jumped on the seat. "I am the American Consul," he shouted. "These men are under my protection. You are civilians attacking German soldiers in uniform. If a hair of these men's heads is harmed, your city will be burned about your ears!"

At that moment a Belgian shouldered his way through the crowd and leapt on to the running board. Quick as thought Thompson knocked up the man's hands, and at the same instant I threw on the power and the big car leapt forward, the mob scattering like autumn leaves before it.

GHENT'S LUCKY ESCAPE.

It was close call for everyone concerned, but much closer call for Ghent, for had those German soldiers been murdered no power on earth could have saved the city from German vengeance. General Von Boehn told me so himself. After describing a farcical incident at Setteghem Mr. Powell's message proceeds: half a mile out of Setteghem our road was debouched into a great highway which leads through Lille to Paris, and we suddenly found ourselves in the midst of the German army. It was a sight never to be forgotten. Far as eye could see stretched out in solid columns were marching men pressing westward, ever westward. The army was advancing in three mighty columns along three parallel roads, the dense masses of moving men in their elusive grey uniforms looking for all the world like three monstrous serpents crawling across the countryside. American flags which fluttered from our windshield proved passports in themselves, and as we approached, the close-locked ranks parted to let us through. For five solid hours, travelling always at express train speed, we motored between walls of marching men.

In time the constant shuffle of boots and rhythmic swing of grey-clad arms and shoulders grew maddening, and I became obsessed with the fear that I would send the car plunging into the human hedge on either side. It seemed as though their ranks were interminable and would never end, and so far as we were concerned they never did, for we never saw the head of that mighty column. We passed regiment after regiment, bridge after bridge of infantry, after them Hussars, Uhlans, cuirassiers, field batteries, more infantry, more field guns, ambulances, then siege guns, each drawn by 30 horses, engineers, telephone corps, pontoon waggons, armoured motor-cars, more Uhlans, the sunlight gleaming on their forest of lances, more infantry in spike helmets, all sweeping by as irresistibly as a mighty river, their faces turned toward France. This was the 9th. Field Army, composed of the very flower of the empire, including the magnificent troops of the Imperial Guard. It is first and last a fighting army. The men are all young, and they struck me as being keen as razors and hard as nails.

ENORMOUS FIELD GUNS.

The horses are magnificent, I have never seen better. The field guns of the Imperial Guard are almost twice the size of any used in our (American) army. But most interesting of all, of course, were five gigantic howitzers (each drawn by 16 pairs of horses), which can tear a city to pieces at a distance of a dozen miles. Every contingency seems to have been foreseen. The maps of Belgium with which every soldier is provided are the finest example of topography I have ever seen; every path, farm, building and clump of trees being shown. At one place a huge army wagon containing a complete printing press was drawn up beside the road, and a morning edition of "Deutsche Krieger Zeitung" was being printed and distributed to the passing men. It contained nothing but accounts of German victories of which I had never heard, but which seemed to greatly cheer the men.

Field kitchens rumbled down the lines serving steaming soup and coffee to the men, who held out tin cups, and had them filled without once breaking step. There were wagons filled with army cobblers sitting cross-legged on the floor mending soldiers' shoes just as though they were back in their little shops in the Fatherland. Other wagons, which were to all appearances ordinary two-wheeled farm carts, hid under their arched canvas covers nine machine guns, which could instantly be brought into action.

FIELD TELEPHONES

The medical corps was magnificent, as businesslike and perfectly equipped and efficient as a great city hospital. Men on bicycles with coils of insulated wire strung, field telephones from tree to tree, so that the General commanding could converse with any part of the fifty mile long column. The whole army never sleeps. When half is resting the other half is advancing. The soldiers are treated as valuable machines which must be speeded up to the highest possible efficiency. Therefore, they are well-fed, well shod, well clothed, and worked as a negro teamster works a mule. Only men who are well cared for can march thirty-five miles a day week in and week out. Only once did I see a man mistreated. A sentry on duty in front of General Headquarters failed to salute an officer with sufficient promptness, whereupon the officer lashed him again and again across the face with his riding whip. Though welts rose at every blow the soldier stood rigidly at attention and never quivered.

As we were passing a German outpost a sentry ran out and signalled us to stop. "Are you American?" said he, "We are," said I. "Then I have orders to take you to the commandant," said he. "But I am on my way to see General von Boehn, I have a pass signed by the General himself," said I. "No matter," the man stubbornly insisted, "you must come with me to the commandant; he has so ordered."

So there was nothing for it but to go with the soldier. We had visions of prison cells and courts-martial and firing parties, though we tried to laugh it off.

BROUGHT BEFORE COMMANDANT.

We found the commandant and his officers quartered in a farmhouse. He proved to be a stout, florid-faced, boisterous captain of infantry.

"I am sorry to delay you," he said "but I ordered the sentries to stop the first American car that passed along the road; I have a brother in America, and I want to send a letter to him. You will send it to him."

"I'll do better than that, Captain," said I. "If you will give me his name, and if he takes the 'New York World,' he will read to-morrow morning at breakfast that I have met you." So that Mr. F. Zur Nedden, consulting engineer of 38, Pennsylvania avenue, Rosetank, New York, will be glad to know that I left his soldier brother comfortably quartered in a farmhouse on the outskirts of Renaix, in excellent health, but drinking more red wine than is likely to be good for him.

It was considerably past mid-day, and we were within a few miles of the French frontier, when we saw a guidon which signifies the presence of the head of the army, planted at the entrance to a splendid old chateau. As we passed through the iron gates, and whirled up the stately tree-lined drive, and drew up in front of the terrace a dozen officers in staff uniform came running out to meet us, and for a few minutes I felt as though I was being welcomed to a country house in America instead of to the headquarters of the German army in the field.

So perfect was the field telephone service that the staff had been able to keep in touch with our progress along the lines, and were waiting dinner for us.

OFFICERS ALL SPEAK ENGLISH.

General von Boehn I found to be a red-faced grey-moustached, jovial old warrior, who seemed very much worried for fear we were not getting enough to eat, and, particularly, enough to drink. He explained that the Belgian owners of the chateau had had the bad taste to run away and take servants with them, leaving only one bottle of champagne in the cellar. That bottle was good, as far as it went, however. Nearly all of the officers spoke English, and during the meal the conversation was all of the United States, for one of them had been attached to the Embassy in Washington, and another had attended the army school at Fort Riley. After dinner we grouped ourselves on the terrace in the self-conscious attitudes people always assume when having their pictures taken and Thompson made some photographs. I am forwarding them to-day. They are probably the only ones in this war at least, of a German General and an American war correspondent who is not under arrest. Then we gathered about the tables on which was spread a staff map of the war area, and got down to serious business.

General von Boehn began by asserting that the accounts of the atrocities perpetrated on Belgian non-combatants were a tissue of lies.

"Look at these officers about you," he said; "they are gentlemen like yourselves. Look at the soldiers marching past in the road out there. They are most of them the fathers of families. Surely you do not believe that they would do the things they been accused of."

"Three days ago, General," I said, "I was in Aerschot. The whole town is now but a ghastly, blackened, bloodstained ruin!"

"When we entered Aerschot," he replied, "the son of the Burgomaster came into the room, drew a revolver, and assassinated my Chief of Staff. What followed was only retribution. The townspeople only got what they deserved!"

"But why wreak your vengeance on women and children?"

"None have been killed," the General asserted positively.

"I'm sorry to contradict you, General," I asserted, with equal positiveness, "but I have myself seen their mutilated bodies. So has Mr. Gibson, Secretary of the American Legation at Brussels, who was present during the destruction of Louvain."

"IT IS WAR!"

"Of course there is always danger of women and children being killed during street fighting," said that General, "if they insist on coming into the street. It is unfortunate but it is war."

"But how about the woman whose body I saw with the hands and feet cut off? How about the white-haired man and his son whom I helped to bury outside of Sempat, and who had been killed merely because the retreating Belgians had shot a German soldier outside their house. There were 22 bayonet wounds in the old man's face. I counted them. How about the little girl, two years old, shot while in her mother's arm by a Uhlans, and whose funeral I attended at Heystop-den-Berg? How about the old man that was hung from the rafters of his house by the hands and roasted to death by a bonfire being built under him?"

The General seemed somewhat taken aback by the amount and exactures of my data. "Such things are horrible if they are true," he said. "Of course, our soldiers, like soldiers in all armies, sometimes get out of hand, and do things which we would never tolerate."

if we knew it. At Louvain, for example, I sentenced two soldiers to 12 years' penal servitude apiece for assaulting a woman."

WHY LOUVAIN WAS BURNED.

"Apropos of Louvain," I remarked, "why did you destroy the library? It was one of the literary storehouses of the world."

"We regretted that as much as anyone else," answered the General.

"It caught fire from the burning houses, and we could not save it."

"But why did you burn Louvain at all?" I asked.

"Because the townspeople fired on our troops. We actually found machine-guns in some of the houses; and," smashing his fist down upon the table, "whenever civilians fire upon our troops we will teach them a lasting lesson. If the women and children insist on getting in the way of bullets, so much the worse for women and children."

BOMBARDMENT OF ANTWERP.

"How do you explain the bombardment of Antwerp by Zeppelins?" I queried.

"The Zeppelins have orders to drop their bombs only on fortifications and soldiers," he answered.

"As a matter of fact," I remarked, "they destroyed only private houses and innocent civilians, several of them women. If one of those bombs had dropped 200 yards nearer my hotel I wouldn't be smoking one of your excellent cigars to-day."

"That is a calamity which, thank God, didn't happen," he replied.

"If you feel for my safety as deeply as that, General," I said earnestly, "you can make quite sure of my coming to no harm by sending no more Zeppelins."

"Well Herr Powell," said he, laughing, "we will think about it, and," he continued gravely, "trust that you will tell the American people through your great paper what I have told you to-day. Let them hear our side of this atrocious business. It is only justice that they should be made familiar with both sides of the question."

I have quoted my conversation with General von Bochn as nearly verbatim as I can remember it. I have no comments to make. I will leave it to the readers of *The World* to decide for themselves just how convincing are the answers of the German General to the Belgian accusations. Before we began conversation, I asked the General if Thompson might be permitted to take photographs of the great army which was passing. Five minutes later Thompson was whirled away in a military motor car, piloted by the officer who had attended the army school at fort Ruy. It seems that they stopped the car beside the road in a place where the light was good and when Thompson saw approaching a regiment or battery of which he wished a picture, he would tell the officer, whereupon the officer would blow a whistle and the whole column would halt.

STOPPED GERMAN ARMY.

Thus far the only one who has succeeded in halting a German Army is this little photographer from Kansas. A field battery of the Imperial Guard rumbled past, and Thompson made some remark about the accuracy of American gunners at Vera Cruz. "Let us show you what our gunners can do," said the officer, and gave an order.

There were more orders, a perfect volley of them, a single shrilled harshly, the eight horses strained against their collars, the drivers cracked their whips, and the gun left the road, bounded across the ditch, and swung into position in the adjacent field. On a knoll three miles away an ancient windmill was beating the air with its huge wings. The shell hit the windmill fair and square, and tore it into splinters.

"Good work," Thompson observed critically. "If those fellows of yours keep on, they'll be able to get a job in the American navy after the war."

In all the annals of modern war, I do not believe that there is parallel to this American war photographer, halting with upraised and peremptory hand an advancing army, and leisurely photographing regiment after regiment, and then having a field gun of the Imperial Guard go into action solely to gratify his curiosity.

CONTROLLED FROM BERLIN.

They have been very cautious and hospitable to me, these German officers, and I have been immensely interested in all that I have seen. But when all is said and done, they impress me not as human beings, who have weaknesses and virtues, likes and dislikes of their own, but rather as parts, more or less important, of a mighty and highly efficient machine, which is directed and controlled by a cold and calculating intelligence in faraway Berlin. That machine has about as much human element in it as a steam roller, as a meat-chopper, as the death-chair at Sing-Sing. Its mission is to crush, pulverize, obliterate, destroy, and no considerations of civilization or civility, or humanity will effect it. These Germans, with their

grim set faces and their monotonous uniforms, and the ceaseless shuffle, shuffle, shuffle of their boots, are getting on my nerves. My car is at the door. I am going back to my friends the Belgians.



The Turning Of The Tide.

(September 19, 1914.)

RARELY in military history has the whole aspect of a war changed so rapidly in a brief ten days as the campaign in the North of France. A fortnight ago we were watching, with such stoicism as we could command, the apparently irresistible advance of five German armies upon Paris. The French Government had abandoned the capital, and though we told ourselves that no French army had yet been broken, the history of them all was a uniform and rather rapid retreat. We feared that their centre might be broken. We could not be sure that the forts from Verdun to Toul could make a better defence than Namur or Mauberge. We looked forward to a long Fabian campaign, which would at last be decided by the slow pressure of Russia on the East. We must recall this gloomy moment if we would measure what has happened since official France withdrew from Paris to Bordeaux. We described last week the turn of the tide. It has flowed rapidly since then. The five German armies, whose cavalry had actually got down to the Seine Valley, and whose main bodies were far below the Marne, have been forced back beyond the Aisne, driven to the north of Verdun, and expelled from the narrow western triangle which lies between the forts and the German frontier. Away to the north west, the shallow waves of the German tide have flowed backwards, and we are already counting the days which will bring the retirement of the Germans to the line of the Franco-Belgian frontier or beyond it. We can follow the vast retirement on the map but we know too little as yet to translate it definitely into terms of military mechanics. The Allies dealt their hardest blows on the two flanks, and it was probably the enforced retreat of von Kluck in the west and the Crown Prince in the east, each under the menace of envelopment, which forced the centre to retreat. For some time it seemed to be a parallel battle. When we know more of the real facts, it may turn out that the decisive factor was always the pressure of a fresh Allied force from Amiens and the north-west, which might, if the retreat had been delayed, have taken von Kluck in his rear.

What is the explanation of this sudden change of fortune? There are several theories in the field. The romantic school shot its bolt with the legend of a Russian landing, and that fiction has vanished, to leave us marvelling at the fallibility of human testimony. Others maintained that the Germans were exhausted and demoralized, and that familiar observer who haunts every battlefield and sees the reluctant enemy being driven into the fight at the point of his officers' swords, put forward the usual explanation. There is no evidence of demoralization. Stragglers, of course, have been cut off, and isolated detachments have surrendered. Here and there on the vast front it is likely enough that men have gone hungry, and that the supplies of ammunition have failed. But the facts as we know them do not suggest demoralization. The Germans have lost in this retreat nothing like the number of prisoners which the Allies lost in their earlier retirement. The British force lost about a tenth of its numbers in prisoners. It is unlikely that the Germans have lost a hundredth. Some guns have been captured, but only in fours and fives at a time. The theory of a collapse in the German moral must be abandoned, though we may be sure that the army which thought it was about to enter Paris, as disheartened as it retraces its steps. More plausible is the subtle suggestion that General Joffre deliberately withdrew, first from Mons and Charleroi, then from Laon and even from Reims in the first stage of the campaign on a deliberate plan, with the intention of returning to the offensive at a calculated moment. That is a retrospective fancy. The risks of such a plan are too great—the danger to morale, the loss of material, the burden thrown on non-combatants. Each and all of these theories must be abandoned. The Allies fell back in the first instance, because they were forced to fall back. They resumed the offensive when the enemy was relatively weakened. But how was he weakened?

We need not look for romantic or subtle explanations. The thing has happened which all of us foresaw must one day happen. The Russian pressure has drawn off some part of the driving force of the German invasion. The Russians themselves proclaimed this fact long ago, and for our part we were slow to accept it. It seemed to us so clear that for the Germans the task of crushing the French must be the first consideration, that we could not believe them capable of this mistake. They certainly were under no real necessity. The rapid advance of the Russians into East Prussia was, no doubt,

The Comrade.

...entirely wrong for a great military power to endure. But the Russians, after all, were not in great force in East Prussia. This was not the beginning of their advance on Berlin. It was a preliminary operation. Russian Poland pushes a great wedge into Germany, but the Russians cannot use it for their advance until they have cleared their flanks. They were obliged, on the north, to advance into Prussia, while on the south they dealt with Austria. These operations demanded time, and the clear interest of the Germans was to use that time to hammer the Allies in the west with all their weight and all their speed. They began well. What led them to compromise their success?

The reason, we suspect, was largely political, and it proves once more the fallacy of all militarism. It may plan its campaigns on grand lines of well-reasoned mechanics, but the human factor commonly disturbs its reckoning. Of human factors in this case there were two. The Russians did not merely advance in Prussia; they drove its civil population before them. Crowds of refugees, with the traditional German terror of the Cossack in their hearts, were pouring into Berlin. They looked woe-begone, and they told tales, partly true and partly false, like all refugees' tales, of burning towns and all the horrors of a war of hate. We suspect that this was too much for German pride. The insult of this invasion had to be wiped out. From the South we can well imagine the appeals that would come from Vienna. If Austria were a true national State, the defeat of her northern armies, partly on foreign soil in Russian Poland, and partly in her isolated, out-lying province of Galicia, would have meant for her nothing more decisive, nothing more fatal than the temporary occupation of her northern departments meant for France. But Austria is not a national State. A defeat like this, when no cement of national patriotism holds her diverse populations together, might well prove fatal. If Vienna called to Berlin for aid, it would not be merely to save her armies, but to save her Empire. This double appeal from Prussia and Austria seems to have had its effect. We can hardly doubt now that some of Germany's first line troops were withdrawn from the western to the eastern theatre. It was probably not a simple operation. The veterans and the half-trained were sent westward to replace the loss. There may have been no actual diminution in numbers. But a diminution in the effective striking force there probably was, apart from the losses in killed and wounded which had reduced the Kaiser's armies in their prodigal mass attacks. Another factor may well have contributed to this error. The Germans believed that they had put Sir John French's force out of action, and they under-estimated the spirit and the recuperative powers of our Allies. They reduced their forces in France, and they have paid the penalty.

Russian pressure has told, but the price has been heavy. Our newspapers were at first sceptical of the German claim that they had destroyed Samsonoff's army and taken 80,000 prisoners. On the whole, we think this defeat was not exaggerated. The Russians lost an army of three corps, and the whole work done in East Prussia will have to be done over again. On the other hand, everything has gone well in Galicia, and the reinforcements which were hurried up from Breslau came far too late to save the situation there. The hasty division of her forces has justified itself from Germany's standpoint only in one area of the field, and that the least important. East Prussia has been saved, but Austria's ruin (with the Serbs still successful in the South) is not to be averted, and in France the German advance has become a retreat, orderly and dignified, it is true, emphasized by no disasters, but still a decided and probably irreparable retreat. We may look forward ere long to a counter-offensive in the West, perhaps through Belgium, possibly through Lorraine, most probably through both. A month hence we may also be watching the invasion of Germany in earnest by the Russians. When that moment comes, the possibility of a German triumph will have gone, and the only question will be how far her own obstinacy and the exigencies of the Allies demand that the offensive against her must be pushed.—The Nation.



The Secret of a Battle.

How The Russians Lost 140,000 Men.

The fullest account yet published in this country of the German victory over the Russians in the East Prussia on August 26-28 is given by the Petrograd correspondent of the "Birmingham Daily Post" in a letter which was delayed in transmission.

It should be remembered that the Russians were making a great effort to relieve the pressure on their allies in the west by pushing forward boldly the invasion on the east. Though Samsonoff's defeat meant a sacrifice of 140,000 men killed, wounded, and captured, the effort was successful in drawing off at least two German army corps from France and bringing altogether several hundred thousand German troops to the eastern front.

The correspondent of the "Birmingham Daily Post" writes:—The Hohenstein is the most decisive battle yet fought. The battle, as described to me by the slightly wounded Captain Piotr Irinoff, of the staff of the Sixth Army Corps, half of which occupied, was a very simple affair. General Samsonoff with 200,000 men, advanced into the Allenstein "Bezirk" of East Prussia, meeting practically no opposition. His plan was to collaborate with Rennenkampf, who had entered via Stallupoenen and Insterburg, in a frontal attack upon the Vistula line. This line bristled with powerful fortresses. At the same time two other Russian armies (Russia before the destruction of Samsonoff's force had nine armies in the field) were to turn the flank of the German position, via Posen.

The Russians seem to have been over-confident and to have been misled by the current talk about Germany's extraordinary weakness in the east, her concentration of all good troops on the Belgian-French theatre, and so on. As a fact the Germans had in East Prussia about 200,000 men, or nearly half the strength of the Russians. These were mostly Landwehr, but they were superior to the Russians in every factor except age. They had splendid field artillery, a park of howitzers, about twelve of the famous 42-centimetre guns used with such effect in the west, the use of their own railways (which the Russians, having no rolling stock of German gauge, could not use), and splendid automobile transport. On paper far inferior in numbers, their mobility ensured them a superiority at every threatened point.

AN AGGRESSIVE OLD GENERAL.

The Germans, in addition to other assets, had Hindenburg, an old man, taken out of retirement to command Landwehr troops, but an extremely confident and aggressive commander. Hindenburg is known here. He made a stir in military circles ten years ago by a series of lectures called "Always the Attack." This policy he put into force. He knows that Samsonoff had somewhat imprudently rushed into the Masurian plain, which is nothing but lake, bog, and swamp. A defeat there meant disaster.

Samsonoff was taking the offensive at the moment when Hindenburg was threatening his flanks. After occupying Allenstein, the capital of the "Bezirk" and peace headquarters of a Prussian army corps, Samsonoff set out to advance along the main railway line to Osterode and Deutsch Eylau (the last in West Prussia). East of Allenstein, on the morning of the 26th, Samsonoff met strong opposition from a Landwehr force, which though small, was powerfully backed by artillery from the Vistula line. Samsonoff never reached Osterode. Hindenburg, who held the railway line from Warburg to Gardenen, had concentrated a very big force north of Warburg and Bischofsstein. Samsonoff did not suspect this. The Germans advanced south, and after thirty-six hours' fighting occupied Passenheim, a town in the middle of the swamp and lake district. Samsonoff's right wing was now completely turned.

Still harder fighting took place on the Russian left wing, where the attacking Germans were weaker. The German objective was Neidenburg. The advance was from Loban, Lautenburg, and Soldan. When Neidenburg was captured, the Russians, if they failed to break through, were practically doomed. Their main force, still fighting desperate against the German centre west of Hohenstein, had behind it nothing but lakes and swamps, and even through this country the gap for retreat was not more than twenty miles broad.

A MASSACRE BY BIG GUNS.

The battle ended by the outlying Russians being driven in on their centre, mowed down as they fought in close formation by the German artillery, and utterly destroyed as they attempted to retreat. Only the First Army Corps and half the sixth, neither of which was seriously engaged, got away. The eight, ninth, tenth, and twenty-third, and half the sixth, numbering in all about 140,000, were wholly destroyed. The Russians killed is estimated at 11,000; the number of prisoners was 90,000. As none escaped it may be assumed that over 80,000 were wounded. These corps did not succeed in saving one gun. Most of the guns were run into the lakes or abandoned half-submerged in the swamps.

Although only Russian accounts of this battle are available, there is no doubt that the Russians fought well, and, allowing for their initial mistake, showed great skill. Their attempt to break the German left at Passenheim so as to escape north and join hands with Rennenkampf nearly succeeded. The Russians got again and again into the German trenches. The Germans on the second day were forced altogether to abandon Passenheim, and were in full retreat on Allenstein. This retreat, if completed, would have freed the enclosed Russians. But the Germans at the critical moment brought heavy artillery by motor transport from Guttstadt, and began what was practically a massacre of the

24th October.

The Comrade.

293

Some Russian units were concentrated on the railway between Lake Rogen and the lake on which Posenheim stands.

A Sergeant Who Saved Half A Corps.

Captain Irinoff told me stories of the counter-attack on Posenheim which show the Russians in a highly creditable fight. A private soldier named Karpoff alone marched stolidly towards the German guns after every man in his company was killed, wounded, or had retired. The Germans in amazement ceased shooting, and took Karpoff prisoner. "It is the one sporting thing they have done," said Irinoff. "They are fighting on painfully business-like, unromantic principles." A German telegram to hand via Copenhagen, says that the total German losses in this battle were only 9,000. This is a big underestimate if Irinoff's story is correct.

Russian private soldiers and non-coms. performed miracles in this disastrous battle. The half of the Sixth Army Corps, and with it Irinoff, were saved by a sergeant who is variously called Petrovitch and Petrovitsky. This man led a forlorn hope and recaptured a redoubt defending an important embankment which was the sole path of escape between two marshes. The sergeant played a clever ruse on the Germans, and got his men within bayonet reach by leading them through a covered drain. He was killed by the last German in the redoubt.



Mr. Asquith's Speech.

German Chancellor's Reply.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg has sent the following statement to the Danish Press Bureau for publication:

The English Prime Minister, in his Guildhall speech, reserved to England the role of protector of the smaller and weaker States, and spoke about the neutrality of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland as being exposed to danger from the side of Germany. It is true that we have broken Belgium's neutrality because bitter necessity compelled us to do so, but we promised Belgium full indemnity and integrity if she would take account of this state of necessity. If she would not have suffered any damage, as, for example, Luxemburg. If England, as protector of the weaker States, had wished to spare Belgium infinite suffering she should have advised Belgium to accept our offer. England has not "protected" Belgium, so far as we know; I wonder, therefore, whether it can really be said that England is such a disinterested protector.

We knew perfectly well that the French plan of campaign involved a march through Belgium to attack the unprotected Rhineland. Does anyone believe England would have interfered to Belgian freedom against France?

We have firmly respected the neutrality of Holland and Switzerland; we have also avoided the slightest violation of the frontier of the Dutch province of Limburg.

It is strange that Mr. Asquith only mentioned the neutrality of Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, but not that of the Scandinavian countries. He might have mentioned Switzerland with reference to France, but Holland and Belgium are situated close to England on the opposite side of the Channel, and that is why England is so concerned for the neutrality of these countries.

Why is Mr. Asquith silent about the Scandinavian countries? Perhaps because he knows that it does not enter our head to touch these countries' neutrality; or would England possibly not consider Denmark's neutrality as a *noli me tangere* for an advance in the Baltic or for Russia's warlike operations.

Mr. Asquith wishes people to believe that England's fight against us is a fight of freedom against might. The world is accustomed to this manner of expression. In the name of freedom England, with might and with the most recklessly egotistic policy, has founded her mighty Colonial Empire, in the name of freedom she had destroyed for a century the independence of the Boer Republics, in the name of freedom she now treats Egypt as an English colony and thereby violates international treaties and solemn promises, in the name of freedom one after another of the Malay States is losing its independence for England's benefit, in the name of freedom she tries, by cutting German cables, to prevent the truth being spread in the world.

The English Prime Minister is mistaken. When England joined with Russia and Japan against Germany she, with a blindness unique in the history of the world, betrayed civilisation and handed over to the German sword the cause of freedom for European peoples and States.

Sir E. Grey's Answer.

The following statement was issued on the 15th September with the authority of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with regard to the communication made by the German Chancellor to the Danish Press Bureau:

"Does anyone believe," asks the German Chancellor, "that England would have interfered to protect Belgium freedom against France?" The answer is that she would unquestionably have done so. Sir Edward Grey, as recorded in the *White-paper*, asked the French Government "whether it was prepared to engage to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other Power violates it." The French Government replied that they were resolved to respect it. The assurance, it was added, had been given several times, and had formed the subject of conversation between President Poincare and the King of the Belgians.

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY.

The German Chancellor entirely ignores the fact that England took the same line about Belgian neutrality in 1870 that she has taken now. In 1870 Prince Bismarck, when approached by England on the subject, admitted and respected the treaty obligations in relation to Belgium.

The British Government stands in 1914 as it stood in 1870; it is Herr von Bethmann Hollweg who refused to meet us in 1914 as Prince Bismarck met us in 1870.

The Imperial Chancellor finds it strange that Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall speech did not mention the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries, and suggests that the reason for the omission was some sinister design on England's part. It is impossible for any public speaker to cover the whole ground in each speech. The German Chancellor's reference to Denmark and other Scandinavian countries can hardly be considered very tactful. With regard to Denmark the Danes are not likely to have forgotten the parts played by Prussia and England respectively in 1863-4 when the kingdom of Denmark was dismembered. And the integrity of Norway and Sweden was guaranteed by England and France in the Treaty of Stockholm in 1855.

LOYAL SOUTH AFRICA.

The Imperial Chancellor refers to the dealings of Great Britain with the Boer Republics, and suggested that she has been false therein to the cause of freedom. Without going into controversies, now happily past, we may recall what General Botha said in the South African Parliament a few days ago, when expressing his conviction of the righteousness of Britain's cause and explaining the firm resolve of the South African Union to aid her in every possible way—

Great Britain had given them a constitution under which they could create a great nationality, and had ever since regarded them as a free people and as a sister State. Although there might be many who in the past had been hostile towards the British flag he could vouch for it that they would ten times rather be under the British than under the German flag.

The German Chancellor is equally unfortunate in his references to the "Colonial Empire." So far from British policy having been "recklessly egotistic," it has resulted in a great rally of affection and common interest by all the British Dominions and dependencies, among which there is no one which is not aiding Britain by soldiers or other contributions, or both, in this war.

MILITARY NECESSITY.

With regard to the matter of treaty obligations generally, the German Chancellor excuses the breach of Belgian neutrality by military necessity—at the same time making a virtue of having respected the neutrality of Holland and Switzerland, and saying that it does not enter his head to touch the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries. A virtue which admittedly is only practised in the absence of temptation from self-interest and military advantage does not seem greatly worth vaunting.

To the Chancellor's concluding statement, that "to the German sword" is entrusted "the cause of freedom for European peoples and States," the treatment of Belgium is a sufficient answer.



German Theologians.

Manifesto on their Country's Guiltlessness.

A document has reached us from American sources, says the *Westminster Gazette*, which is being widely circulated by German propagandists in the United States and other neutral countries, and, we are assured, having considerable influence in religious circles in those countries. This is a manifesto "To the Evangelical Christians

abroad, drawn up and signed by a group of German theologians, some of them men of great eminence, whose names we will give presently, protesting that Germany is guiltless of "the fratricidal war in which the Christian peoples of Europe are about to rend one another." It is written with obvious sincerity, and deserves much more respect than would ordinarily be given to literature of this kind. We, therefore, make no apology for examining it carefully in the hope that by so doing we may incite some of our leading theologians in this country to present the British case with the same fervour.

The German theologians begin by declaring that a "systematic network of lies, controlling the international telegraph service, is endeavouring in other lands to cast upon our people and its Government the guilt for the outbreak of this war, and has dared to dispute the inner right of us and our Emperor to invoke the assistance of God." From this they proceed to paint a picture of their country as devoted to peace and as having applied herself to removing or diminishing the danger of war, whenever it has arisen in other lands.

Her ideal was peaceful work. She has contributed a worthy share to the cultural wealth of the modern world. She has not dreamed of depriving others of light and air. She desired to thrust no one from his place. In friendly competition with other peoples she has developed the gifts which God had given her. Her industry brought her rich fruit. She won also a modest share in the task of colonisation in the primitive world, and was exerting herself to offer her contribution to the remoulding of Eastern Asia. She has left no one, who is willing to see the truth, in doubt as to her peaceful disposition. Only under the compulsion to repel a wanton attack she has now drawn the sword.

Clearly these theologians are unacquainted with the works of their national historians and philosophers, Treitschke, Nietzsche, Bernhardi and others, and with the aggressive and offensive doctrines invented by these men, which we now see being put into practice in France and Belgium. There follows an account of the pre-war diplomacy, which we may assume to be that generally accepted by good and quiet people in Germany.

As our government was exerting itself to localise the justifiable vengeance for an abominable royal murder, and to avoid the outbreak of war between two neighbouring Great Powers, one of them, whilst invoking the mediation of our Emperor proceeded (in spite of its pledged word) to threaten our frontiers, and compelled us to protect our land from being ravaged by Asiatic barbarism. Then our adversaries were joined also by those who by blood and history and faith are our brothers, with whom we felt ourselves in the common world task more closely bound than with almost any other nation. Over against a world in arms we recognise clearly that we have to defend our existence, our individuality, our culture, and our honour.

There is nothing here of the ultimatum to Serbia, so drawn that, to the knowledge of those who drew it, it must have been interpreted as a direct challenge to Russia of the refusal to extend the time-limit, so that diplomacy might get to work, of the rejection by Germany of Sir Edward Grey's proposal of a Conference, of her refusal to bring any moderating influence to bear upon Austria, or of the cause which ultimately compelled Great Britain to come in. All these aspects of the matter, and especially the last, no doubt presented difficulties to the theologians, but that scarcely excuses the extreme disingenuousness with which an allusion to the violation of Belgian neutrality is slipped into a charge of atrocity against certain persons unnamed.

Unnameable horrors have been committed against Germans living peacefully abroad—against women and children, against wounded and physicians—cruelty and shamelessness such as a heathen and many Mahomedan war has not revealed. Are these the fruits, by which the non-Christian peoples are to recognise whose disciples the Christian nations are? Even the not unnatural excitement of a people, whose neutrality—already violated by our adversaries—could under the pressure of implacable necessity not be respected, affords no excuse for inhumanities, nor does it lessen the shame that such could take place in a land long ago christianised.

The purpose of this passage is plain—it is to cover up that part of the case which is wholly unarguable from any moral or Christian point of view by an audacious attack upon the victims of German aggression. This passage bears internal evidence of having been invented by some official special pleader and fastened upon the theologians, or we should be compelled to stigmatise it as a peculiarly shameless invention for ministers of the Gospel. We greatly prefer Herr von Bethmann Hollweg's blunt admission that Germany was doing wrong. There follows an unfounded assertion that natives of Africa are being led into arms against each other, and "flourishing mission-fields trampled in ruin" by the enemies of Germany. Finally, the complaint is raised that "heathen Japan is now also called under the pretext of an alliance into the war which the Omar has openly proclaimed as the decisive campaign against Teutonism and Protestantism."

The concluding passage we will give in full, for it is written in a strain which deserves sympathy and respect, and it expresses what all Christian peoples would desire to believe about the action of their country and Government.

Our Christian friends abroad know how joyfully we German Christians greeted the fellowship in faith and service which the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference left as a sacred legacy to Protestant Christendom; they know also how we have, to the best of our ability, co-operated in order that among the Christian nations, with their competing political and economic interests, there should arise a Christianity united and joyous in the recognition of the task entrusted to it by God. It was also to us a matter of conscience to remove by every means political misunderstandings and ill-feelings and to assist in bringing about friendly relations between the nations. We have now to endure the taunt that we have believed in the power of the Christian faith to conquer the wickedness of those who are seeking war, and we encounter the reproach that our efforts for peace have only served to conceal from our people the true attitude of their enemies, nevertheless we do not regret that we have thus endeavoured to promote peace. Our people could not enter into this struggle with so clear a conscience if leading men of its ecclesiastical, scientific, and commercial life had not in such manifold ways exerted themselves to make this fratricidal strife impossible.

Not for the sake of our people, whose sword is bright and keen, for the sake of the unique world-task of the Christian peoples in the decisive hour of the world-mission, we now address ourselves to the evangelical Christians abroad in neutral and inimical lands.

We are hoping that through God there should arise from the responsibility of the hour a stream of new life for the Christian peoples. Already we were able to trace in our German Churches the powerful effects of this blessing, and the fellowship with the Christians of other lands in obedience to the universal commission of Jesus was to us a service of sacred joy.

If this fellowship is now irreparably destroyed: if the peoples among whom missions and brotherly love had begun to be a power lapse into savagery in murderous war through hate and bitterness, if a simply incurable rent has been made in Teutonic Protestantism; if Christian Europe forfeits a notable portion of her position in the sacred springs from which her peoples should derive their own life and should offer it to others are corrupted and choked; the guilt of this rests, this we hereby declare before our Christian brethren of other lands with calm certainty, not on our people. We know full well, that through this sanguinary judgment God is also calling our nation to repentance, and we rejoice that she is hearing His holy voice and turning to Him. But in this we know that we are at one with all the Christians among our people, that we can and must repudiate on their behalf and on behalf of their Government the responsibility for the terrible crime of this war and all its consequences for the development of the Kingdom of God on earth. With the deepest conviction we must attribute it to those who have long secretly and cunningly been spinning a web of conspiracy against Germany, which now they have flung over us in order to strangle us therein.

We direct our appeal to the conscience of our Christian brethren in other lands, and press upon them the question, what God now requires of them, and what can and must take place, in order that through blindness and unscrupulousness in God's great hour of the missionary enterprise, Christendom shall not be robbed of its power and of its right to serve as His messenger to non-Christian humanity.

The Holy God carries on His work to His goal, even through the storm and horror of war, and permits no human wickedness to defeat His purpose. Therefore we come before Him with the prayer:

"Hallowed be Thy Name:

Thy Kingdom come;

Thy Will be done!"

It is not our view that Germany is guiltless of the grievous set-back to Christian cause which must follow from this struggle, and still less can we believe in the "web of conspiracy" which these writers say has been "secretly and cunningly flung over Germany" in order to strangle her. We have the record of her diplomacy in our own White Papers, we have the voluminous and elaborate German literature which proves that the doctrines inculcated by the dominant military school in Prussia are definitely and deliberately opposed to Christian ethics in international affairs. We see these doctrines being ruthlessly carried out in the official conduct of this war. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that Professor Harmsack and Professor Eucken are advocates of the policy which has led to the sack of Louvain, and the destruction of its university, with its priceless treasure of ancient records; and still less that Teutonic Protestantism requires the destruction of Catholic cathedrals and churches in reprisal for the real or fancied offence of a small number of the people into whose country Germany has carried her war. None the less, since the appeal is so

"imical" as well as neutral countries, we can associate ourselves with the eloquent description here given of the immeasurable evil of the strife in which we are plunged, and we can feel a far greater sympathy with the view which recognises it and deploras it than with that which exults in it and declares it to be a German necessity. Moreover, it is well that we should recognise that there are still a vast number of people in Germany who are not given over to the aggressive militarism of the Prussian Professors, and who have only reconciled themselves to this war as an unavoidable evil. With them we may argue, when the time comes: with the others there is no argument.

The names of the theologians who have signed this document are:—

Missionsdirektor Lic. K. Axenfeld (Berlin); Professor Dr. med. Th. Axenfeld (Freiburg); Obervorwaltungsgesichtsrat D. M. Berner (Berlin); Oberkonsistorialpräsident D. H. v. Bezzel (München); Pastor Friedr. v. Bodelschwingh (Bethel bei Bielefeld); Professor D. Ad. Deissmann (Berlin); Oberhofprediger D. E. Dryander (Berlin); Professor Dr. R. Euchen (Jena); Professor D. Ad. v. Harnack (Berlin); Professor D. Gottl. Harnack (Halle); Missionsdirektor P. O. Hennig (Herrnhut); Professor D. W. Herrmann (Marburg); Generalsuperintendent D. Th. Kaftan (Kiel); Generalsuperintendent D. Fr. Lahusen (Berlin); Pastor Paul Le Seur (Berlin); Professor D. Friedr. Loof (Halle); Professor Dr. C. Meinhof (Hamburg); Professor D. C. Mirbt (Göttingen); Ed. de Neufville (Frankfurt a. M.); Missionsdirektor D. C. Paul (Leipzig); Bankdirektor D. With Freiherr v. Pechmann (München); Professor D. Jul. Richter (Berlin); Max Schinckel (Hamburg); Direktor der Deutsch-Ev. Missions-Hilfe A. W. Schreiber (Berlin); Direktor D. F. A. Spiecker (Berlin); Missionsdirektor Joh. Spiecker (Barmen); Missionsinspektor D. Joh. Warneck (Bethel bei Bielefeld); Professor D. G. Wobbermin (Breslau); Professor Dr. Wilh. Wundt (Leipzig).



France and the War of Revenge.*

Of all the problems that modern France has to face, the most pressing, the most tragic, is the possibility of another war with Germany. War is a constant menace everywhere: even small, wise, happy and neutral nations, like Belgium or Switzerland, even an essentially peaceful democracy, overwhelmingly rich and strong, like the United States, are not free from that nightmare. But in France the possibility is not intermittent and remote: the thought of war—the fear of war, the hope of war—is constant and paramount. Its tragic shadow has for the last forty-four years darkened every aspect of national life. It is the thought of war which is wasting the painfully hoarded gold of the French bourgeois and peasant. It is the thought of war which claims two or three decisive years out of every young man's life. It is the thought of war which colours and warps national thought, embittering the apostles of fraternity against their fellow Europeans, their peers and brothers in culture beyond the Vosges. It is the thought of war which divides the French themselves into irreconcilable sects or camps. It is the thought of war, finally, which imposes upon the country a material task that becomes every day more crushing and hopeless, a moral duty which can neither be repaid nor fulfilled. Ever since 1871, France has been a wounded nation, body and soul.

It is not easy for foreigners to understand the unique character of the last Franco-German war. Why should it leave such bitterness behind? Other nations—and France herself at other times—have drained the cup of disaster. But they have gone to work again, with chastened yet unbroken spirit; and not seldom have they become reconciled with their former foes, without any thought of "revenge." England has never "got even" with the United States, or Russia with England and France, her friends of to-day. Austria is now the ally of Germany and Italy. There is no walking in the Southern States. Why should defeat rankle for ever and poison a nation's life? France was not wiped out of existence like Poland. A few years after the war she was materially as prosperous as ever before; the loss of two provinces left her with a territory almost equal to that of her conqueror; the acquisition of enormous colonies has retrieved her prestige, and made her future as a world-power secure. Is there not some heroic and childish *pose*, some unworthy of a great country, in France's expression of wailing grief?

The first reason why the French cannot forget 1871 is that the Germans will not let them. I am not alluding to the innumerable war memorials erected throughout Germany: every nation commemorates in a similar way her triumphs and even her disasters. I am

not even alluding to the celebration of the anniversary of Sedan, which is ungenerous and unwise. But, in less legitimate ways, Germany has tried to keep France humble and mindful of death. When a duel has been fought, and bravely fought, even if no reconciliation ensues, it seems to be the rule with individuals as well as with nations that mutual esteem should be restored. Even vanity should prompt you to honour your unfortunate adversary, thereby enhancing the splendour of your own triumph. But the war of 1870 was preceded, accompanied, and followed by an abominable campaign of slander against France. In the coarse but striking words of a French journalist, "instead of holding out her hand to her fallen foe, Germany spat upon her." France was declared to be, racially, intellectually, morally, an inferior nation, a decadent nation, a rotting nation. The worst passions of mankind, envy and hatred, assumed a mask of science and religion. Anthropology, philology, and the Bible were pressed into service to complete the work of Bismarck and Moltke. Jingoism, in its popular and brutal form, is not wholly disgusting. Making night leaves no deep stain on the annals of England. But the mixture of jingoism, pedantry, and pietistic hypocrisy is unbearable. The attitude of Strauss, Mommsen, Richard Wagner, is singularly damaging to the good name of Germany. When the highest and best go so far wrong, there is something unsound in the nation's soul. This attitude of hatred and contempt spread from Germany to German sympathisers throughout the world. Carlyle, in England, uttered his weighty *Vas Vicis!* Bancroft, in the name of the country for which France had fought, seemed to endorse the moral judgment passed by her enemies.

Not only did France rebel against the injustice of this judgment in her own case, but she protested against the principle upon which it was based. "Whatever is, is right," "Might is Right," "Through blood and iron," "The world's history is God's judgment" ("Die Welt-Geschichte ist das Welt-Gericht") all these Hegelian and Bismarckian formulae wounded to its depths the idealism of the French people. The rabble may worship material success for a while, but the conscious *élite* and the deep permanent instinct of the masses refuse to bow before the arbitrament of force. Mankind's dearest heroes suffered defeat—Prometheus, Hector, Roland, Siegfried, the Nordic Gods—and one greater than all died in ignominy. The miracle of Joan of Arc's career would lose its poignancy but for the final martyrdom. Moscow, Waterloo, St. Helena, wiped away innumerable stains, transfigured the Corsican into a demi-god. History is a concatenation of judgments which are for ever revised—too late.

And behind that campaign of vulgar or learned slander—which has not ceased—there were more definite facts. Bismarck did not want France to get on her feet again. He was cruelly disappointed when he discovered that he had not bled her to death with his enormous war indemnity. In 1875, without provocation, he would have renewed the war, had not England and Russia intervened. Repeatedly Germany has given France to understand that the treaty of Frankfurt had given her a supremacy which she was not willing to forgo or even to veil. When the rivalry between England and Germany became intense, a favourite conception with Pan-German writers was that France should be treated as a hostage; that England, impregnable behind her fleet and her coast defences, should be humbled and wounded in the person of her friend; that France should be compelled to abandon the *Entente Cordiale* and to join her forces with those of Germany in a war against "the modern Carthage." The most extraordinary of these unholy conceptions, the most galling to the sensitive pride of the French is that France should be coerced into a reconciliation with Germany. "I shall kick you until you profess to be my friend" seems to be the *ultima ratio* of German diplomacy and the world why France, the object of such flattering attentions, should remain so peevish and restive!

England and France have been bitterly unjust to each other in the past; yet the governments and the larger part of the *élite* on either side of the Channel have been tolerably free from Chauvinistic prejudices. Civilians were at the helm: war mongers, for whom war is a profession and a creed, were loud and influential enough, but never supreme. Germany is different. France cannot ignore the existence of a huge Empire, thoroughly drilled and equipped, combining modern efficiency with mediæval principles. The Germans are not any more warlike than other nations: but their splendid achievements of 1864-1871 have filled them with pride, inspired them with blind confidence in their leaders. And what leaders! A military and aristocratic caste, which believes implicitly in Bismarckism the gospel of ruse and force. The French feel that at the first opportunity the masters of Prussia and of Germany would try again the *coup* of Frederick the Great in Silesia, the *coup* of Schleswig-Holstein, the *coup* of the Ems dispatch. They feel that the German people, enlightened and peace-loving though they be, but inured to unquestioning discipline, would silence their private opinions and feelings at the first call of the Fatherland. France has abjured the principles of Louis XIV, and Napoleon:

*This article was written some weeks before war broke out.—Ed., C.R.

they survive in Germany. In realising that danger, in resisting it with her utmost energy, France is not thinking exclusively of her own wound in 1871, or of her good name smirched by her victors; she considers herself as the champion of justice, of idealism in international affairs.

Then there is the Alsace-Lorraine question. Here again superficial foreign observers fail to sympathise with the obstinacy of the French. "The holy ground of France has been desecrated," forsooth! But was German territory any less holy when Henry II., Richelieu, Louis XIV., the Revolution, Napoleon, seized German cities or provinces? Why should the conquests made by France be legitimate, and those made against France be inexpiable crimes? The great majority of the Alsace-Lorrainers spoke a Germanic dialect; by war were they torn away from their fellow Germans; by war they were brought back into the fold.

This defence sounds plausible enough, but it does not take into account a new and all important factor: the rise of the modern spirit of free citizenship. Under the old dispensation, conquest was law, subjects could be lost and won, sold or bartered away; they were never consulted, and but seldom was their voice heard. But the nations of Continental Europe were born anew during the great Revolution. Henceforth the essential right of men to be themselves, to be citizens, and not chattels, has been asserting itself irresistibly. The foreign policy of Napoleon III. may have been vacillating and tortuous; but it had one redeeming feature, it recognised the new principle of *nationalities*. Not the fate of battles or the intrigues of diplomatists, but the will of the people must decide on their allegiance. Thus were the populations of Savoy and Nice consulted when these provinces were annexed to France. Thus did Napoleon III. request, without avail, that a plebiscite be taken in Schleswig-Holstein. Now, in 1870, the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine were French at heart. They fought heroically against their German invaders. Their representatives in the National Assembly at Bordeaux protested against their annexation to Germany. For many years, as long as they had any hope of an immediate change in their destiny, their deputies in the Reichstag were the irreconcilable opponents of German occupation. Many Germans may have cherished for years the delusion that in 1871 they had delivered "long lost brothers." No illusion is permissible at present. In 1918, after forty-two years of German rule, the ominous words were spoken by a German official: "Alsace is a hostile country."

Under these influences the conception of a *revanche* arose immediately, spontaneously. It remained for many years, the cardinal principle of French national life—the thought left unuttered, but even, resent, according to the dictum of Gambetta: "Let us think of it always, and never speak of it." Even Victor Hugo, the prophet of peace and of the universal Republic, had to confess, "Another war, alas! Yes, it is necessary," and of all the leaders of French thought, perhaps Renan alone was strong enough to breast the tide of popular passion. But *la Revanche* had to be postponed, the country had to recuperate, a permanent government had to be established, the army must be reorganised.

... Ten years went by: the clash of parties had begun to sap the single-mindedness of the nation, an aggressive colonial policy was embarked upon by a few energetic statesmen; and gradually it was realised that France had resumed her normal life, that France was prosperous, expanding—and still unavenged. The dream was fading away.

This evolution was slow, reluctant, half unconscious. France, once so fond of clear-cut situations and radical measures, has been living for over thirty years in a fog of ambiguity and compromise. We shall see how the provisional and nondescript Constitution of 1875 is impairing her political health. Her foreign policy, too, has been "Yea and nay." She no longer believes in the *revanche*, and yet she cannot give it up. Strange and tragic dilemma! Dense clouds of doubt and no star visible.

Doubt as to the material possibility of the task. The lead that Germany acquired in 1871 cannot be overtaken. France can make no effort which her neighbour does not immediately parallel, or anticipate. In spite of costly fortresses, the frontier is still gaping; the Germans hold the key to our house and Nancy, for instance, the capital of French Lorraine, could not be defended. Then there is the growing disparity of forces between the two rivals. In 1870, they were almost of equal size. At present there are 66,000,000 Germans to 39,000,000 Frenchmen. To-morrow, the Germans will be two to one. And there is the military inferiority which comes from the political régime that France has adopted. Democracy, especially a parliamentary and *petit bourgeois* democracy, is not favourable to the efficiency of a war machine. It distrusts its own army. The sense of blind discipline is evaporating. There is no permanency in the higher offices, no continuous policy. Prussian militarism, wrong though it may be, is well adapted to its special purpose. Passive obedience below; above a well-drilled,

hereditary caste; at the head, a war Lord with unquestioning faith in his mission; all united in the worship of a cuirassed, helmeted, mailed Fatherland. Republican France is an amateur pitted against a professional. Marcel Sembat is right. "A King, or peace." And France chooses peace.

Doubt of one's self. This is the bitterest fruit of defeat, grown bitterer still during the long years of impotent aspiration. Do we really want war? Have we not become afraid of war? The adventurous expeditions of volunteers and mercenaries in far-off lands are one thing: the invasion of your own province, the bombardment of your own city, are quite another. For the French of this generation, war does not mean the same thing as it does to Germans. The old recklessness has waned: discretion born of experience. Do we shrink from the ordeal? An ugly suspicion, which cannot be ignored.

Doubt of the cause itself. We have clamoured for forty years that war proves nothing: how can we consistently appeal once more to the God of Battles? A war for the sake of Alsace-Lorraine, if it were successful at all, would have to be waged first in Alsace-Lorraine. Once more the two unhappy provinces would be laid waste. There would be Alsatians and Lorrainers under each flag. Then, supposing France to dictate her own terms, what would these be? If the two provinces were to return to France, Germany, irreconcilable and still more populous than her conqueror, would prepare her own war of revenge; and the weary round of hatred, waste, and violence would go on for ever. If any compromise be accepted—neutralisation or participation—would it be worth the terrible price—could it not be achieved in a more rational way?

France is thus in the situation of Hamlet. She is maddened by a self-imposed task to which she is unequal, and the wisdom of which she is beginning to question. The patriots themselves are infested by the prevailing ideal of peace, and dare not preach war as the nation's first duty. The pacifists, even the cosmopolitans, dare not face the renunciation which alone would make peace secure. If France were an efficient, self-confident military autocracy; if her population outnumbered that of Germany, she could afford to say: "You have done me a great wrong; but war is useless and criminal. Let us forget and try to be friends." But the resignation of the weaker would not be understood—especially by an enemy who has constantly impugned the moral character of France, and who professes to believe in nought but force.

Such is the problem which poisons the life of France and torments the soul of every Frenchman. Some have sought refuge in flippancy; they veil the feelings in universal irony and scepticism—like Lorenzaccio wearing the mask of debauchery to conceal his purposes, until the mask could not be torn from his flesh. The pacifists, the socialists, the internationalists will see nothing but waste in the craze for armaments—a race to the abyss of bankruptcy, which nothing can stop, not even a victorious war; and they protest in advance against the political reaction, the military régime which is bound, in France, to follow war. The patriots cannot help considering the advocates of peace as traitors who are wilfully sapping the material and moral strength of their country. Discussions which in America are academic enough assume in France an immediate and tragic significance. These conditions account, among other things, for a sentiment which many of us find it hard to understand—militant anti-patriotism. One of the first lessons that a recruit is taught in the army is the meaning of the sacred words for which he is expected to lay down his life: country, flag, patriotism. I have heard with my own ears a version of the historic reply: "Patrie? . . . ça veut dire tuer des Prussiens."—"The Fatherland? . . . that means killing Prussians." The definition is boldly elliptical, but not absolutely wrong, and the young Norman peasant who spoke those words was duly lauded by his superiors. But are they absolutely wrong either, who retort: "If it be so, down with the Fatherland!"

France is thus swayed to and fro between conflicting ideas. I have seen men of my generation, young Parisians of the liberal bourgeoisie, sane, industrious, and kindly as a rule, pass through periods of chauvinism, scepticism, anti-militarism, and chauvinism again. When we were little, we were taught Drouot's call to arms; we prayed that the "great day" might not dawn until we were ready to shoulder a rifle. Then came the Boulenger fiasco, the Panama scandals, the anarchistic outrages, the crisis of discouragement and self-depreciation when France herself seemed to acquiesce in her decadence. The Russian alliance was a last ray of hope, but we were soon given to understand that it was meant to preserve the status quo, not to reconquer our lost heritage. The Dreyfus case damaged the prestige of the army. After 1905, thanks to the Fashoda incident and to the Boer War, was there a Franco-German reconciliation, about 1905, seemed no longer a dream. Our ideal, at that time, was not a ruler, but a nation. Jaures and Zola appeared as the truly and courageously just and true. The army and navy were . . .

democratised. Officers were requested to give peace lectures. Instead of the old heroic and childish names—*Formidable*, *Redoutable*, *Furieux*, *Fulminant*—the warships of the Republic were baptised *Démocratie*, *Vérité*, *Liberté*, *Justice*, and the names of poets and philosophers, *Victor Hugo*, *Jules Michelet*, *Edgar Quinet*, *Ernest Renan*, were given to very expensive cruisers too weak to fight and too slow to run away. Soon the country wearied of Radical misrule. In the conflict between Radicals, Orthodox Socialists, and Syndicalists, the dream of a vigorous social policy dissolved. All this prepared the ground for a revival of patriotism.

The *Entente Cordiale* with England left our treasure of international suspicions and hatred undivided. The conflict with Germany became intenser and broader. To the eternal Alsace-Lorraine question was added colonial rivalry, and all the fears and grievances of our new friends across the Channel. German diplomacy showed itself at its worst in the Morocco affair: clumsy, unscrupulous, and brutal, spoiling a defensible case by a series of broken promises and insulting threats. The French reared under the repeated pricks. Clemenceau left his Dreyfusism and even his Radicalism in abeyance, and for a time breathed again the fiery patriotism of thirty and forty years ago. A "grand ministry" of national defence was formed. Millerand, the Socialist, brought to the War Office his tireless and quiet energy, his power of organisation. The troops were again followed in the streets and cheered by the people. In 1918, returning to France after several years' absence, I was astounded at the change. Whether the challenge of Germany was mere bluff or meant in earnest, it had been accepted. The old reluctance and indifference had vanished. Among all classes I found men ready, willing, eager to go to battle. Had war broken out then, had the right man been found to lead the French armies, the miracles of the Revolution and the Empire might have occurred over again.

There was enthusiasm; but there was no unanimity. The Socialists on either side manifested unequivocally their opposition to war—the Germans in more imposing numbers, the French with more violence. The pacifists of all classes and parties were not idle. The Governments shrank from the tremendous responsibility. So the critical months went by, and there is another lull in the international storm.

What about the future? War is not impossible. The sudden and formidable revival of Chauvinistic passion in a Republic which seemed to be torn by religious and social problems, cannot be ignored. For the first time, perhaps, since 1870, France has faced the eventuality of war almost cheerfully. Germany knows this; it is one of the reasons of her immense increase in armaments. If war should break out, the odds, of course, would be against France, but the result would be by no means certain. War would in all probability mean a conflict between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance—a possibility which makes one shudder.

"War is the failure of human reason." The best minds on both sides of the Vosges, and the masses as well, realise that war breeds more difficulties than it can ever settle. Their triumph of 1871 has cost the Germans untold billions in armaments and waste of labour, and has hampered their spiritual development. And Alsace-Lorraine, as was shown by the Zaberna affair, is still unconquered. It will not cease to be a source of trouble and weakness until the Germans, like the English in Ireland, in Canada, in South Africa, undo the work of military conquest, and leave Alsace-Lorraine free to shape its own destiny, free to use whichever language it prefers, free to manifest its regrets and its sympathies. The bulk of the German people cannot desire war: new annexations would mean additional difficulties. France has no right to desire war; the lost provinces for whom she wants to fight crave for nothing so much as for peace.

For these reasons, we hold that the French should have the courage to pluck from their hearts all hopes of a "revenge": that the kind of patriotism which encourages thoughts of war, which is indissolubly connected with war, is an unmitigated evil, and that France, in her public education, in her press, in her diplomacy, in her armaments, should make "Defence, not defiance," her motto. A secret diplomacy, a huge standing army are contrary to the spirit of democracy. They are not essential to the safety of a well-governed State. The countries that have suffered from their military weakness—France in 1807, Spain, Turkey, Bulgaria—are those which combined misrule or arrogance with insufficient resources or inadequate preparation. The one incontrovertible cause of France's downfall in 1870 was her going to war in a fit of Chauvinistic madness. A policy of swagger and aggression must be backed by irresistible battalions. A desperado should not venture abroad unless his pistol is well primed. A plain business man can go about unarmed. And it is obvious that all the leading nations of the world—Germany in particular—are "business men," not desperados.

We expect that the ruinous and precarious peace of the present day will be preserved. We even hope that it will make way for genuine peace, that the inflated war budgets will be reduced, that arbitration will steadily gain ground.* When will the last step be taken; when will a genuine reconciliation take place?

There is no natural antipathy between the two nations, no antinomy between the two cultures. Anthropology has sometimes been used as a buttress of Chauvinism; but racially the great majority of the French and the inhabitants of Southern and Western Germany are brothers. Even the pure Nordic type, tall, dolichocephalic, and blond, is not foreign to France. It must be confessed that it is not easy for an Englishman to be thoroughly at home in France, or for a Frenchman in England: between France and Germany there is no such abyss. A Frenchman is not out of his element in Cologne or Munich, nor a German in Grenoble, Nancy, Lyons, or Paris. Germany was all too fond of French culture for nearly two centuries; every one of her courts was a replica of Versailles, and her greatest hero spoke the language of Voltaire. And France is not blind to the merits of Germany. From the time of Madame de Staël, idealistic Germany, the Germany of poets, philosophers, scientists, and musicians, has been known, admired, and loved on the other side of the Vosges. Michelet, Quinet, Hugo paid tribute to "our beloved Germany," "*Germania Mater*." Renan said: "When I first became acquainted with German thought, I felt as though I were entering a temple." The thorough assimilation of the French Huguenots by Prussia, of the Alsatian middle-class by France, shows the close kinship between the two civilisations. The hostility between the two nations is historical and political.

The first condition of this reconciliation, we have attempted to prove, is the frank abandonment, on the part of France, of any dream of revenge. Germany, on her part, would have to meet France half-way. She would have to learn international ethics and good manners. She would have to give up the maxims and practices of Bismarckism. Instead of slandering and bullying her neighbour, she would have to treat her with fairness and respect. Above all, she would have to achieve the moral conquest of Alsace-Lorraine by satisfying the legitimate aspirations of its inhabitants. As long as the lost provinces suffer, as long as they are treated like pariahs in their new home, wounded in their most natural sympathies, contempt, coerced at the mercy of a Prussian soldiery, France cannot forget, and France and Germany cannot be friends.

ALBERT LEON GUNWARD in,
The Contemporary Review.

* In 1909 it was successfully practised between France and Germany, in spite of intense patriotic passion on both sides.



The Submarine.

(From a Correspondent.)

The submarine boat is older than the ironclad man-o'-war, but until, as it is reported, one torpedoed the Pathfinder recently submarines have never damaged anything but their crews and themselves.

There is a legend, and it may just possibly be true, that James I. went to the bottom of the Thames in some sort of submarine boat invented by a Dutchman, Cornelius van Drebbel, and propelled by twelve oars. But the real father of the submarine was an American called Bushnell, who produced towards the end of the eighteenth century an under-water craft driven by a screw propeller, or something very like it and lowered and raised by another similar propeller working on a vertical axis. One man formed the entire crew, and the first operation on beginning a submarine trip was to let in enough water to submerge the boat. After that the vertical propeller was used to keep the boat at the desired depth below the surface, while the horizontal propeller gave it movement in the required direction. To come above the surface, the "crew" set himself to pump out the water. Add one more feature to it and we have in "Bushnell's turtle" the germ of the modern article—some means for damaging surface vessels. Bushnell provided this by equipping his submarine with a sort of auger, projecting from its top, capable of being twisted round by the man inside and finally freed from the submarine when necessary. The idea was to get beneath a ship and screw the auger into her timbers. To the auger was attached a rope, and to the rope a watertight box full of gunpowder. Then the submarine was to make off, leaving a time fuse in the box to do its deadly work.

There is no record of this boat ever having been put to any offensive use, and it is not improbable that there was the same entry against the proposed use of this diabolical weapon as there

has been against every innovation in death-dealing weapons. In their turn gunpowder, cannons, muskets, mines, torpedoes, and aircraft have all been called cowardly—and used. Bushnells changed his name and died unthought of.

Yet very soon other people took up the submarine as a weapon of war. In 1800 Robert Fulton, well remembered in connection with the early steamships, produced a submarine not unlike Bushnell's and designed to attack in much the same way. It was actually used by the French against British warships cruising off Brest, but it went wrong and failed. Fulton never achieved anything with his further experiments, but after his death an assistant of his is said to have been employed on a plan to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena in a submarine which was to dodge the guardships. But before the boat was ready for sea Napoleon died.

When the submarine idea next broke out it was again in America. In the Civil War boat after boat was built and tried, and, with one exception, failed to do any damage except to itself. Each one was called David, presumably because of what it was expected to do against surface vessels of Goliath size. None of these Davids were truly submarines. The earlier ones were tiny, funnelless steamboats, floating very low in the water, and with such a narrow deck that they looked no more purposeful or inhabited than a drifting plank; and so the success of the last of the series in mining a Federal battleship hardly breaks the real submarine's record of ludicrous ineffectiveness until September, 1914. Even this last David drowned nearly forty of her own men in five separate accidents before she managed to get her mine, which she carried on the end of a long spar, against the side of the Housatonic. The explosion sank the Housatonic, and the rush of water swamped the little David and drowned her crew of nine men. It took eight men to work the propeller, no engine having been fitted in this last David.

The Nordenfolt boats bring us to comparatively recent times, and to this side of the Atlantic—in fact to England, for Nordenfolt merely developed the ideas embodied by the Rev. George Garrett in a submarine which he tried successfully in Liverpool in 1879. All of this type were driven by steam engines, and like "Bushnell's turtle," their depth of immersion was controlled by a vertical screw propeller. They were real submarines, for they could travel some distance wholly under water by sealing up the boiler furnace and the chimney and using the reserve of steam in the boiler, which was made specially large for that purpose. Also they were the first boats to carry automobile torpedoes and to be regularly borne on the navy list of any country. The Turkish and Greek Governments each bought one, and the Russian Government ordered a quite big one, but it was lost on the way to Cronstadt.

The submarine as we know it to-day, however, is more in the direct line of descent from the early efforts of John P. Holland—once more an American—than from any of the types already mentioned here or from any of the quite large number of boats which have not been described, such as the Lake, the Washington, the Goubet, and others. About 1880 Mr. Holland's experiments began to bear fruit, and in 1904 the British Government purchased his designs, after having long discountenanced the submarine as being essentially the weapon of the weak. We built five boats to these designs and then planned our own "A" class, embodying the experience we had gained. The most obvious improvement was the introduction of the periscope, the now well-known arrangement of mirrors and lenses in a tube projecting above water so that the navigator can see about him though his boat is just out of sight below the surface. These "A" boats are mostly of about 200 tons displacement and travel at twelve knots on the surface and eight or nine knots submerged. Our latest submarines are 176 feet long, 22½ feet beam, have a displacement tonnage of 800 when submerged, and carry 28 men and 15 tons of fuel for their 1,600 h.p. engines. The whole secret of their successful working, as in all present day submarines, is in the fuel and the method of using it. It is oil, and burnt in the cylinders of an internal combustion engine it leaves no tell-tale trail of smoke as the older boats did. Virtually all there is to be seen of a submarine when travelling as a surface boat is her little conning tower and a streak of the hull, and this is so inconspicuous that she may reasonably expect to sight an approaching ship long before the ship can sight her. Then she can dive and proceed with only her periscope showing until she thinks it no longer safe to show even that. Then she goes entirely under water till out of the danger zone, or until she fires her torpedo at the ship. Her long under-water travel is made possible by the electric motor. When she dives the oil engine is stopped, so that it may not deprive the crew of any more precious air, and the task of driving the propeller is taken over by the electric motor, which takes its current from a battery.

Thus it is mainly the general march of progress in motive-power engineering which has made the modern submarine possible.

There is, however, one other feature which distinguishes the present-day boats from the older ones. Their depth of immersion is controlled by horizontal rudders instead of by propellers or by taking in and pumping out water ballast. Water ballast is used only in the first place to sink the boat till all but the conning tower is under water. After that the rudders, in conjunction with the boat's forward movement, cause this dive and subsequently control the depth at which the boat travels. This has been found to be a much handier and safer way than any other that has been tried, in spite of the fact that it becomes inoperative when the boat stops. When she stoops she rises.—*The Manchester Guardian*.



A Reply from H. G. Wells.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LABOUR LEADER."

SIR—When I read Miss Paget's previous contribution to your pages it did not occur to me that she was "laughing" at me. I thought she was just over-excited when she called my articles "manifestoes," and accused me, quite out of her imagination, of using the "Sword of God Tag" and so forth. I accept with regret the correction that she is in a state of merriment. This unseemly mirth is blinding her even to the precise words of the articles she is "answering." It may be great fun to say that I asked Americans to "refuse to furnish Germany with food on their neutral ships" when as a matter of fact I suggested to Americans that it was undesirable to countenance the purchase of German liners by America in time of war and their use in victualing the German Army, but such humour is not controversy. Nor is it controversy to accuse me of ignoring Mr. Snowden's pamphlet upon the "Kruppism" of this country when I have quoted it and used it in my articles, when I have made it as plain as daylight that that evil is constantly in my mind.

But my case is that the intensive cultivation of militarism by Germany, the military machine which were all (except for Miss Paget, the L. L. P. and Mr. Jim Larkin's people) doing our best to smash, has been the strength of the trade throughout the world. Miss Paget in her careless question-begging way writes that the "Krupp armament and scare mongering" business has had its "exact counterparts throughout the world," when the vitally important fact is that they have not been exact counterparts, but unavoidable and inferior reflections. And abuse of French "rottenness"—I do not see it—in comparison with the moral exaltation of Germany comes ungraciously in the columns of a paper that I had supposed democratic and Republican. The French, like the Americans, wash their financial dirty linen in public. It is characteristic of republics, and, on the whole, it is better than never washing your dirty linen at all. No doubt Miss Paget thinks the Kaiser a simple, poor man.

Now in the comparison of Russia and Germany, which is the gist of this argument, I am forced to declare my conviction that Miss Paget knows nothing whatever of Russia. She will not learn. It is not my own poor little observations in Germany and Russia that I would set against her opinions, opinions evidently made entirely in Germany, but the views of our friend Maurice Baring, of Doctor Harold Williams, of Mr. Hagberg Wright, of Mr. Nabokoff, the editor of the occasionally suppressed *Russk* and one of the most brilliant Liberal statesmen in Russia, of Sienkiewicz, the Polish patriot novelist, of Prince Kropotkin's daughter, of Mr. Zangwill, who has been imploring people to let Russian Jews know their own business in this affair. All the people, in spite of programmes, strikes, and exile, believe in the Liberal possibilities of Russia. None of them believe in the Liberal possibilities of an unchastened Prussian militarism. All of them beg and pray Miss Paget and Mr. Keir Hardie and the German Jews of America to abandon them to Russia. Against these opinions of Russian and Pole and Jew that I have quoted I cannot, for all my respect for Miss Paget, bring myself to attack very much countervailing weight to what the editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* told Miss Paget eighteen months ago about the beautiful democratic developments that were going to happen presently in the Kingdom of Prussia. As between the Liberalism of the private talk of the editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and Prussian militarism, it is evident that Prussian militarism got its blow first.

I do not know whether I need say very much about the "strong and uncompromising reply" of Mr. Keir Hardie. I am glad to see that he has at last, a month late, picked up the idea that there is more in this business than a chance to get at that irritating person Sir Edward Gray. In compact passage he summarises most of what I have been saying in the *Labour Leader* during the past few weeks, and tells me that is what the I.L.P. is going to do. I doubt if the I.L.P. will. Other people will try to do it.

while the I.L.P. yaps at their heels. He calls me a war-monger. Why does he not think of the meaning of words? Evidently he has read nothing that I have written about the crisis at all except my few allusions to himself. If he has, then he is either drunk or mad to say that I am "shouting with the multitude." I am working with all my being for Socialism and the peace of the world. My complaint against him is that he is doing nothing for Socialism or disarmament in this crisis because of an ignorant terror of Russia. As for his "whining"—confound it! he whines. He writes—his English is bad, but one can see what he means—"But after all Mr. Wells has a reputation not only in newspaper articles, but in his books, of taking a mean advantage of those whom he does not like." I owe that reputation to the spiteful lying chatter of the shabbiest scum of Socialism. But what a lot of dirt to aim at me! The "mean advantage" of which he complains in this case is that I described his activities and the activities of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in perfectly plain language.

Yours very sincerely,
H. G. WELLS

♣ "Facing Realities."

Or Swallowing Phrases?

(By VERNON LEE.)

The newspapers are exhorting us, for God's sake, to "face realities," at the same time, and rather contradictorily, patting us on the back for our splendid way of doing it.

Facing realities is, indeed, at all times a most useful precaution: we should not have been plunged head and ears in this war if we had faced realities a little more in the last ten years.

By all means, therefore, let us face realities. Only let us make sure that they are realities, not mere phrases and myths, which are so far easier to get at and so far more comforting and inspiring. Also let us make sure that when realities are really there, it is *we* who are facing *them*; and not *they* who are facing, confronting, threatening to overwhelm, *us*. I will give a humble illustration: if—or I fear *when*—the ruin of industry, trade, and credit occasioned by this war will oblige my bankers to inform me that my dividends have ceased to be paid, it will not be I facing this reality, but this reality and a good many other realities, which will be staring relentlessly into my puzzled, dismayed face, and into the even blinder and more helpless faces of my cook and my gardener whom those realities may force me to turn adrift.

Similarly, when our statesmen have to devise, however excellently, *maratoriums* "to prevent panics," and relief funds and relief works for thousand, orphaned and widowed or thrown out of employment by this war; and when military authorities are most, most efficiently, shipping off more and more thousands of men (some thousands from India now!) to cut to pieces in the defence of Northern France; and when War Secretaries are devising compulsory service for Englishmen; when all this is happening it humbly seems to me that all these thoughtful and efficient persons are not so much "facing realities" as (to use the now consecrated expression) "straining every nerve" against the reality of wholesale slaughter, the reality of verses and ruin and panic which are facing English men, women, and children considerably less eminent and therefore less responsible, with reality's grim, sardonic interrogation in reality's relentless and ruthless eyes.

For "facing realities" means understanding and foreseeing, not merely trying to minimise the evil you have not understood or foreseen when it was still time. And there is this paradoxical popularity about realities, that it is *they* who face us when it comes to the present; and that we can face *them* efficaciously only when we understand those realities in the past, or foresee them in the future. In the present, I repeat it, realities are running away with us like horses we have allowed to get the bit between their teeth, because we didn't know how to drive, or were thinking of something else. "Facing realities" does not mean trying to save a few stray valuables when the house is on fire, even if that salvage is organised on the "most scientific principles." "Facing realities" means, or, alas! would have meant, refusing to accumulate inflammables (inflammables called "Alliance," "Commitments," "the Times," "the Spectator" "the Clarions" etc., etc., etc.) under our roof; and refusing to allow a number of self-important or light-hearted lunatics to get hold of the match-boxes and disable the fire-alarm apparatus, while we good people were engrossed in Home Rule or Minimum Wage, or Woman Suffrage, and all those other important items which may, or may

not, be afterwards picked out of the charred and blood-and-hatred-polluted ruins of British and European civilisation.

All that is in the past. Unluckily it is! And the past is just the place where it is good to "face," to understand realities, unless we want to be faced by *them* in the shape of future wars and future ruin; since it is difficult to face realities, to understand and foresee them, in that brief moment of hurry, often of panic and of destructive salvage (destructive as when our military authorities pull down dwelling houses to defend our East Coast from the enemies who might otherwise burn them) which we call the present. Since in the past, the past which is unchangeable reality, lie the operative causes of the present which cannot, and the future which *can*, be changed according to our will; the future which can be controlled only in proportion as we understand, as we *face*, the reality which we were unable or unwilling to face when it was still the present.

Being myself, as you perceive, only an unpractical student of realities and their *hows* and *whys*, unable either to sew pyjamas for the wounded or to organise relief committees which will some day relieve somebody, but are at present mainly relieving the conflicting minds of their members, I have been reading two works, Mr. Brailsford's "Fruits of Our Russian Alliance" (1912) and Mr. E. D. Morel's "Morocco in Diplomacy" (1912), which I would recommend to the less busy among your readers, if owing to the reading public's inability to "face realities" except when it is too late, the first of the two had not long disappeared in the waste-paper basket which awaits all pamphlets; while the second has "gone out of print," i.e., gone to line parcels of other and more successful books. From them both, from their copious collections of documents and clear chronological expositions I have learned, what my knowledge as a cosmopolitan and a demi-semi French writer had long led me to suspect, that English Secret Diplomacy, itself due to an imperfect system of suffrage, and alas! to a fearfully perfected system of party loyalty and suppression of minorities, well! that British Secret Diplomacy had for at least ten years past connived at France's military annexation of Morocco, thereby damaging Germany's commercial interests and flying in the face of the signed guarantees of Morocco's independence which, and not the "secret articles," were alone made known to the British public. I have learned likewise that, after floating a Russian loan during the worst period of Russian despotism, that same British secret, or semi-secret diplomacy, similarly connived in Russia's military annexation of Persia, in the teeth similarly of written assurances of protection given to Persia by Britain and Russia together. I have learned also (if I had not long known it from Continental experience) that these secret "commitments" were not only reawaking France's dormant desire for *Revanche*, and keeping awake Russia's never dormant appetite for foreign territory, but, what was far graver even giving Germany every right to suspect and expect a Franco-Russian attack in which, as has just happened, Britain would (as Sir E. Grey warned the German Ambassador) "inevitably join in" (White paper Document No. 19); with the result of what is now happening over the channel, and of the "war against industrial distress and unemployment" which is being urged upon us as the natural co-relation of the military war against the "criminal madness of Prussian militarism."

All this, this butchering and being butchered, this laying colossal taxes on a meanwhile unemployed people, is what the phrase-mongers allude to as "facing realities." Had we faced the realities of Continental *Ententes* and embroilments in the last ten years we should not now be obliged to face the reality of militarism, our own militarism, *not* the Kaiser's which is staring us, inevitable, relentless, in the face.

Meanwhile we are helping ourselves out, as all the other poor nations are who like us have missed their chances of peace and forfeited their independence of thought and of will—we are helping ourselves out (and the French and Germans doubtless also) with self-justificatory myths and self-important phrase—for instance, that catchword about "facing realities."—*The Labour Leader*.

♣ Battle of the Aisne.

The Official Story.

The following is the full text of the descriptive account, issued from General Head-quarters on the 18th September, of the movements of the British Expeditionary Force and of the French armies in immediate touch with it from the 14th to the 18th September inclusive:—

At the date of the last narrative—14th September—the Germans were making a determined resistance along the River Aisne. The opposition, which it was at first thought might possibly be of a rear-guard nature, not entailing material delay to our progress has developed, and has proved to be more serious than was anticipated. The action now being fought by the Germans along their line may, it is true, have been undertaken in order to gain time for some strategic operation or move, and may not be their main stand.

But if this be so the fighting is naturally on a scale which, as to extent of ground covered and duration of resistance, makes it indistinguishable in its progress from what is known as a "pitched battle," though the enemy certainly showed signs of considerable disorganisation during the earlier days of their retirement.

Whether it was originally intended by them to defend the position they took up as strenuously as they have done, or whether the delay gained for them during the 12th and 13th by their artillery has enabled them to develop their resistance and to reinforce their line to an extent not originally contemplated cannot yet be said.

So far as we are concerned the action still being contested is the battle of the Aisne, for we are fighting just across that river along the whole of our front. To the east and west the struggle is not confined to the valley of that river, though it will probably bear its name. The progress of our operations and of those French armies nearest to us for the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th will now be described:

ACROSS THE AISNE.

On Monday, the 14th, those of our troops which had on the previous day crossed the Aisne, after driving in the German rear-guards on that evening, found portions of the enemy's forces in prepared defensive positions on the plateau on the right bank, and could do little more than secure a footing north of the river. This, however, they maintained in spite of two counter-attacks delivered at dusk and at 10 p.m., in which the fighting was severe.

During the 14th strong reinforcements of our troops were passed to the north bank, the troops crossing by ferry, by pontoon bridges. Close co-operation with the French forces was maintained and the general progress made was good. Although the opposition was vigorous and the state of the roads after the heavy rain made movements slow, one division alone failed to secure the ground it expected to.

The 1st Army Corps, after repulsing repeated attacks, captured 400 prisoners and twelve guns; the cavalry also took a number of prisoners. Many of the Germans taken belong to reserve and Landwehr formations, which fact appears to indicate that the enemy is compelled to draw on the older classes of soldiers to fill the gaps in his ranks.

FIERCE ARTILLERY FIRE.

There was heavy rain throughout the night of the 14th to 15th, and during September 15th the situation of the British forces underwent no essential change, but it became more and more evident that the defensive preparations made by the enemy were more extensive than was at first apparent. In order to counter-balance these, measures were taken by us to economise troops and to secure protection from the hostile artillery fire, which was very fierce, and our men continued to improve their own entrenchments. The Germans bombarded our lines nearly all day, using heavy guns, brought, no doubt, from before Mauberge, as well as those with the corps.

All their counter-attacks, however, failed, although in some places they were repeated six times; one made on the 4th Guards Brigade was repulsed with heavy slaughter.

An attempt to advance slightly made by part of our line was unsuccessful as regards gain in ground, but led to withdrawal of part of the enemy's infantry and artillery. Further counter-attacks made during the night were beaten off.

Rain came on towards evening, and continued intermittently until 9 a.m. on the 16th. Besides adding to the discomfort of the soldiers holding open trenches in the firing line, the wet weather to some extent hampered the motor transport service, which was also hindered by the broken bridges.

STURDBORN RESISTANCE.

On Wednesday, the 16th, there was little change in the situation opposite the British. The efforts made by the enemy were less active than on the previous day though their bombardment continued throughout the morning and evening. Our artillery fire drove the defenders off one of the salient of their position, but they returned in the evening. Forty prisoners were taken by the 3rd Division.

On Thursday, the 17th the situation still remained unchanged in its essentials. The German heavy artillery fire was more active than on the previous day. The only infantry attacks made by the enemy were on the extreme right of our position, and, as had happened before, were repulsed with heavy loss, chiefly on this occasion by our field artillery.

In order to convey some idea of the nature of the fighting it may be said that along the greater part of our front the Germans

have been driven back from the forward slopes on the north of the river.

Their infantry are holding strong lines of trenches amongst and along the edges of the numerous woods which crown these slopes. These trenches are elaborately constructed and cleverly concealed. In many places there are wire entanglements and lengths of rabbit fencing both in the woods and in the open, carefully aligned so that they can be swept by rifle fire and machine guns, which are invisible from our side of the valley. The ground in front of the infantry trenches is also as a rule under cross fire from field artillery placed on neighbouring features and under high angle fire from pieces placed well back behind woods on top of the plateau.

USE OF HOWITZERS.

A feature of this action, as of the previous fights, is the use made by the enemy of their numerous heavy howitzers, with which they are able to direct a long-range fire all over the valley and right across it. Upon these they evidently place great reliance. Where our men are holding the forward edges of the high ground on the north they are now strongly entrenched. They are well fed, and, in spite of the wet weather of the past week, are cheerful and confident.

The bombardment by both sides has been very heavy, and on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday was practically continuous. Nevertheless, in spite of the general din caused by the reports of the immense number of heavy guns in action along our front on Wednesday, the arrival of a French force acting against the German right flank was at once announced, on the east of our front some miles away by the continuous roar of their quick-firing artillery with which their attack was opened.

So far as the British are concerned, the greater part of this week has been passed in bombardment, in gaining ground by degrees, and in beating back severe counter attacks with heavy slaughter.

Our casualties have been severe, but it is probable that those of the enemy are heavier.

The rain has caused a great drop in the temperature, and there is more than a distinct feeling of autumn in the air, especially in the early mornings.

On our right and left the French have been fighting fiercely, and have also been gradually gaining ground. One village has already during this battle been captured and recaptured twice by each side, and at the time of writing remains in the hands of the Germans. The fighting has been at close quarters and of the most desperate nature and the streets of the village are filled with the dead of both sides.

FOUL FRONTING.

The Germans are a formidable enemy. Well-trained, long prepared, and brave, their soldiers are carrying on the contest with skill and valour.

Nevertheless they are fighting to win anyhow, regardless of all the rules of fair play, and there is evidence that they do not hesitate at anything in order to gain victory.

A large number of the tales of their misbehaviour are exaggerations, and some of the stringent precautions they have taken to guard themselves against the inhabitants of the areas traversed are possibly justifiable measures of war. But, at the same time, it has been definitely established that they have committed atrocities on many occasions, and they have been guilty of brutal conduct.

A GERMAN'S LETTER.

So many letters and statements of our own wounded soldiers have been published in our newspapers that the following epistle from a German soldier of the 74th Infantry Regiment (Tenth Corps) to his wife may also be of interest:—

My Dear Wife,—I have just been living through days that defy imagination. I should never have thought that men could stand it. Not a second has passed but my life has been in danger, and yet not a hair of my head has been hurt. It was horrible; it was ghastly. But I have been saved for you and for our happiness, and I take heart again, although I am still terribly nervous. God grant that I may see you again soon, and that this horror may soon be over. None of us can do any more; human strength is at an end.

I will try to tell you about it:—On September 5th the enemy were reported to be taking up a position near St. Prix (north-east of Paris). The Tenth Corps, which had made an astonishingly rapid advance, of course attacked on Sunday.

Steep slopes led up to heights which were held in considerable force. With our weak detachments of the 74th and 91st Regiments, we reached the crest and came under a terrible artillery fire that mowed us down. However we entered St. Prix. Hardly had we done so than we were met with shell fire and a violent fusillade from the enemy's infantry. Our colonel was badly wounded—he is the third we have had. Fourteen men were killed round me. We got away in a full retreat, being hit

On the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September we were constantly under shell and shrapnel fire, and suffered terrible losses. I was in a house which was hit several times. The fear of a death of agony which is in every man's heart, and naturally so, is a terrible feeling. How often I thought of you, my darling, and what I suffered in that terrifying battle which extended along a front of many miles near Montmirail, you cannot possibly imagine. Our heavy artillery was being used for the siege of Maubeuge; we wanted it badly, as the enemy had their's in force, and kept up a furious bombardment. For four days I was under artillery fire, it is like hell, but a thousand times worse.

On the night of the 9th the order was given to retreat, as it would have been madness to attempt to hold our position with our few men, and we should have risked a terrible defeat the next day. The first and third armies had not been able to attack with us, as we had advanced too rapidly. Our moral was absolutely broken.

In spite of unheard of sacrifices we had achieved nothing, I cannot understand how our army, after fighting three great battles and being terribly weakened, was sent against a position which the enemy had prepared for three weeks but naturally I know nothing of the intentions of our chiefs. They say nothing has been lost. In a word we retired towards Comorn-treuil and Reims by forced marches by day and night.

We hear that three armies are going to get into line, entrench, rest and then start afresh our victorious march, on Paris. It was not a defeat, but only a strategic retreat. I have confidence in our chiefs that everything will be successful. Our first battalion, which has fought with unparalleled bravery, is reduced from 1,200 to 194 men. These numbers speak for themselves.

GERMAN TREACHERY.

Amongst minor happenings of interest is the following. During a counter-attack by the German 53rd Regiment on portions of the Northampton and Queen's Regiment on Thursday, the 17th, a force of some 400 of the enemy were allowed to approach right up to the trench occupied by a platoon of the former regiment, owing to the fact that they held up their hands and made gestures that were interpreted as signs that they wished to surrender. When they were actually on the parapet of the trench held by the Northampton's they opened fire on our men at point-blank range.

Unluckily for the enemy, however, flanking them and only some 400 yards away, there happened to be a machine gun manned by a detachment of the "Queen's." This at once opened fire cutting a lane through their mass, and they fell back to their own trench with great loss. Shortly afterwards they were driven further back with additional loss by a battalion of the Guards, which came up in support.

An incident which occurred some little time ago during our retirement is also worthy of record. On the 28th August during that battle fought by the French along the Duse between La Fère and Guise one of the French commanders desired to make an air reconnaissance. It was found, however that no observers were available.

Wishing to help our Allies as much as possible the British officer attached to this particular French army volunteered to go up with a pilot to observe. He had never been in an aeroplane but he made the ascent and produced a valuable reconnaissance report.

Incidentally he had a duel in the air at an altitude of 5,000ft with the observer of a German Taube monoplane which approached. He fired several shots and drove off the hostile aeroplane. His action was much appreciated by the French.

AIRSHIPS AND AEROPLANES.

In view of the many statements being made in the Press as to the use of Zeppelins against us it is interesting to note that the Royal Flying Corps, who have been out on reconnaissance on every day since their arrival in France, have never seen a Zeppelin, though airships of a non-rigid type have been seen on two occasions.

Near the Marne late one evening two such were observed over the German forces. Aeroplanes were despatched against them, but in the darkness our pilots were uncertain of the airship's nationality, and did not attack. It was afterwards made clear that they could not have been French.

A week later, an officer reconnoitring to the flank saw airship over the German forces and opposite the French. It had no distinguishing mark, and was assumed to belong to the latter, though it is now known that it also must have been a German craft. The orders of the Royal Flying Corps are to attack Zeppelins on sight, and there is some disappointment at the absence of those

SIR J. FRENCH AND HIS TROOPS.

The following special order has been issued to-day to the troops.

SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY.

By Field-Marshal Sir John French, G. C. B., G. C. V. O., K. C. M. G., Commander-in-Chief British Army in the Field.

17th September, 1914.

Once more I have to express my deep appreciation of the splendid behaviour of officers, non commissioned officers and men of the Army under my command throughout the great battle of the Aisne, which has been in progress since the evening of the 12th instant. The battle of the Marne, which lasted from the morning of the 6th to the evening of the 10th had hardly ended in the precipitate flight of the enemy when we were brought face to face with a position of extraordinary strength, carefully entrenched and prepared for defence by an army and a staff which are thorough adepts in such work.

Throughout the 13th and 14th that position was most gallantly attacked by the British forces and the passage of the Aisne effected. This is the third day the troops have been gallantly holding the position they have gained against the most desperate counter-attacks and a hail of heavy artillery.

I am unable to find adequate words in which to express the admiration I feel for their magnificent conduct.

The French armies on our right and left are making good progress, and I feel sure that we have only to hold on with tenacity to the ground we have won for a very short time longer, when the Allies will be again in full pursuit of a beaten enemy.

The self-sacrificing devotion and splendid spirit of the British Army in France will carry all before it.

(Signed) J. D. P. French, Field Marshal, Commanding-in-Chief the British Army in the Field.

The War Through German Spectacles.

The Fall of Maubeuge.

The German newspapers of last Wednesday, September 9, which have just reached us, announce that Maubeuge, the French fortress which had been holding out since the retirement of the Allies from the frontier, surrendered last Monday the 7th. It so, Maubeuge has nevertheless accomplished a great work by its resistance, for it controls important lines of railway, and its resistance has no doubt contributed to the scarcity of supplies which has helped to bring about the retreat of the German right. The official report from the German military headquarters is as follows:—

"Tuesday September 8. Maubeuge surrendered yesterday 40,000 prisoners, including four Generals, 400 guns, and a great amount of war material have fallen into our hands."

Silence in the German Press.

The German papers 9th, 10th and 11th September contain almost nothing about the battle east of Paris.

The "Kölnische Zeitung" of Wednesday has only a message which comes from Copenhagen to say that the battle had begun, but that there had been few important changes of position on either side.

Thursday's issue of the same paper appears to have contained no reference at all to the battle.

Friday's issue has a meagre official report on the attack of the Allies against the German right wing and the beginning of the retreat in that quarter. On this news the "Kölnische" comments that the German armies which were attacking the French farther to the east would soon exert an influence on the French left wing, meaning that the French would be driven back on their centre or right, and would consequently have to abandon the advance of their left. "How far," says the "Kölnische," "our right wing has been drawn back the official reports does not say, but there is in any case no question of serious retirement."

German Admission

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND "DAILY TELEGRAPH" WAR SERVICE.

Rotterdam, September 10. Yesterday's "Colongne" Gazette contains an official statement from Berlin which announces that to consolidate and protect the German Army the left wing has fallen back on Verdun, and that the battle is still in progress.

The tone of the German press is that the General Staff "must be trusted, as it cannot take the public into its confidence," and that "people should bear in mind that seeming reverses in the war of 1870 were afterwards found to be part of the German tactics."

A telegram received this morning from a semi-official German source says that communication between the Army of the Crown Prince and the main armies has now been restored, and that a concentrated attack by the German armies is now certain, "the result of which cannot be known for some days."

GENERALS REPLACED.

The wireless message officially circulated from Berlin on September 11th says:—

The situation in the western theatre of the war has undergone no change since yesterday. French attacks in certain parts of the battle front continued throughout the night of September 15 and again on the 16th, but they were repulsed yesterday. German counter-attacks, on the other hand, were successful.

The retreat of the German western wing was merely a tactical manoeuvre, which does not affect the strategical position.

It is reported from Paris that during the last battles the English army lost 15,000 killed and wounded.

Messages from Paris which have been received in Ghent report that the position of the German army is unfavourable.

General Colonel von Hansen, of the Cavalry Division, has been taken ill and has been replaced. Artillery General von Schubert, commanding the Fourteen Reserve Corps, has been transferred elsewhere and his position filled by General Quartermaster von Stein. Infantry General Count Kirschbach, commanding the Tenth Reserve Corps, has been injured, and in his place General von Eben has been appointed.

German Version of the Retreat.

Copenhagen, September 11th.

The following despatch is published in Berlin:—General Headquarters, September 10.

Our troops, which had advanced east of Paris to and across the Marne in pursuit of the enemy, were attacked from Paris between Meaux and Montmirail by superior forces.

They held their opponents in a severe two day's battle, and themselves gained ground.

As the approach of new strong hostile columns was announced the German wing was drawn back. The enemy nowhere pursued us.

[A passage here has been deleted by the Censor]

Our troops fighting to the west of Verdun are in a continuous battle.

The situation in Lorraine and the Vosges is unchanged.

Fighting has begun again in the eastern theatre of operations.

AN ADMISSION OF DEFEAT CORRECTED.

In Amsterdam on September 11th there was circulated as an official message from Berlin a telegram very similar to that given above from Copenhagen, but with one remarkable difference. About the place where the Censor has made excision in the Copenhagen message, the message circulated in Amsterdam (and stated to have General von Stein's authority) contained the following:—

"The enemy won the battle, obliging the German troops to retire. Fifty guns were captured, and some thousands of men made prisoners."

The Amsterdam news agency (according to the Central News) has since explained that "in consequence of a blunder at the German end of the wire" the official message was wrongly rendered, and has "corrected" the passage to the following:—"On receipt of the news of the arrival of a strong hostile column the left had to retire. It was not pursued by the enemy. Our (i.e., the German) troops took fifty guns and some thousands of prisoners."

Newspapers Silent.

Copenhagen, Sept 12.

A special despatch from Berlin to-night says that the newspapers there are without any news from France. They print, however, statements with the censor's permission that a decisive battle is probably progressing, stretching from Nanteuil to Vitry. They declare that it is likely to be some time before the event is decided, and that in the meantime the fortunes of war are likely to shift from side to side. "The Germans," they declare, "must be prepared for temporary defeat."

[The wireless news officially circulated from Berlin yesterday contains no reference to the position in France except the following:—

"The Crown Prince's army has captured the fortified position to the south-west of Verdun, and since last Thursday the forts south of Verdun have been attacked by heavy artillery."]

200,000 Prisoners of War.

The following war news, dated Berlin, September 18, has been officially circulated by the German wireless station and received by the Marconi Company:—

The retreat of the 1st Russian Army from East Prussia has been turned into a fight, with our troops in hot pursuit. Up to yesterday they had made more than 10,000 prisoners and captured 80 guns, as well as a number of machine-guns, ammunition,

Up to September 11 about 200,000 prisoners of war were accounted for in Germany, including the following:—

French.—1,670 officers, 86,700 men.

Russians.—1,880 officers, 91,400 men.

Belgians.—440 officers, 80,200 men.

British.—160 officers, 7,250 men.

"Enemy's Reports Untrue."

In the wireless message officially circulated from Berlin, 14th September, the following references are made to the fighting in France:—

"An official announcement states that it has not yet been possible to publish particulars of the operations taking place in the western theatre of war. Those operations have resulted in a new battle, in which the position is favourable. Reports to our disadvantage which the enemy have circulated with all the means at their disposal are untrue."

"A sortie from Antwerp by three Belgian divisions has been repulsed."

"The army of the German Crown Prince is now attacking on both sides the forts between Verdun and Toul."

"Prince Joachim (the Kaiser's son), who was wounded by a shrapnel bullet while acting as ordnance officer in the firing line, has been brought to Berlin and is now at the Bellevue Palace."

India and the War.

I

We take the following extracts from Sir Valentine Chirol's letter on "India and the War," which appeared in the *Times* of Saturday (September 12). The response of our Indian Empire may indeed well give cause, not only for immediate thankfulness and pride, but also for confidence and hope in the future. Comradeship in arms will bind Englishmen and Indians close together on the battlefield, and in India and in these islands the sense of a common danger met by a common effort will strengthen that community of interests and of sentiments which seemed of recent times threatened by an artificial growth of mutual suspicions. The whole question of the position of India and of Indians in the British Empire will be approached in a broader and more generous spirit when our Indian princes and our Indian Army have stood shoulder to shoulder through this war with British officer and British men drawn from our most distant Dominions as well as from these islands. One minor point is also worth remembering when our Indian troops come into contact with the Germans. They have never forgotten the insolence of the German contingent in China in 1900, whose favourite amusement was to jeer at them as coolies. Even so gallant a gentleman as old Sir Pertab Singh was spared no indignity that could be safely inflicted upon him by the German Headquarters under Field Marshal von Waldersee. I happened to be in camp with him at Bikanir a couple of years ago, when the former German Ambassador in London, Count Wolff Metternich, arrived as a somewhat unwelcome guest, and I remember how the inborn courtesy of the great Rajput Prince was strained to the uttermost to repress the bitter memories of those days in Peking. As he put it in his quaint English, "I like meet German on horseback, sword in hand, not 'salaam' in drawing-room. Show him then Rajput no coolie."

II

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—When Sir Valentine Chirol writes about India the rest of us may well accept the teaching of his great knowledge and experience. With reference to his admirable letter in *The Times* of September 12, I should like to ask him whether the magnificent proofs of Indian loyalty and devotion to the Empire's cause may not rightly be traced to the fact that the voice of India which speaks to-day is the real voice of the 300,000,000 of the Great Peninsula, while the voice we are accustomed to hear is that of a comparatively small section of professional talkers, whose occupation has disappeared in the face of mighty issues which are moving the real heart of the people.

Apart from the millions of Indian toilers there are very many fighters who scorn any other trade. Under ordinary circumstances the men of warlike races are never heard, but at a time like this the martial spirit of India sweeps aside every form of worldly agitation, and men who may have appeared to be the leaders of popular opinion are brushed aside and forgotten in the need for sterner warriors.

The voice of England to-day is quite unlike the voice of England even two months ago. It is almost too much to hope that it will remain at this high level for long. Already one hears of efforts to stop the war, to save German feelings, and to prove that the Germans are the real friends of England. Fortunately there is a martial spirit in Britain, and in Greater Britain, quite strong enough to see this struggle through to the end; but, while our spirit is usually dormant and needs almost as great an effort to rouse it as will be required to put it safely away for another time, it is different from that passionate love of battle which is now stirring the hearts of the warlike races of Hindustan.

Yours obediently

FRANK SWETTENHAM

September 12.

III

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—As one who was among the first to take steps immediately on the declaration of war by England to assure the Secretary of State for India that all classes and communities in India would be absolutely united in supporting the British cause against German aggression, may I beg of your courtesy to allow me space to explain the true meaning of the enthusiastic support of which England, apparently to her surprise, has received such signal proofs?

It is this. We wish to avert by all that lies in our power the humiliation of a change of government. We have assurances afforded to us in the history of British occupation of India, by the promises of our Sovereign and the pledges given by British statesmen on solemn occasions, that the British Government in India has a higher purpose to serve than merely the maintenance of peace and order, which any Government must secure if it is to exist at all. That purpose is to enlist by means of Western education the sympathy and cooperation of the people in the ideals of Western civilization, so that they may ultimately be fitted to administer the affairs of their own country as an integral part of the British Empire. From the Germans we can have no similar guarantees. The progress in the desired direction may have been slow in the past, but we have every hope that the pace will now be considerably quickened; this hope is greatly fostered by the recent administrative reforms with which Lord Morley's honoured name is associated and by the sympathetic attitude of Lord Hardinge, our most popular Viceroy, towards national aspirations and sentiments. We believe that by remaining within the orbit of the British Empire we shall be able sooner to realize the destiny of India than otherwise. These are cogent reasons for our sinking all differences in the face of a common danger apart from the apparent justice of the British attitude in this war.

My friend Sir Valentine Chirol in his letter which appeared in *The Times* of to-day, seems to attach a somewhat secondary significance to the whole-hearted response which the Western educated Indians have made at the present crisis. I venture to think this is due to an imperfect appreciation of the position of educated Indians and the power which they represent. Their ranks comprise the most energetic and enterprising sections of both the Hindu and Mahomedan communities in all parts of India and large and rapidly-growing numbers of Punjabis, the Sikhs and the Pathans, the best fighting races of the country; many of them are descendants of families which carried on the civil and military administration during the Mogul period, and some of them represent in their own persons ancient Sanskrit and Arabic learning, while there are few Moulvis and Pundits who are not giving their sons Western education. A fair and increasing proportion of the land-holding and commercial classes are also receiving the benefits of Western education. And, as Sir Valentine himself points out, many of the chiefs themselves are Western educated; nor should we forget that their counsellors are mostly educated Indians. I am afraid very few Englishmen properly realize the obvious fact that without the help of Western-educated Indians British administration in India could not be carried on for a day, or that these men supplied the moral force by which the influence of a bigoted priesthood over the ignorant masses has been so greatly overcome.

It is important that the English public should fully understand the significance of the unsolicited support given by educated Indians, who are the most influential leaders of the people of India.

I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

ABDUR RAHIM (a Member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India).

Hotel Majestic, Harrogate, Sept. 12.

Ordinances Applied in the Case

OF

MR. ZAFAR ALI KHAN.

The Foreigners' Ordinance, 1914.

Simla, the 20th August, 1914

An Ordinance to provide for the exercise of more effective control over foreigners in British India.

ORDINANCE No. III of 1914.

WHEREAS an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the exercise of more effective control over foreigners in British India,

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 23 of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, the Governor General is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance.

1. (1) This Ordinance may be called "The Foreigners' Ordinance, 1914."

(2) It extends to the whole of British India including British Baluchistan, the Sonthal Parganas, the district of Angul, the Shan States and the Pargana of Spiti.

Definitions

2 In this Ordinance—

(a) "foreigner" has the same meaning as in the Foreigners Act, 1864.

(b) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this ordinance.

3. (1) The Governor General in Council may by order—

Power to prohibit or regulate entry, departure and residence of foreigners

(a) prohibit, or regulate and restrict in such manner as he thinks fit, the entry of foreigners into British India; and

(b) regulate or restrict in such manner as he thinks fit the liberty of foreigners residing or being in British India.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power orders under sub-section (1) may provide—

(a) that no foreigner shall enter into or depart from British India, save within such period and by such route, or by such port or place as may be specified in such order;

(b) that foreigners shall be prohibited from entering or remaining in any specified area in British India or shall only be permitted to enter or remain in British India or any specified area therein subject to such conditions and restrictions as the Governor General in Council may impose; and

(c) that foreigners residing or being in British India shall remove themselves to and remain in any specified area, or if such an order is necessary for the public safety, or in the interests of the State, that such foreigners shall be arrested and interned or confined in such manner as the Governor General in Council may think fit.

4. Any foreigner who contravenes or attempts to contravene the provisions of any order made under section 3, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.

5. (1) The Governor General in Council or any Local Govern-

ment may, by notification in the *Gazette of India* or the local official *Gazette*, as the case may be, direct that within any area specified in such notification, every householder in whose house a foreigner is residing either temporarily or permanently shall forthwith report to the prescribed authority in the prescribed manner, the name of such foreigner, and such other particulars respecting him and the period of his residence in such house as may be prescribed.

(2) Any householders who fails to comply with the provisions of any notification issued under subsection (1) shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both,

6. Whereas under the provisions of this Ordinance the Governor General in Council of any Local Government is authorised to make any order or issue any notification in respect of foreigners, such order may be made or such notification issued in respect of foreigners generally or in respect of any class or description of foreigners, or in respect of any individual foreigner, and different orders or notifications may be made or issued in respect of different classes of foreigners.

7. (1) The Governor General in Council may make rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this Ordinance :

In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power such rules may provide for—

(a) the authority to whom, and the manner in which, reports under section 5 shall be made and the particulars to be stated therein; and

(b) the manner in which order, under this Ordinance shall be enforced.

(3) All rules made under this section shall have effect as if enacted in this Ordinance.

8. The Governor General in Council or the Local Government may at any time rescind or modify any order, rule or notification made or issued under this Ordinance, and the Governor General in Council may delegate, subject to such conditions and restrictions as he thinks fit, all or any of his powers under this Ordinance to any civil or military authority in British India either by name or in virtue of his office.

9. Nothing in this Ordinance shall be deemed to affect or derogate from any power which may be exercised under the Foreigners Act, 1864, or under any other law for the time being in force in respect of foreigners who are subjects of a State which is at war with His Majesty.

10. The Governor General in Council may exempt, either absolutely or conditionally, any foreigner or any class or description of foreigners from all or any of the provisions of this Ordinance.

11. No order made under section 3 of this Ordinance shall be called in question in any Court.

HARDINGE or PENSHURST.

Viceroy and Governor General.

W. H. VINCENT,

Secretary to the Government of India

The Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914.

Simla, the 5th September, 1914

An Ordinance to provide for the control of persons entering British India, whether by sea or land, in order to protect the State from danger of anything prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity.

ORDINANCE No. V of 1914.

WHEREAS an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the control of persons entering British India, whether by sea or land, in order to protect the State from danger of anything prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity :

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 23 of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, the Governor General is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance :—

1. (1) This Ordinance may be called the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India including British Baluchistan, the South Parganas, the district of Angul, the Shan States and the Pargana of Spiti.

2. The Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, shall have effect as if references therein to foreigners, included references

also to persons not being foreigners as therein defined, who enter British India, whether by sea or land, after the commencement of this Ordinance, subject to the following modifications, namely :—

(1) The power to prohibit entry, conferred by the said Ordinance, shall not be exercised.

(2) No power under the said Ordinance as applied by this Ordinance shall be exercised, unless the authority exercising the same is satisfied that the exercise thereof is desirable in order to protect the State from the prosecution of some purpose prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity.

(3) For the imprisonment provided by section 4 and, section 5 (2) of the said Ordinance, the following imprisonment shall be substituted, namely, in section 4, one year, and in section 5 (2), one month.

3. This Ordinance shall be construed with, and deemed to be part of, the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914.

HARDINGE or PENSHURST.

Viceroy and Governor General.

A. P. MUDDIMAN,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. HOME DEPARTMENT, NOTIFICATION (POLITICAL.) No. 907.

Simla, the 22nd August, 1914.

In pursuance of the provisions of section 8 of the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, the Governor General in Council is pleased to delegate to the civil authorities specified in the first column of the schedule annexed the powers specified in the second column of the same schedule, subject to the restrictions specified in the third column thereof.

SCHEDULE.

1 Authority empowered.	2 Powers delegated.	3 Restrictions.
1. All local Governments.	1. Powers under section 3 of the said Ordinance to regulate and restrict the liberty of foreigners residing or being in British India. 2. Power under section 7 of the said Ordinance to make rules providing for the manner in which orders made by the local Government in accordance with the provisions of this notification shall be enforced. 3. Power under section 8 of the said Ordinance to modify or rescind any order or rule made in accordance with the provisions of this notification.	The powers referred to in entry No. 1 of column 2 may be exercised only in respect of foreigners residing or being in the province administered by the local Government who are not male subjects of the German Empire, 20 years of age or over but not more than 39 years of age, or male subjects of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary who are 21 years of age or over but not more than 33 years of age.

No. 908.

In pursuance of the provisions of section 8 of the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, the Governor General in Council is pleased to delegate to the military authorities specified in the first column of the schedule annexed the powers specified in the second column of the same schedule, subject to the restrictions specified in the third column thereof.

SCHEDULE.

1 Authority empowered.	2 Powers delegated.	3 Restrictions.
1. The Commander-in-Chief in India.	Power under section 7 of the said Ordinance to make rules providing for the manner in which orders made by military authorities in accordance with the provisions of this notification shall be enforced, and power under section 8 of the said Ordinance to modify or rescind any such rules.	Nil.

1. Authority empowered.	2 Powers delegated.	3 Restrictions
2. The Adjutant-General in India.	1. Powers under section 3 of the said Ordinance to regulate and restrict the liberty of foreigners residing or being in British India.	(a) The powers referred to in entry No. 1 of column 2 may be exercised by the Adjutant-General in India only in respect of foreigners residing or being in the district of Simla, and by the military authorities referred to in entries 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the 1st column, only in respect of foreigners residing or being in the territories included in their respective commands, and
3. Officers commanding division	2. Power under section 8 of the said Ordinance to modify or rescind any orders made by them.	(b) the said powers, except the power of prohibiting foreigners from entering or remaining in any specified area in British India or of permitting foreigners to enter or remain in such areas subject to conditions and restrictions, may be exercised only in respect of male subjects of the German Empire who are not less than 20 or more than 39 years of age, or in respect of male subjects of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, who are not less than 21 or more than 31 years of age.
4. Officers commanding brigades.		
5. Officers commanding divisional areas.		
6. Officers commanding internal security areas.		

No. 909.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 of the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, the Governor General in Council is pleased to issue the following orders regulating and restricting the entry of foreigners into British India and their departure therefrom:—

1. No foreigner shall enter or depart from British India by sea except by the ports of Calcutta, Madras or Rangoon.

2. No foreigner shall depart from British India by land or sea before the 15th September, 1914.

3. No foreigner who is a subject of the German Empire or of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary shall depart from British India by land or sea before the 15th September, 1914, or after the 30th September, 1914.

4. No foreigner who is a male subject of the German Empire and is 20 years of age or over and under 40 years of age, or who is a male subject of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary and is 21 years of age or over and under 34 years of age shall depart from British India by land or sea until further orders.

5. Nothing in these orders shall—

(a) apply to any Asiatic foreigner; or

(b) be deemed to prohibit any foreigner from entering into or departing from British India in accordance with the terms of any permit granted by the Governor General in Council or some officer empowered by the Governor General in Council in this behalf.

H. WHEELER,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Short Story.

Mates.

Once upon a time, in a certain city, there lived a King who had an only son whom he loved very dearly. Now this young Prince was very fond of pictures, so much so that there was not a single collection of pictures in the city which the Prince had not visited a hundred times, nor any private collection of pictures which he had not ransacked. What is more, when there were no more pictures in the country left for the Prince to see, the King, his father, sent for vast collections of the rarest and most beautiful pictures from abroad so that the Prince might indulge his favourite passion. Now, one day it so happened that while the Prince was engaged in looking at some very beautiful pictures from a distant country, his eye alighted on the most lovely little miniature portrait of a Princess that one could imagine. It was evidently the picture of some foreign Princess of extraordinary beauty. So charming, indeed, was the picture that the young Prince at once fell deeply in love with the face which it portrayed. From that day forth a great longing to possess the Princess came over the Prince, and he gave up all his meat and drink so mad was his desire.

When it came to the ears of the King that a strange melancholy had come over his son, he was much concerned and he forthwith sent for his trusty counsellor, the Grand Vizier, and asked his advice as to what was to be done. The Vizier said: "Sire, the Prince is evidently in love. That is a condition which I have myself experienced in the days of my youth, and I know that when that comes upon a young man he is generally very reticent, most unwilling to confide his woes to anybody, unless, indeed, it be to a bosom friend of the same age. I would, therefore, suggest to your Majesty that my own son, who is of the same age as the young Prince, and his school-fellow, may be sent to the Prince to glean the secret of his sorrow, for to no other man is the Prince likely to unburden his heart. Once the ill itself is known, it should be easy to find the remedy."

The King, approving of the advice, sent the Vizier's son to the Prince.

Now the Vizier's son, although young, was yet very wise. He found no difficulty in learning the secret of the Prince, and then, counselled him in this wise:—

"It ought to be no difficult matter to seek out the Princess you desire if you follow the plan which I am going to propose. It is this: Let us set out on the quest in great state, taking with us a large retinue and an army of artisans of all kinds, smiths, carpenters, jewellers, stone masons, and other handicraftsmen of great skill in their various arts. In the course of our progress in state, let us call a halt at every important town and city, which may lie in our way, and there let us give a grand banquet to the citizens, laying out the table with gold plate. When the feast is over let us give away to each guest the platter of precious metal out of which he had fed, and let us hang up the portrait of your Princess in a prominent place and see if any guest could tell us anything about the strange Princess and whether he could suggest any means whereby you could obtain her hand in marriage."

This plan pleased the Prince and filled him with a ray of hope, and he forthwith gave up his melancholy and ate and drank and was happy once more. A little later, all the arrangements made, the Prince and the Vizier's son started on their quest in great state, taking with them a whole army of skilled craftsmen. Whenever they came to any city they always entertained the inhabitants to a great feast at which all the meats were served in golden dishes which were afterwards given away freely to the guests. In this way they earned for themselves a great fame among all the kings and princes for their wealth and generosity. At every feast the picture of the mysterious Princess was hung up in a prominent place, but beyond admiring the beauty of form and face, none of the guests gave the least clue to the identity of the Princess. At last one day when they had reached a certain city in Persia and given, as was their wont, a magnificent banquet to the inhabitants, one of the guests, an old man, shrivelled and bent, started on seeing the portrait as if he recognised it and laughed loudly, after which he suddenly burst into tears.

The Vizier's son who had been eagerly watching faces observed this and at once asked the old man the reason for his strange behaviour. The old man then informed him that the portrait was none other than that of the daughter of the King of Persia whom he knew very well, having been in her service when she was a child. He had laughed with joy at being reminded of his sweet mistress, but that he had cried to think of the unfortunate turn her mind had lately taken, for she had taken a solemn oath never to marry or see the face of any man, and had shut herself up in a city peopled only by women which she had founded, where no male being, whether man or beast, was allowed

to set ~~foot~~ on pain of death. The old man went on to say that so unreasoning was the dislike of the Princess for everything of the male sex that she caused to be shot with bows and arrows the very birds of the male sex which crossed her sacred dominions by skilful archer women stationed on the rampart of the city.

Delighted at having at last found definite news of the object of his quest, the Vizier's son proceeded to form his plans.

That night, disguising himself as a woman, he made his way to the city of the Princess and, entering her favourite garden, knocked at the door of the *malan* who was in charge of the garden. On the latter demanding who it was that knocked at such a late hour, the Vizier's son replied that it was a benighted woman-traveller who sought shelter. The *malan* let him in but warned him at the same time that the Princess, her royal mistress, did not approve of strangers intruding in her garden. But the Vizier's son by means of earnest entreaties prevailed on the woman to take him in and let him live with her for at least a few days.

Whilst staying with the *malan* he made himself so useful and helped her so well in her work, that she looked upon him as a great acquisition and thought no more of sending him away.

In those days, when it was the fashion for princes and noblemen of high degree to learn various useful trades and handicrafts, so that they might be prepared for all eventualities and be able to earn their own living if the worst came to the worst, it should not be wondered at that the Vizier's son had acquired the art of a skilful gardener. When the *malan* sent flowers to her royal mistress in the morning, he would weave them into marvellous wreaths and garlands and pretty bouquets, so that the Princess admiring the skill with which these were woven at once guessed that her gardener must have acquired an assistant.

One morning she asked the gardener who was helping her make those pretty designs in flowers. The *malan* said, "It is only a daughter of mine who does these things."

"Bring your daughter to me to-morrow" said the Princess. "I shall be very glad to make her acquaintance."

Accordingly, the next morning, the Vizier's son, accompanied by the *malan* went to the Princess's palace. When the Vizier's son saw the Princess he became certain that she was no other than the one whose portrait has so infatuated the Prince, and wondered much at her marvellous beauty.

The Vizier's son managed to win for himself the favour of the Princess to such an extent that he ended by coming to live in the palace as one of the chamber maids of the Princess. There he took special pains to win the confidence of an old nurse who had brought up the Princess from her childhood and in whom the Princess placed the greatest trust. The Vizier's son knew that if he was ever to gain his object it must be through the means of this nurse.

One day he asked the nurse how it was that the Princess had not married and what was the reason for her hating the opposite sex so much.

"Hush!" said the nurse, "hold your tongue! do not ask so dangerous a question. Were the Princess to overhear us she would have both of us flayed alive!"

But the Vizier's son begged her hard to put this question to the Princess, saying that there would be no danger for the old nurse as the Princess loved her so much, and that he could not restrain his curiosity. The old nurse at last gave in and consented to put the dreaded question to the Princess the next day at a moment when she should find her in a happy mood. Accordingly the next morning when the Princess was laughing and talking gaily with her maids, the old nurse approached and timidly introduced the subject of marriage.

"My dear," said she, "it grieves my old heart to see you thus wasting your noble youth and beauty in this lonely spot. It has always been the greatest longing of my heart to see you happily married to some handsome Prince, and to see your children playing around you before I die."

The sunshine at once died from the Princess's countenance and her brow darkened. She turned to her attendants in a towering rage and said "Here, take away this impudent woman from my presence and flog her well so that it may teach her to keep a better control over her tongue."

In spite of her old age and piteous entreaties, the woman was mercilessly beaten and sent away from the palace in disgrace.

The Vizier's son stood quietly watching events. When the Princess's anger had cooled down he took the opportunity to say: "Poor old nurse! I am sure it was very wrong of her to say what she did, but I hope your Highness will forgive her. She is so old and feeble, and after all she meant well."

The Princess, relenting at these words, sent for the old nurse whom she really loved very much, and said: "Dear old nurse! Forgive me for my hastiness, but I lost my temper at your words. You know how I hate that subject. Come now I will tell you what you want to know, but promise first never to mention the subject in my presence again."

The nurse promised and the Princess then began:

"I clearly remember that in a former birth I was a bird and used to live together with my mate in a snug nest on a tall tree in a thick forest. One day, when we were both on the wing in search of food for our young ones, I suddenly perceived that that portion of the forest where stood the tree on which our nest was built was on fire. As we were flying at a great height, we could clearly see the flames raging round our nest. Of course you can imagine the fear and dismay that took possession of my heart. Said I to my mate: 'Fly quick and save the young ones! There is time yet and you are stronger of wing than I. You will get there in time! Speed, for Heaven's sake.' But, to my surprise, my mate hung back. 'Go yourself,' he said 'you can fly just as I can.' I was in a frenzy of despair, but it was in vain that I begged him to save the young ones whom I had not the courage to save myself. My cruel mate only argued the point instead of taking action. He said they were my young ones no less than his and that therefore it was my duty as well as his to save them and much else besides, which I did not hear, for just then, to my horror, I saw my beloved home ablaze and my young ones perishing in the flames before my very sight."

"Then a deep rooted disgust for my mate and all of his sex took possession of my soul. I thought that they must be all very heartless and unworthy to be loved and from that moment I abandoned my mate and flew away to pass a lonely life as far away as possible from the scene of my desolation. Ages went by. I was born again, a Princess of Iran."

"As I grew up, the recollection of that former birth seemed to come back to me with a strange and surpassing vividness and I remembered how grievously I had been wronged by one of the male sex at the time when I was only a bird and the aversion of that time took such strong possession of me once more that I vowed never to marry or look on the face of a man as long as I lived. This is how I have come to my present resolution to avoid all of the opposite sex."

The old nurse listened with great astonishment to the strange story and the next day she confided it to the Vizier's son who, having now gained the information which he wanted, took the opportunity to leave the city and rejoin his master.

The Prince was delighted at the return of his faithful friend and embraced him with joy.

The Vizier's son then told the good news of having found the Princess whom the Prince sought. When the Prince heard this he showed great eagerness to see the Princess and begged the Vizier's son to get him married to her at once.

"Not so fast! Not so fast!" said the Vizier's son, "restrain yourself, my good master. It is by no means easy to secure the Princess. But I have a plan in my mind which may answer. There is a well just outside the Princess's city from which the drinking water of the Princess is drawn. Let us cause a fine city to be built near this well excelling the city of the Princess in beauty and magnificence and let us forbid any female being, whether man or beast, to enter the city on pain of death, and let us cause to be killed even the female birds that may happen to cross our city. When this is done I will devise some means of attracting the Princess's notice."

Accordingly, the very next day the army of artisans was set to work building, and in a short time, with great industry, they built a beautiful magnificent city, and furnished it with every possible comfort and convenience.

The fame of the new city, built so close to hers, and surpassing it in splendour, soon reached the Princess and roused her curiosity.

Now when the women came to draw water from the well the Vizier's son had men stationed there armed with light catapults who broke the earthen jars and pitchers of the water women and spilled all the water. The women were much alarmed, and when they asked the men the reason why they annoyed them, they simply answered that that was the order of their Prince. The women went weeping to the Princess with their broken jars and complained of their ill-treatment by the people of the neighbouring city. The Princess was very angry and she sent one of her women to the Prince's city to find out the reason for the attack on her women. The messenger was stopped at the gate of the Prince's city and told that no woman was allowed to enter it. Upon her saying that she was a messenger from the Princess, word was sent at once to the Vizier's son who came in person and spoke to her and said "Rash woman! how dare you attempt to enter this city? Do you not know that you will lose your life if you are found inside?"

The messenger replied that she had been sent by the Princess to find out the reason why her water women had been attacked by the Prince's men and their pitchers and jars broken.

To this the Vizier's son replied saying: "That is because our Prince hates the very sight of all female creatures, so much so that he has ordered to be killed the very birds that fly over here if they happen to be of the female sex. The Prince believes that your fauch makes the water of the well unclean and that your shadow which falls on our city is a curse and a blight."

The woman sped back to her mistress and told what she had heard. The Princess was utterly taken aback to find that there was actually a man who was so presumptuous as to hate woman. She who had hitherto hated all males so whole heartedly was now consumed with curiosity to see the Prince who hated women as much quite, and she sent word to the Vizier's son to ask if she could see the Prince. But the latter at this pretended to be very wroth and sent back word saying it was quite impossible for the Prince to see the Princess as he would allow no female being to approach him.

On receiving this message the Princess' curiosity was doubly excited and she became more than ever desirous of seeing him. She sent another messenger carrying handsome presents for the Vizier's son in order to persuade him to let her have a look at the Prince and to find out the cause of his so hating womankind.

The Vizier's son at first made many excuses, and then agreed saying that if the Princess was so anxious to see the Prince, there was only one way. She should come in a closed palanquin to a certain garden at an appointed time and he would take the Prince out for a walk in that direction. The Princess could then see him through the shutters of her palanquin and he would engage the Prince in a conversation at the risk of incurring his displeasure and find out from him the reason for his hatred of women. The Princess would thus have an opportunity of overhearing the conversation.

When all was arranged the Vizier's son went to his master and told him all about it. The Prince was so pleased that he asked the Vizier's son to let him see the Princess at once. "No," said the Vizier's son, "You must be careful and act your part well or everything will be spoiled. I will take you to the garden to-morrow where the Princess' palanquin will be placed beforehand and then I will ask you the reason for hating women. You must pretend to be very angry and order me to be taken away from your presence and beaten. But after a while you must relent and send for me and tell me that the reason for your hating women is that you remember that in your former life you were a bird and that one day, when you were out in search of food with your mate you saw the jungle in which your nest was on fire, and the nest with your young ones in it was in great danger. Your mate asked you to fly to the rescue of the young ones, but she insisted that you should go alone some hard as you impressed upon her the necessity of joint action on and part of mates in time of danger, she remained deaf to all reasoning and went into fits of ill-timed anger and that through her cowardice and selfishness, perversity and strife you had the misfortune of seeing the lives you loved best lost for ever and your home burned to ashes; the companion of your weal and woe instead of sympathizing with you, deserting you in your moment of sorrow. Thus forsaken and broken-hearted, you roamed about aimlessly till death released you from the bonds of a wretched existence. In the next cycle of your birth you were born a Prince of Hindustan, and as you grew up a vivid recollection of your former existence dawned on you and you swore an oath never to have anything to do with women, for their cowardice and selfishness, their folly and obstinacy ruins the heart and home of many an honest man."

The Prince rejoicing at the idea of meeting the Princess decked himself in his best clothes and performed his person with the choicest perfumes, and accompanied by the Vizier's son started for the place where the Vizier's son had caused the palanquin of the Princess to be placed.

There the Prince and the Vizier's son sat down, pretending not to notice the palanquin and began to talk. In the course of the conversation the Vizier's son asked the Prince the reason of his dislike for women, whereupon the former, pretending to be in a great rage, called his attendants and ordered him to be dragged out of his presence and well punished. Then soon relenting he called him again and said: "My dear Vizier, pardon me for treating you so rudely, but you talked on a subject that I cannot bear to hear; but for the sake of the love you bear me I will open my heart to you and tell you the story of my life." With these words the Prince went on to relate the story which the Vizier's son had taught him.

The Princess who could hear every word from her palanquin opened her eyes in surprise and said to herself, "Ah me! How could I have been so foolish! After all it was I who was to blame! I admit it now, it was my folly. How he must have suffered when I left him."

But thank God! I have got him back again!" With these words, unable to control herself any longer, she rushed out of the palanquin and threw herself down at the feet of the Prince, crying "My love! my love! forgive me and let me do penance for my past follies."

The Prince, overjoyed to see the Princess whom he loved so much at his feet, raised her up at once and held her to his heart with words of love and forgiveness.

Then the Princess went home and the Prince sent the Vizier's son to the King, her father, with precious gifts, requesting the hand of his daughter in marriage. The King received him with great honour and gave him handsome presents, but sadly said: "Alas, your suit is in vain. My daughter hates all men. However, I will send a woman to her with a message to her own city which is peopled with woman only, and await her answer. But I fear that the errand will be a fruitless one."

A woman was accordingly despatched with the message and to the great surprise of the King, a favourable answer was returned by the Princess which was received with great joy at the court of the King, and the wedding took place with the greatest pomp and circumstance. After a few months the Prince and Princess taking leave of the King, returned to the country of the Prince where his father and mother had grown blit through weeping for their absent son. When the tidings of the Prince's return reached them they felt so glad that their eyesight returned to them, and they embraced their son and daughter-in-law. And the King said: "My dear son, I am growing old and I should like to see you on the throne of your father before I die". Then sending for his Grand Vizier he gave orders that his son might be installed on the throne in his place. The coronation was attended with rejoicings and the whole capital was brilliantly illuminated. The Vizier's son was made the Grand Vizier under the new rule and was loaded with honours, estates and titles. And so they all lived happily ever after.



"The Comrade War Bulletin."

READERS of the *Comrade* will be glad to learn that we have been getting now for some time direct Reuters' full telegraphic service of news and our *War Bulletin* has been able to compete with the news service of every Northern India Daily on equal terms. We trust our readers will compare the hours of departure of Mails from Bankipore, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, and Bombay for their own stations with the hours of departure from Delhi, and judge for themselves whether the latest news can reach them earlier from Delhi or from other stations whence Dailies are posted to them. If we reach them earlier there can be no reason for their taking in any other paper for the sake of news only. For readers of the *Comrade* who enlist within the month of October and pay the amount in advance for at least 3 months, (V. P.'s will not be issued for it) the subscription of the *Bulletin* is reduced to Re. 1-4-0 per mensem, and if the response to this appeal is as ready as we expect, the rate may be reduced still further to Re. 1 only for all such subscribers. In this way those who already subscribe for the *War Bulletin* as well as the *Comrade* will practically get a daily paper at the moderate cost of Rs. 24 per annum. Many of our readers have expressed the desire to see the *Comrade* converted into a daily paper. The difficulties of a daily paper are only understood by those who manage a daily or even a weekly paper. But they are believed to be almost insurmountable if the daily is meant to be not provincial but an all-India paper like the *Comrade*. Some of our readers are, however, of opinion that a sufficiently large number of people will subscribe for the *Comrade* if it is made a daily paper. This is the time for them to prove the practicability of their suggestion. Will two thousand five hundred subscribers enlist themselves for a daily service of news and a weekly service of views? If the response is feeble we shall be compelled to discontinue so costly a news service. We may add that the Railway Mail Service authorities to whom we have repeatedly complained of the absence of postal facilities, and to whom many of our readers too have to our knowledge complained still oftener are considering the question and we an arrangement will shortly expect be made under which the stamping and sorting of our publications will be done on our premises. We want 2,500 permanent subscribers and an agency for the sale of the *Comrade* and its *War Bulletin* in every town of respectable size. Let us see how many of our subscribers canvass successfully for us and also establish an agency in their town. This is not an appeal but a challenge, and a challenge addressed not to an undefined entity called "the reader", but to YOU! Will YOU do it?

TETE À TETE



We publish elsewhere a communication, addressed by Turkey to the Powers in regard to the abolition of the Capitulations, the Powers' protests and a few comments by the English papers on this momentous decision of the Porte. That

The Capitulations in Turkey.

Turkey was well advised, both for the sake of her material well-being and her self-respect, to do away with these irksome and insulting badges of inferiority which would be apparent from the fair and unreserved admissions of the Nation and the *Manchester Guardian*. But that irrepressible "friend" of Turkey, the *New East*, is pleased to think otherwise. It admits that the Capitulations have meant a restraint on Turkey's freedom which no sovereign state can endure; it does not deny that they have kept her in a fiscal bondage for centuries; and it knows only too well how they have sheltered nests of intrigue against the authority of the Sultan's Government. And yet it has the insolence to warn and threaten the Ottoman Ministers, make vile insinuations against their conduct and lay down the law which no Ottoman Government shall break on pain of dire consequences. One would imagine that the Sultan's Ministers only existed to wait in humbleness and take their orders from the pack of strenuous scribes who control this impertinent and gossiping sheet. It is, as we have said, fond of posing as a "friend" of Turkey. The disguise in which it has chosen to masquerade has never deceived any one that is in the least familiar with its methods. Friend of Turkey, indeed! Its hirelings have repaid the hospitality and freedom they enjoy in Turkey by habitually abusing the best, noblest and most devoted Turkish patriots, men the lachets of whose shoes they are unworthy to unloose, and abused them in terms that they have dared not employ against the vilest public man in the meanest State of Europe. This is the measure of its friendship for Turkey. Now as regards its latest effusion, it is pleased to taunt Turkey of a breach of faith. Its contention is that the Capitulations are treaties binding alike on Turkey and on the Powers, and can only be annulled or modified by mutual agreement. Perhaps it has conveniently forgotten that the question of the abolition of the Capitulations cannot be judged except in relation to their history. They cannot be classed with treaties in general; they are, in fact, solidified conventions which have gradually arisen out of the spontaneous gifts and concessions made by the Sultans in generous tolerance to foreigners in Turkey. They cannot be claimed as inalienable rights by the subjects of other Powers, and Turkey is in every way justified in abrogating them, especially when they have been found by experience to have become the source of enormous abuses. No unprejudiced observer can fail to see that the Capitulations press heavily on Turkey in innumerable ways. They have brought into being a vast army of foreigners who, although born and bred in the Ottoman Empire, yet enjoy a unique position of favour and privilege. These foreigners or Levantines,—as they are usually called—are, according to a fair-minded English observer, not amenable to the laws of the land in which they live, pay practically no taxes to the Government which protects them, and possess advantages in commerce, in finance and in the courts of law which have probably no parallel in history. Nor do they hesitate to abuse their privileges. In a thousand and one ways they place themselves in direct opposition to the authorities, meeting all attempts at interference in the spirit of *Cicero Romanus sum*. It is particularly since the Constitution of 1908 that Turkey has recognised the evil of the existing system, and that Ottoman patriots have sought to rid their country of this oppressive burden. The enthusiasm which greeted the announcement of the abrogation—an enthusiasm shared by Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans alike—is sufficient indication of the state of Turkish feeling. A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Before the war broke out pourparlers were on foot between the Government and the foreign missions for a modification of the Capitulations, greatly in Turkey's favour. These were almost entirely on the financial side and comprised such important measures as the increase

of the 'droit d'entree,' the placing of foreigners on the same 'taxation basis as natives,' the imposition of a suitable law to regulate joint-stock companies, and other similar measures. It cannot be said, however, that the proposals went as far as they reasonably might have done. For instance, they yielded no point on the right of the consulates to interfere in all matters between the Ottoman authorities and foreigners, an interference very irksome to the firms and entirely unnecessary when no question is in dispute, nor did they deal with the question of the foreign post offices, which are now quite unnecessary in Turkey. Probably the somewhat niggard concessions proposed by the Powers have influenced the Sublime Porte in her present step." We trust the British Government which has readily consented to the abolition of the capitulations in the old Turkish territories now held by Greece, will put no obstacles in the way of the just efforts of the Turk to free himself from the deadweight of a pernicious system which had degenerated from generosity into semi-slavery. England certainly does not relish the capitulations in Egypt, and yet they are no worse there than in Turkey.

LITTLE direct information is now being received in India as to the existing state of feeling in Turkey and Greece, but we know enough of the points of tension between the two to remember that it can not be very reassuring.

In the beginning of September it was announced that a conference was sitting at Bucharest to go into the whole question of Greco-Turkish differences and try to find some basis of settlement. It would seem that the conference was adjourned *sine die*. According to a Reuter's message of 12th September, it held three sittings. At the first conference the Turkish delegates proposed, first, that not only Chios and Mitylene (the two islands contested from the first by Turkey) but also Lemnos and Samos should be restored to the sovereignty of the Sultan; second, that the Sultan would grant them a local independent administration under a Christian governor to be appointed by the Sultan alone; third, that the revenues of the islands should be devoted to their local needs, with the exception of the Customs and postal receipts and with the exception of such taxes as are already devoted to the services of the Ottoman Public Debt. At the second conference the Greek delegates declared that the above proposal was inadmissible by the Hellenic Government, and made the following counter-proposal:—That Chios and Mitylene should be leased to Greece for a period of years to be fixed upon, and that the lease should be renewable, or if denounced by either party notice should be given three years before the expiration of the lease, and that during the existence of the lease neither party should have the right to make any change in the existing arrangements. The Turks stated that they would have to refer this to their Government and await instructions, and Talaat Bey left for Constantinople, leaving as his substitute the Ottoman Minister at Bucharest. The Turks asked for two explanations in regard to the Greek proposal—namely, whether Greece meant to include Lemnos and Samos in the arrangement to be come to in regard to the two other islands, and whether the leasing project entailed the flying of the Turkish flag over the islands. At the third sitting, which took place a few days ago, the Turks declared that the Greek proposal was not acceptable, and that, having regard to the present circumstances, they considered it advisable to postpone further negotiations until a more propitious time.

Mr. Lloyd George delivered a remarkable address on the war in the Queen's Hall on September 18th. For want of space we hold over the reproduction of the full speech till our next, but we take one small passage, in which he

Mr. Lloyd George on the War.

scorned over the Kaiser's utterances about himself. He said: "Have you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy, I advise you to buy it: they will soon be out of print, and you won't have any more of the same sort again. (Laughter) They are full of the chatter and bluster of German militarists—the mailed fist, the shining armour. Poor old mailed fist: its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armour: the shine is being knocked out of it. (Laughter.) But there is the same swagger and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. You saw that remarkable speech which appeared in the *British Weekly* this week. It is a very remarkable product, as an illustration of the spirit we have got to fight. It is his speech to the soldiers on the way to the front:—'Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, on me as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon, His sword, and His Viceroy. Woe to the disobedient. Death to cowards and traitors! There has been nothing like it since the days of Moses. Liberty is always distressing—(laughter)—but sometimes it is dangerous, and when you get it manifested in the heart of the State, and it becomes the policy of a great Empire, it is about time that it should be ruthlessly put away. (Cheers.)' We trust the speech of Mr. Lloyd George and the Empire as well as for the sake of that his reference to the Prophet of Israel was intended to emphasise

the fact that what was truth in Mohamed, the Last of the Prophets, is true in Kaiser William. Speaking in the House of Commons about the middle of August, 1918, Sir Edward Grey said that he would like to declare that "no Minister could speak of our relations with Mohamadan Powers without remembering that the king had many millions of Mohamaden subjects." Whatever one may say of the past we are sure no Minister of the British Crown would at this time forget to respect the sentiments of His Majesty's Moslem subjects. Mr. Lloyd George is entirely in his element when dealing with mangel-wurzel and pheasants. Let him leave Mohamed and the Prophets alone.

While nothing can be more gratifying and admirable than the spirit in which the best classes among the Britons have entered into war against Germany, one is genuinely grieved to note occasional outbursts of temper against the enemy, which scarcely do credit to the dignity of the great British nation. War is undoubtedly the most trying ordeal for a people, and the elemental passions that it evokes find outlets in most surprising ways. All the same it provides a searching test of the moral strength and stamina of a nation. Vulgar and senseless abuse of the enemy can do him little harm, while it only shows that those who indulge in such a demoralising kind of warfare are themselves unnerved and have lost their balance. Germans are reported to have worked themselves into a state of intense bitterness against the English and their hatred has found most hysterical and clumsy expressions. If that is so, so much the worse for the Germans. We shall not surely be able to smash German militarism by imitating German manners. The German Kaiser may be a most vicious and dark symbol of evil in the universe; yet he cannot, we suppose, be suppressed by vulgar invective and fibes. We do not know what purpose the following specimen in the art of vituperation is meant to serve. "This is the last will and testament of Wilhelm the Bandit (cancelling all wills made before)—I, William the Shameless, Emperor and King of Sausage Annihilators, Savages and Barbarians, recognising that I am completely misled (though I haven't 'missed lead') and mad with much pride and ambition, am making my will before my retirement to Colney Hatch or Siberia. Bequests: 1. My fortune (or misfortune) to all the widows, orphans and people of whose bereavement I have been the cause. 2. To Belgium as a souvenir of her heroic defence of Liège, the cross of honour in diamonds and the Nobel Prize for peace which was to be bestowed upon me this year, also my sword and the right to jeer at me for ever. 3. To France, (making a convenience of necessity) Alsace-Lorraine, her clocks and the billions of France's indemnity I will never see. 4. To England I give back her title which I usurped—viz., 'King of the Sea'. 5. To Serbia and Montenegro, I give Austria. 6. To Russia I give my Potsdam Telegraph Office with framed copies of famous wires. 7. To Austria I leave my revolver and cartridge, in order that she may end the business in honourable fashion. 8. To all the countries that I have forced into mobilisation I offer my sincere regrets that I had not time to visit them with my mad dog army and demonstrate to them my now famous Parisian 'Goose-run'. 9. To my family I leave my Almighty name and the nothing I have left. As Executors of this will I choose his Satanic Majesty and his Prime Minister, Ananias (my favourite poet), to whom I regret I cannot give my body as it is claimed by the whole world. (Sd.) Wilhelm, the Sausage King. (Late Managing Director of German and Austrian Empires, Enchanted)." This great literary effort appeared in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* at Lucknow on the 15th instant. It has not even the merit of humour to redeem its vulgarity. We are sure every true Englishman, with his sense of the dignity of his race and its glorious traditions, can have nothing but disgust for such paltry exhibitions.

By order of the Grand Duke Nicholas the following appeal, drawn up in nine languages of the principal nationalities of Austria-Hungary, was sent to the districts occupied by the Russians:—
"Peoples of Austria-Hungary.—The Government of Vienna declared war on Russia because the great empire, faithful to its historic traditions, could not abandon inoffensive Serbia or permit her enslavement. Peoples of Austria-Hungary, in making my entry into the territory of Austria-Hungary, I declare to you, in the name of the great Tsar, that Russia, who has often shed her blood for the emancipation of nations from a foreign yoke, seeks only the restoration of right and justice. To you, peoples of Austria-Hungary, Russia also brings liberty and realisation of your national hopes. During long centuries the Austro-Hungarian Government bowed among you discord and hostility, for she knew that your quarrels were the basis of her empire over you. Russia, on the other hand, only aims at enabling each of you to develop and prosper while preserving the precious heritage of your fathers, your language and your faith, and allowing each of you, united to his brethren, to live in peace and harmony with his neighbours, respecting their national rights."

The Russian proclamations seem destined to live as some of the most interesting mementoes of this war. And although Russia's role as liberator of oppressed nationalities and as champion of right and justice may not much impress the cynic, it is some comfort to think that the good old Muscovite ways of speech are being polished up through his close association with the great civilised democracies in this historic conflict. The proclamation to the peoples of Austria-Hungary has been drawn up in nine languages. The mere fact of this being necessary illustrates the heterogeneous nature of the Austro-Hungarian State. The nine languages are probably German, spoken by the people of Upper and Lower Austria; Hungarian, the little-used language of the Magyars, one of the linguistic puzzles of Europe; Czechish, spoken by the Bohemians; Polish, the language of the Poles of Galicia; Slovene, spoken by over a million of the inhabitants of Styria and Carinthia; Ruthenian; Serbo-Croatian; Italian, the language of Trieste, Dalmatia, and the Trentino; and Roumanian, spoken by a quarter of a million on the Roumanian frontier lands. It is odd to think of Russia issuing a document in Polish, for in Russian Poland the official language is Russian, and Polish is simply not recognised. If the thing were done quite thoroughly the proclamation would also have been printed in Yiddish!

Almost every German national manifesto about this war expresses keen and bitter resentment at England's choice to fight on the side of Russia. The Germans are filled with great hatred toward Russia, not only because they regard her as essentially a huge, barbaric mass, but because of the "Slav Peril" that has recently begun to affect the Teutonic imagination. According to Petrograd reports the news of the Allies' advance in France reached the Russian capital on the day of St. Alexander Nevsky, when Russia was celebrating her great hero of the thirteenth century, the first of his race to defeat the German invaders. Alexander Nevsky is a saint unknown to any of the Western Churches. He was, in fact, canonised by the Russian Church for his services to his country and religion. It is true that he fought successfully for Russia against the Germanic peoples. His surname commemorates his greatest victory. It means "Alexander of the Neva," and commemorates his victory over the Swedes on July 15, 1240, on the banks of the Neva, which was then a Swedish river. A year or two later he defeated the famous Teutonic Knights who had established themselves in Livonia and compelled them to give up all their conquests, and he kept back the Swedes in Finland. At this time Russia was still suffering from the Tartar invasion and was tributary to the Grand Khan. Though a conqueror towards the Germans, Alexander Nevsky was a vassal, and a highly diplomatic vassal, towards the Tartars. He held his dukedom of Vladimir at their hands, and, as we are told, "humbled himself before them for the good of his country." He paid two or three visits to the Grand Khan, and on his last induced the Tartars to lower the heavy monetary tribute they were levying on Russia and to abolish altogether the tribute of military service which they had been exacting. On his way home from this last journey he died. It is curious that this centuries old war between Slav and Teuton is commemorated in all European languages by the word "slave" and its relations. The word dates from the time when the Germans supplied the slave markets of Europe with Slav captives taken in war. The Slavs themselves derive the name of their race from a word, "slava," which means glory. Gibbon has a passage reflecting on the ironic contrast between this meaning and the meaning which the national name has come to bear in other European languages. Germans and Austrians to this day are conscious that the race war between Slav and Teuton is still going on. Austrians at least, believe that at last the Slav will overwhelm the Teuton. Fecundity fights on behalf of the Slav. From being one of a hundred small peoples in Europe, their original home a very restricted district north-east of the Carpathians, the Slavs have grown and spread, not so much by conquest as by multiplication, till now they are the most numerous single race in Europe. There are some 140,000,000 of them, and 100,000,000 of these are in Russia. If this war had never happened they were steadily conquering Austria by mere natural increase and economic competition.

Some of the distinguished English authors and publicists like Mr. H. G. Wells who are in sympathy with this war, dismiss the general misgivings about a policy that may lead to the ascendancy of Russia in Europe by declaring that the real Russia is fine of spirit and would be harmless even if she became dominant. Mr. H. E. Hutchinson writing in the *Manchester Guardian* said that the picture of Russia drawn in Mr. Israel Zangwill's play "The Melting Pot" belonged to the "novelist's Russia," and Mr. Wells had justified his delightfully charming analysis of Russia's instincts by invoking the authority of the distinguished Jewish novelist. Mr. Zangwill has now himself written to the *Manchester Guardian*, and this is what he has to say about Russia:

"Mr. H. Ernest Hutchinson claims that the picture of Russia drawn in my play 'The Melting Pot', now performing at your Theatre Royal, belongs merely to the 'novelist's Russia.' If he will consult the appendix to the printed text of the play he will find evidence that I have understated rather than exaggerated. As president of an organisation with hundreds of branches all over Russia, which has emigrated 10,000 Jews from the pale of oppression, I may claim to know more about Russia than Mr. Wells, with his fortnightly return ticket. Mr. Maurice Baring, that hoodwinked pet of Russian society, or Mr. Stephen Graham, the sentimental amateur tramp, to whom a perusal of Tolstoy's play 'The Power of Darkness' may be peculiarly commended. Mr. Hutchinson has the audacity to say that the Russia of knouts, pogroms, and exiles owes its existence to a German-Jewish press bureau. Would it were so easily destructible. The truth is the reverse—the amiable Russia is a British press conspiracy in the interests of the Entente. Certainly the Russian army is indispensable to day. But Russia did not mobilise for the *beaux yeux* of Britain. (How soon we have forgotten Chamberlain's warning or Kipling's 'Song of the Bear'!) This very day I have issued in a number of organs, English and American, an appeal to Jewish neutrals not to let the shadow of Russia alienate their sympathies from England and her holy task of crushing German militarism. But the Entente was in existence when 'The Melting Pot' was performed in London, and yet of the several Cabinet Ministers who saw it not one but expressed to me his approval. They are indeed, as Sir Edward Grey's promise to me shows, anxious that Russia's alliance with us should help to enfranchise her. But writers like Mr. Hutchinson and the trio he cites, would have it help to enslave England."

His Excellency A. Rustem Bey, the Ottoman Ambassador in the United States, issued on 7th September the following statement to the American Press:—
A Statement of the Ottoman Ambassador in Washington.

"According to to-day's papers, Great Britain following in the footsteps of France, has agitated before the eyes of the United States the spectre of a massacre of Christians in Turkey and has made this gruesome picture of the immediate future, drawn with absolute disregard to truth, a pretext for requesting the United States to dispatch warships to Turkish ports. That there have been massacres in Turkey I cannot, unfortunately, deny; but the victims suffered at the hands of the Moslems not as Christians, but as political agitators engaged in undermining the Ottoman State, the while flaunting in the face of the Government and dominant race the support of Russia, France and England. Under the same provocation what would Russia have done, who has given the world the spectacle of not one but twenty pogroms against an innocent race, what France who smoked to death in caverns the Algerians fighting for the independence of their land, who later on rejoiced in that grand production, the Commune, what England, whose punishment of the rebels in the Indian mutiny was to blow them off guns? And since a large number of American papers are siding with Great Britain and France in this affair I will permit myself to say that the thought of the lynchings which occur daily in the United States and the memory of the 'water cures' in the Philippines should make them chary of attacking Turkey in connection with acts of savagery committed by her under provocation compared with which the economic competition of an Italian or the sniping of a Filipino or even the outrage of a negro are as nothing. Great Britain and France have embarked upon a new campaign of provocation against Turkey, secretly hoping that as a result of it something untoward may happen in that country to confirm their sinister predictions, so that the United States will finally be prevailed upon to detach warships to the Levant and thus get mixed in the European fray on the allies' side, but I believe the administration too sagacious to fall into such a vulgar trap. It would be enough to mean war. Do the people of the United States want war? The new British move against Turkey is clumsy. It will not cause the United States to modify its attitude." We think, however, that H. E. Rustem Bey has misunderstood the attitude of England. According to the most reliable and authoritative pronouncements, England's only desire is that Turkey should maintain a strict neutrality in this war, and neither her traditional relations, nor her present policy and interest would, we believe, induce her to cause any wanton provocation to the Turks.

Europe has often talked of Turkish "Massacres" as if they were the sole remaining horrors of bestial frenzy and carnage in modern times. After what is being said of the Germans in this war, the tales of Turkish "atrocities" seem now to be milk-and-water affairs in comparison. But are the Turks really the ferocious brutes that their enemies have been accustomed to paint them? They were accused of atrocities

during the Balkan War, and here is what Pierre Loti has to say about those monstrous accusations. In one of his letters which he wrote in November 1912 and which has been included in his book entitled "Turkey in Agony", he writes:—"Massacres by the Turks! In heavily loaded type this accusation against the vanquished is repeated in the newspapers, over the stories of their terrible and sanguinary defeats. Of Bulgarian atrocities there has been no lack; nor are the facts denied, but their reports are only printed in small type at the bottom of a column. Massacres by the Turks. Quite so. Poor distracted Turks, betrayed and abandoned by the whole of Europe! This catchword is used as a heading to tirades in praise of the liberating mission of the Allies, the era of peace, liberty and brotherly love which is to follow their victory! During the dark days of October, 1912, in the Oasis of Tripoli, might we not have exclaimed in the same way: 'Massacres by the Italians'? And they were unprovoked invaders, they had not the excuse which the Turks can claim, hard pressed on all sides as they are. During the last expedition to China how many towns have I not seen, like Tong-Toheon on Tien-tai, utterly innocent of the deeds of the Boxers, reduced to a heap of ruins, where corpses of old men, women and children had been thrust into heaps with the butt-ends of rifles, among broken lacquer ware and China. There was ample justification for saying: 'Europe, Europe who pretends to carry into the Far East her famous torch of civilisation, Europe is guilty of massacres!' And pray tell me, what excuse could she invoke? The Huns could not have done worse than us. . . . And we French, have we not during the conquest of Algeria, (to mention only that one), murdered and suffocated by smoke women and children? . . . There is nothing more revolting than the extent to which the Turks are misunderstood. . . . Yet I do not believe that there exists in the world a race of men more deeply good-natured, courageous, loyal and kind-hearted." We have taken this extract only to show that those who know the real Turk can understand the nature of the terrible myths that have often been spun at his expense.

Is ever there was a likelihood of the "fanatical" Turk bursting out in a mad fury of hate and murderous passion against the Christians of the Empire it was surely in the dark days of defeat when the Bulgarians were hammering at Tebalatja and the people of Stamboul were plunged

in national mourning and grief. Yet there was perfect peace and quiet in the capital and the lives of Christians were as secure as ever. We quote below the testimony of some observers which was recorded at the time. These witnesses who were in close touch with affairs said: "From the beginning of the war to the present date (March 14th 1913), not a single Christian has been molested or even insulted in the capital on account of his race or religion. Pictures of the Allied sovereigns and their armies have been exhibited on the newspaper stalls in the streets. Groups of exulting Greeks have stood around and discussed them. . . . stories of massacres in Macedonia became known to the Mohamedan population. But they preserved their attitude of dignified and mournful patience. European visitors freely entered the mosques as in times of peace. Even the sacred shrine of Eyoub, the standard bearer of the Prophet, which no Christian could enter until recent years, has been visited by war-correspondents and others. Judge, therefore, of the surprise of the European residents when they receive letters anxiously enquiring whether they have escaped! And when they open the newspapers arrived from Western Europe they learn that Constantinople is devastated by bands of Kurds ravishing and massacring Christians! And all this time crime was below the average and the great town was as peaceful as a sleepy hollow in the Midlands. A correspondent, having received a request from the Paris Journal which he represented for an article on the 'disorders and excesses' in Constantinople, replied by wire:—'A Greek is safer at any time of day or night in the streets of Constantinople than a respectable citizen in daylight on the boulevards of Paris.' The Powers, however, sought and obtained permission for their warships to pass the Dardanelles. Every naval 'Power' in Europe was represented. This move was not justified by the state of the capital, but was due to a desire to establish a precedent. Hundreds of armed sailors were landed, with guns, and they occupied points of strategic and other importance. But above all every effort was made to make their presence ostentatious, not to say provocative. The embassy roofs were occupied by signalmen who, night and day, exchanged messages with the ships to the astonishment of the Turk and the alarm of the Levantines. It has since become known that they were chiefly invitations to tea and dinner and reports (from Faldhu) of the results of foot-ball matches. The gates of the British Embassy were closed and an armed guard with fixed bayonets was stationed inside them. Notices were posted telling Europeans that in case of danger their guns would be fired by the fleet. One day the Russian flag was

by an officer with drawn sword and a marine with fixed bayonet was solemnly paraded up and down the main street. The same evening an unimportant fire broke out in a barber's shop. (A daily incident in Constantinople.) This was made the occasion for a turn out of the sailors guarding the Russian Embassy with fixed bayonets. But they found a small group of Levantines, and the fire-brigade had already mastered the fire, so they returned without the opportunity of baptising their steel. All these demonstrations effected was to scare the Levantine population into a state of hysterical alarm, but the Turkish population refused to be provoked. Nothing untoward happened. Nothing, mark you, just nothing at all. And this not because of, but in spite of the overdone precautions. Finally the Embassies were shamed into sending their sailors back to their ships."

We gave some extracts last week from German newspapers showing how all shades of opinion in Germany fully expected the capture or destruction of the British army when it was forced to retreat towards Mauberge. A day or two later the

German Rejoicings at British "Defeat."

German Staff announced that the English army had again been completely defeated north of St. Quentin, together with some divisions of French Territorials, and that several thousand prisoners had been captured and several guns taken. The German newspapers show that this news aroused throughout Germany an extraordinary outburst of exultation. It is remarkable as an indication that the Germans regard England with much more resentment than they do the French or even the Russians. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, for instance, remarks that in spite of the great German successes the public is taking a quite special interest in the particular area where the English are fighting, "for our people are filled with deep resentment against England, which might have prevented this terrible world war, and from the meanest kind of envy refused to do it. This observation might truly be made of the whole of Germany from end to end. Hence the anxiety with which we wait for news from this quarter." With what exultation the news of the supposed heavy defeat of the English at St. Quentin was received may be judged from the following passages, which describe its reception in different German cities. As to Berlin the *Kölnische* says:—

"With the joy over our new success is mingled special satisfaction at the defeat of the English, not because anyone in Germany ever took the English army in the slightest degree for a dangerous opponent, but because everyone sees in the swift and shattering blow which has been dealt it as the first, and a well deserved, retort to the cunning and treacherous policy of the English Government. That the punishment has been dealt out in so rapid and full a measure causes the greatest rejoicing." At Hamburg the following scene took place:—"When, about 2 p.m., the official news of the defeat of the English army was read on the Exchange an indescribable scene of exultation broke out. Continually repeated cheers filled the chief hall, and the crowd, numbering many thousands, sang the 'Wacht am Rhein.' The news was read out from many galleries and was everywhere greeted with storms of cheers and singing. Such an experience had never before been known at the great Hamburg Exchange, hitherto devoted exclusively to business. Many church bells began to peal."

At Munich it appears that the people crowned the posters announcing the English defeat with laurel wreaths and flowers. "The only regret," says a correspondent who describes the scene, "is that no Bavarians had a share in the lesson that has been taught to the English." An article headed "Perfidy Albion" in the *Kölnische* speaks contemptuously of the "handful of 'soldiers' whom England has sent to France, and who are partly now on their way into captivity in Germany." But the Kaiser now denies having called the English army "contemptible," and we hope for very good reasons.

A writer in the *National Zeitung* gives a glimpse of how the British prisoners in Germany are faring. He imports into his account the bitterness of feeling that

British Prisoners' Life in Germany.

seems to move all Germans against the British. He makes some ludicrous attempt to pour indignation and scorn on the "paid" soldiers who are fighting for England and holds them up in contrast with the "noble" Germans, who are compelled by law to fight for their country. It seems that numerous Berliners travel daily to Döberitz, where the British prisoners are interned, although it is a pretty long railway journey, to see these handful of prisoners of whom they are so proud. According to the writer in the *National Zeitung* the prisoners number some 1,800. He says that whilst until quite recently conversation was allowed between the men and the visitors, this is now strictly forbidden, because it led to such terrible scenes as "German buyers paying money for mementoes in the shape of buttons, cockades,

etc." That the German ladies should be so interested in the English annoys this gentleman and he exclaims: "These Englishmen certainly don't look fascinating." The writer goes on:—"All these remarks, however, were not made from conceit, but out of a deep and righteous anger. For the Britishers are unashamed, even in their imprisonment. They complain about the way they are looked after; they refuse to drink coffee, and ask instead for cocoa and tea, which they have partly brought with them. If asked how they are, however, many of them reply, 'We are happy.' The scene presented seems to confirm this. In a wide space surrounded by hedges and strictly watched by our soldiers are five brown, long tents, in which the prisoners are accommodated. Here they live a regular camp life, sit in groups around a fire they have themselves made, go for a stroll or stretch themselves out in the sun. The officers have special, separate quarters, and receive different food. A large part of the men are, however, employed in various ways. The Highlanders attract special attention in their national dress, especially from the astonished children, who imagine one of their Indian heroes has suddenly come to life. These Highlanders, as also the other English soldiers in brown clothes, show proud faces—partly because they live in the belief each day that the Russians will enter Berlin as their deliverers."

Since the retirement of the German legions from the gate of Paris the German people have been at a loss to account for the apparent hitch to the triumphal march of their army. The German

German Warnings.

journals have since been cultivating a sense of proportion among their readers and warning them against over-weening confidence. The semi-official organ of Berlin, the *North German Gazette*, on the 20th September admonishes its readers to be patient and on no account to underrate the qualities of the enemy. "Every day," the journal writes, "cannot bring news of victory. The astonishing, one might almost say impetuous, advance of our Army in the first weeks of the war has spoiled us. Here and there it may have led non-combatants to under-estimate the value of, especially, the French Army. It is not necessary to emphasize the fact that those in command of our troops have never held such a view. Those acquainted with the circumstances foresaw that we would have no easy task with our opponents. This opinion is confirmed by the large number of men which they have put in the field east of Paris, and by the courageous resistance which they are showing there." The semi-official journal, after paying a tribute to the German troops, comforts its readers, however, by pointing out that the more worthy the opponent the greater the glory of final victory. "That the struggle is lasting longer than many people in the country thought probable is explained by the enormous masses of troops engaged on either side. Impatience among non-combatants would be an injustice towards the troops and their leaders. . . . A victory over opponents of inferior fighting quality could not give us the same satisfaction as the overthrow of an enemy who has to be taken seriously." The article concludes by declaring that it is all the more easy to be patient, as the situation of the German Army can in no way be described as unfavourable. A writer in the *Berliner Tageblatt* strikes a similar note. He impresses on his readers that the fighting in France must not be regarded as a military promenade, but as a hard struggle. German writers who, basing their opinions on the speech of M. Humbert in the French Senate, under-estimate the fighting value of the French, are warned that perpetually to proclaim victory before all difficulties have been overcome "smacks of children blowing on toy trumpets." The journal continues:—"France will defend herself to the very last drop of her blood. And we must not, right at the beginning, expect to reach our goal without difficulties. Nobody possessed of any perspicacity can doubt of our final victory both in the east and the west, but no one should be so foolish as to minimize the worth of the opponent from whom he wishes to snatch the laurel wreath. If we acted thus we should only be cheapening the garlands of victory which our troops will have merited."

The news that Herr Frank, the socialist deputy for Mannheim and one of the leaders of the German Socialist party, had been killed while fighting in the German army near Lunéville caused profound regret to his numerous friends and admirers in Paris. Herr Frank, who was only 40, was quite one of the ablest of German Socialists, and seemed destined to play a part almost equal to that played by Jaurès in France. M. Gustave Hervé devoted to his memory the leading article in the *Guerre Sociale* on 12th September. The article, which is eloquent and touching, concludes with the following passage:—"Dear friend,—Sleep in

peace on our French soil. Is our war of deliverance, which is the last of wars, we do not forget the German people. When we have broken down Prussian militarism, expelled the Hohenzollerns, subdued the junkers who oppress the Prussian moujiks, given to the German intellectuals and workers the Republic which their lack of the revolutionary spirit has unfortunately prevented them from obtaining by their own strength, we will proudly lay on your tomb at Lunéville the red flag of our International which, despite the storm that rages, remains for us the symbol of all the hopes of humanity and the emblem of the universal brotherhood of the future." The Socialist Herr Sünckem publishes some extracts from the last letter sent to him by Herr Frank. In the course of this letter the writer says:—"During this time of strain I have had a great deal of time for consideration, and have often thought of what the future must bring. I cannot get away from the conviction that the foundation for an immeasurable advance will be laid in this war." According to a Dutch correspondent in Berlin Dr. Frank, who was forty years of age, announced himself as a volunteer immediately on the outbreak of war, and arrived in the field on August 31. Three days later, in his first fight, he received a bullet in the head.

Among the news officially circulated through the German wireless stations which has been received by the Marconi Company is the following interesting item:—"It was reported from Strassburg that during the brief duration of the French occupation of Mulhausen cartloads of French legal books, school books, and maps showing Alsace-Lorraine as part of France were brought into the city." The least that Italy can now do to return the high compliment of imitation is to follow the advice of the *Times* and act as the Turks shouldn't. She must fight, but on the side of France. But the Germans seem to be a woefully slow lot in politics, although they are the military road-hogs of Europe. They haven't yet "annexed" even Belgium. That's where the superiority of the Latin races comes.

A correspondent in Sweden, in the course of a communication to an English paper describing his experiences, writes:—"As the noisy little train that runs between Stockholm and Djursholm, that beautiful villa town, passed the village church its deep bell gave forth a solemn toll. I looked at my companions. 'It is the summons for mobilisation,' was the reply, and then I remembered that this was the hour which Sweden, panic-stricken at the war of Armageddon, had fixed for the assembly of the 'Landsturm.' Coming down from Edinburgh the other day it was hard to believe that Britain was engaged in the greatest war since Napoleonic times. It is true that outside Carlisle I noticed hundreds of young men drilling in the fields, but I saw no troops on the march, no sentries at the railway stations or on bridges. And in Sweden, even on the unimportant local railways that run to Saltsjöbaden and to Djursholm, there is not one large station without sentries, not one bridge that is not guarded. Everywhere one sees the 'Landsturm,' for the most part in civilian dress, with gun and bayonet and cartridge belt. And yet Sweden is at peace. The difficulty of procuring English newspapers is in redoubt. Even in Stockholm the supply is evidently cut off, and in the meanwhile the country is flooded with the products of the German press. The natural result is that the feeling in Sweden, always antagonistic to Russia, shows signs of developing into Anglophobia. It is impossible to read with calmness the 'yarns' which are transferred wholesale from the German to the Swedish newspapers—England on the brink of revolution, India bursting its bonds of slavery, Kitchener's army coming in at the rate of 100 a week and drawn from the scum of the streets. This is the fare with which the Swedish public has been daily regaled. A strong article appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which has a large circulation throughout Sweden, inciting Sweden to take up arms and reconquer Finland. Officers have told me that they consider Sweden safe until Christmas. 'And after?' I asked—to be answered by an enigmatic shrug. The Swedish fleet lies in Gothenburg; the forts are on a war footing; the German Military Attaché, though a General Staff Officer whose work included a scheme for the invasion of Belgium, has not rejoined. It is plain enough that Sweden is awaiting events. Something should be done to counteract the flood of lies by which Germany is hoping to sweep her off her feet.

Among the minor compensations of this war must be included the degree of zeal to which each belligerent country is permitted to indulge in the sensational game of spy-hunting. But, like everything else under this sun, even spy-hunting is not altogether free from variations. In France the people do not always find it so easy as

they would like to distinguish between Englishmen and Germans. The results are sometimes a little inconvenient to the English newspaper correspondents, but they have, it appears, lately discovered a talisman which has a magical effect. When the cry of "Baptism" is raised the misjudged Englishman simply pulls out of his pocket a packet of a certain well known brand of English cigarettes, shows it to the mob, and all is peace and friendship!

"CORSAIR" in the *Near East* relates two amusing stories about the working of the censorship. He says one cannot be cross with so fatuous an institution.

The Censorship. "patriotism and one's sense of humour alike forbid." But he is not averse to enjoying a laugh or two at its expense. He says:—"It appears that the authorities very wisely decided that no messages were to be cabled unless passed by the Censor. Orders were at once issued to that effect, and everyone trembled and obeyed. The authorities then went to lunch, for no man should embark upon a war unfed. Presently messages began to accumulate, all manner of cables, from the most harmless statements as to personal health or price of commodities to the Empire-shaking revelations of unprincipled journalists. This went on for two days, until one, greatly daring, ventured to remind the authorities that they had imposed a censorship without appointing a Censor! It appears that the authorities were not best pleased—being authorities—at having what ill-mannered folk would call a shortcoming pointed out to them. They adjourned to lunch once more, cogitated deeply, and then appointed as Censor a gentleman whose place of residence was three days' journey from the scene where he was destined to exercise his inexorable functions. Great men the authorities. Another Censor story—by the way, some one ought to collect Censor stories against the winter evenings—is to the effect that in another portion of His Majesty's dominions the officials of one Government department sat up all night for quite a long time working out a scheme for getting some German schoolgirls back to the Fatherland. Every detail was settled, and the young women were instructed to apply to their parents by means of the post through a neutral country for the wherewithal to buy their fares. They did so, and the Censor, after sitting up all night in his turn to cope with the matter, decided that it would be safest to put the letters asking for money in the waste-paper basket. Yet I know a Censor, in fact, more than one, and in private life they are eminently reasonable men, and they all say that all the other Censors are also, privately, eminently reasonable men!"

SOME of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, that have seldom seen

A Mis-quotation. eye to eye with us, have the wholesome instinct of excluding everything they dislike

in the *Comrade* from their purviewing vision, and when on some rare occasion the doubtful honour of quotation is conferred upon us, we invariably feel like a well-known Liberal statesman lest we should have said anything particularly foolish. Recently our attention was drawn to a so-called extract from the *Comrade*, which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore and we were naturally anxious to know what it was that had earned for us the flattering attention of our contemporary which has never paid us the compliment of placing us on its exchange list, and which we can be sure, regards us as incorrigibly seditious in the same way that it believes in the existence of the deity, having seen neither. It was, however, an infinite relief to us to find that we had done nothing to deserve such distinction, and it must have been equally some relief, not perhaps unmixed with disappointment, for our contemporary that by an unconscious process of the elective affinities it had been led only to quote its own great prototype, the *Times*. The quotation seems to have had the run of some other papers as well, including the *Times of India*, which has this advantage, at least, over the *C. M. G.*, that it has loved and lost us, instead of never having loved us at all. We would only call the attention of those papers to the following letter which the editor of the *Comrade* had sent to the editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*:—"Sir, I note that in your issue of the 11th instant you reproduce an extract from the leading article of the *Times* on 'The Choice of the Turks,' published in its issue of 29th August and reprinted in the *Comrade* of 26th September, as if the extract in question was from an article of ours. As we could not take the credit for anything just or useful said on rare occasions by the *Times*, we have no desire to be discredited by being now supposed to have said anything so unjust and mischievous as what the *Times* says in its leading article from which we have reproduced the above mentioned extract. Kindly correct the error in an early issue and oblige us. We are told that the *C. M. G.* has corrected the error, but evidently in some obscure corner, so that it is as difficult as ever to find the correction as to find a needle in a haystack, or the *Times* in the high seas."

The Comrade.

The Alternatives.

We have to say some plain things, and however unpleasant it may be, we fear the time has come for plain-speaking. We are not dealing with the foreign politics of the Empire nor with the internal politics of India, nor even with the domestic politics of the community to which the majority of our readers belong, so that there is no particular need of reticence to meet the demands of an all too exacting expediency, except such as is dictated by our personal regard for the feelings of those whom we are about to address. It is to be an even less than straight talk between the paper and the reader, and much as we would have preferred private correspondence to the publicity of a leading article, when it is realised that practically half of our readers are involved in the matter to be dealt with, it would be understood that the possibility of maintaining privacy is even less than the necessity for it.

As we shall say some unusually harsh things about some of our readers let us begin by saying that we acknowledge our own guilt to the full. No paper in the world is perhaps so irregular as ours in the matter of the time of its issue. Throughout the Balkan War it appeared on Tuesdays though as usual it bore Saturday as the day of issue. Then it got into the worse habit of missing a week and coming out next week as a double number. Occasionally even a triple number was not wanting. Readers with regular habits must have been exasperated with these payments in the lump, so to speak, at irregular intervals. We know that a good many precisionists were greatly chagrined even at the regularity of the *Comrade's* appearance on Tuesdays while it claimed on the face of it to be a Saturday paper. The printing too was sometimes far below the standard which we had set up for ourselves and has never been as high during the last two years. The Manager's office has also been much less prompt in following the instructions of the subscribers in the matter of changing their addresses than they had a right to expect, and certainly it could not cope with the heavy work of acknowledging letters of complaint about the irregularities of publication and promising a reform which it was itself powerless to effect. We acknowledge all this regretfully, and if any counts are missing in this charge-sheet we shall submissively plead guilty to the charge of having added to our many sins of commission yet another sin of omission.

Before attempting to explain our conduct let us recall the fact, which those who have been subscribing to the *Comrade* for more than two years could not have forgotten, namely, that it was not always so with us. We too once walked in the garden of Eden in our native innocence before our fall, and our Calcutta contemporaries would perhaps rejoice in this description of the former abode of the Government of India. For close upon two years no complaint was ever heard of irregularity of publication, and, in fact, ours was perhaps the only journal that never once took a holiday. We used to bring out the *Comrade* a day or two earlier when a holiday was about to fall on the usual day of issue. A small clerical establishment was sufficient to attend to our subscriber's correspondence with promptness. As for the quality of printing, the *Comrade* had set up a new standard which most of the journals even under European management found it difficult to attain. The reading matter, too, was full of refreshing variety, and occasionally telling cartoons piquantly illustrated our comments on men and affairs.

As for the shortcomings of the management of the paper as distinct from those of the press, our readers can have no idea of the bug into which we have fallen through our whole-hearted participation in the extraordinary series of events concerning the Mussalmans in India and abroad. One man can generally do only one man's work, or at most the work of two. But if he attempts to do the work of a dozen, or rather if the work of a dozen is thrust upon him, he is lucky if he does not mismanage the work of all. It is not for us to say how we managed the work which was not primarily our own; but we trust we shall be pardoned if we say that perhaps our greatest fault has been that we relegated our own affairs to the very last rank when important public affairs came to the front and demanded instant attention. We do not want, and have never wanted, to have a monopoly of work for the public. But when no one has come forward to do work which was urgently needed in the public interest, we have repeatedly rushed in where our immobile angels have feared to tread. To-day we are paying the penalty of all this, and there is nothing so very strange in it; what puzzles us is that those who are exacting that penalty form us happen to be no other than just those whose work we have hitherto tacitly been expected to do in preference to our own.

As for editorial irregularities, and the lack of variety in what we publish, need we recall the circumstances which have overwhelmed us along with those for whom we speak? We are no more than a man in no way affected by the words of his part, nor a band of men who excite the passion she does not herself feel. Nor have we reached the height of the world-famous creator of tragedies

of whom it has been said that he was unhurt by his own flame. We have felt every pang that we have described and have been burnt by every flame that we were supposed to have kindled. While we were still in Calcutta, Persia, not being worth the bones of a single British Grenadier, gradually lost her independence, in spite of Mr. Lloyd George's "currency of international statesmanship," and nobody protested when something no less sacred than the cathedral of Rheims was bombarded. Albania was instigated to revolt against the Turk with a view to secure autonomy, which she has not yet got. Morocco passed under the virtual rule of France and partly of Spain as if the doctrine of "small nationalities" did not exist. And Tripoli fell a prey to unprovoked aggression and barbarities which lost none of their hideousness merely because they were committed against Arab dwellers of the desert guiltless of Congo's blood. In India herself, the Partition of Bengal had been unexpectedly modified in a manner which, to say the least of it, did not commend itself to the Mussalmans. The Moslem University movement, revived at the same time that the *Comrade* came into existence, had become paralysed by the decision of the Secretary of State but the scheme of the proposed Dacca University with a College for Mussalmans and a special course of Islamic Studies had been formulated. Everyone of these affairs had taken from us the toll of much anxious thought and labour. But what were these preoccupations and distractions to the absorbing character of the affairs which magnetised will and energy since we transferred ourselves to Delhi? A cloud on the Balkan horizon no bigger than a man's hand when we left Calcutta in the middle of September, 1912, developed into a storm that deluged the entire Moslem world in suffering and misery. Before the Balkan War had come to an end troubles nearer home assailed us with no less force, and decided the editor to undertake a journey to England in order to restore the affairs of the Mussalmans to their normal posture. A year and a half of restless and feverish activity forced upon us by circumstances of surpassing magnitude and gravity at the very outset of our career in our new surroundings overwhelmed every faculty, and dislocated and unhinged every organisation that we had been able to create at Calcutta. We claim no tribute to the success of our endeavours, for there are many more among us who can claim that with greater justice. But would it be equally unjust if we claimed that our endeavours were perhaps more varied, more sustained and more exhausting than those of many others?

And what of the psychological storms through which we passed during the first eighteen months of our stay in Delhi and through which we are passing again to-day? In the tempestuousness of the seas over which our bark has tossed our experience is perhaps unique. It has not yet found a haven, but even if it finds one speedily, what a wreck it would be by the time it reaches that refuge. Do we ask too much if we beg you to consider all this also when you consider, as you must, the offence of calling "Saturday" "Tuesday," or the lumping of more than one loan when repaying them in the current coin of our heart and brain? We have given you of our best as and when we could manage to do it, and now that we are about to give you the last piece of ourselves, may be the one nearest to the heart, let us ask you to consider also what you have given to us.

We frankly and gratefully acknowledge that the press which we had to establish at Delhi if we came here—in your interest—was almost entirely financed by your generous loan, and we also acknowledge that you have without demur permitted us to grant ourselves a moratorium for the payment of the interest which must be a consideration at least to some of you. But you have been told oftener than we care to remember that the *Comrade* has never paid its way. In the first year of its existence a little more than a quarter of its total expenditure was contributed by a few generous supporters. But even then it made up only a little more than half the deficit of that year. The same would have been more or less true if the second year of the *Comrade's* existence had ended as it had begun. But towards the last quarter of that year we migrated to Delhi and were forced to neglect our own finances in looking after those of Turkey and her war-sufferers. The only paper belonging to a Mussalman that lost through that war was the *Comrade* and for a time we allowed unusually long credit to our subscribers, believing that the war had made too severe encroachments on their resources, and hoping that they would not neglect our claims when their finances recovered from the effects of that drain. Well, our expectations did not materialize, and in addition to the recurring deficits, which increased in volume as the courage if not generosity of some of our wealthier supporters shrank, we have accumulated a stock of "bad debts" which must now exceed fifteen thousand. With great reluctance the names of numerous defaulters were removed from the subscribers' register and intimation of this fact and of the amount of subscription due to us was sent to each in the hope that we would not for long be deprived of our dues even if the defaulters did not enlist again as subscribers. But that hope too was belied, and fearing that the removal of a defaulter's name led merely to the conversion of arrears of subscription into bad debts, we have recently been doing what would now be called throwing good money after bad. We have continued to supply the *Comrade* to those sturdy

defaulters so that it may act as a periodical reminder of our existence, and possibly of their debts, and some stray article may make them relent and pay. Alas for the vanity of human wishes, for this device has succeeded no better than others and has gone the way of all flesh. The *Comrade* has repeatedly been sent to them per V.-P. Post, and what have been the results?

The following statement will show how many V.-P.'s were issued from the office, what amount was intended to be realized, how many were accepted, what amount was thus realized, how many were refused and what amount was left unrealized:—

Month.	V.-P.'s Issued.		V.-P.'s Accepted		V.-P.'s Refused.	
	No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.
February ...	889	Rs. 5,344 12	431	Rs. 2,481 13	448	Rs. 3,147 6
March ...	777	4,635 12	293	1,683 15	474	3,534 13
April ...	471	2,126 9	414	1,610 9	255	1,285 0
May ...	488	3,210 10	264	1,226 2	313	1,770 4
June ...	716	4,224 14	225	1,218 8	272	2,374 2
July ...	880	4,471 5	507	2,228 1	355	1,981 7
August ...	865	4,371 9	267	1,414 6	448	3,284 10
September ...	775	5,079 15	198	1,147 2	516	3,695 3
October ... (1st to 20th)	480	2,414 15	258	871	290	1,372 10
TOTAL ...	6,141	35,880 5	2,857	13,792 6	3,471	22,899 6

This statement should not be lightly passed over, but read carefully, and not once but a hundred times. If 2,857 V.-P. packets have been accepted in the course of about nine months, no less than 3,471 have been refused by our readers. While Rs. 13,792 6-0 has been paid to us for the packets accepted, as much as Rs. 22,899-6 0 has been left unpaid. In other words, out of every hundred sent only 15 packets were accepted and 55 refused. What is more important, out of every hundred rupees due to us only 38 rupees were paid to us and as many as 62 rupees were left unpaid. We wonder whether our readers realize the meaning of all this. To believe that they deliberately did this would be to credit them with something so discreditable that we refuse to believe it. The most charitable interpretation to place on these very ugly facts is that when a reader refuses to accept the V. P. packet, or—what comes to the same thing—leaves it unclaimed too long in deposit without paying his dues to us, he thinks that we shall not miss his twelve rupees or three rupees or whatever he has to pay, and allows the V.-P. packet to return to us, like bread cast upon the waters, "after many days." But is this slackness in any way less disadvantageous to us in its results than deliberate fraud? Is not this a very fair test of a people's sense of honour? It is related that once upon a time a king wished to test the sense of duty of his numerous courtiers, and asked each of them to go and pour a jug of water at night into an empty tank in the royal garden. Every one of the courtiers thought that his particular jug of water would never be missed by the king in such a large tank when the rest of the numerous crowd of courtiers had nearly filled it with theirs, and no one would notice at night whether he went there or not. The result was that next morning the tank was as empty and dry as overnight, and the king learnt the meaning of a courtier's loyalty and obedience. But what did the courtiers do? None of them considered the silent rebuke of the King to be applicable to himself, but every one upbraided the rest for not having done their duty and thereby having exposed his own failure to do his. Is the ethics of that court now going to be the ethics of our readers who are in default? Will each of the defaulters now blame the rest because we get only six annas out of every rupee that is due to us? Do you, who read this, not realize that if you are a defaulter even to the extent of a single rupee, this deplorable state of affairs is due to YOU?

And do those who complain of our irregularities realize the extent of the irregularities of our readers? Let us compare the two and see on which side the scale leans. We have frankly confessed the full extent of our irregularities which commenced only after our migration to Delhi. But the worst period of our irregularity began in August last, and leaving out of consideration this number, the following statement would give an idea both of the irregularity of our appearance and the bulk of each issue. The dates on which the various issues actually appeared often do not tally with the dates printed on each

issue, which is at least an indication that the delay in appearance was not deliberate but accidental and unavoidable.

No. 5	of	1st August	had 21	pages of reading matter.
" 6	"	12th "	" 23 1/2	" " "
" 7	"	19th "	" 22 1/2	" " "
" 8	"	26th "	" 21	" " "
" 9 and 10	"	12th September	33 1/2	" " "
" 11 and 12	"	26th "	" 39 1/2	" " "
" 13 and 14	"	10th October	" 39	" " "

This gives for the 7 issues (of which 3 were double numbers) a total of slightly more than 200 pages of reading matter in two months and ten days, during which, in the ordinary course, there would have been 11 issues, with 176 pages of reading matter, (16 pages in each issue.) The net result is that while we have saved postage on a single issue, and have been unpunctual in bringing out the various numbers, we have penalised ourselves to the extent of printing 24 extra pages during this time, which equal an issue and a half in size. Is that not enough, particularly in these days when paper has considerably gone up in price, and even in England newspapers have been compelled to reduce their size? The saving in money over the postage has been less than forty rupees, while the cost of preparing and printing the equivalent of an extra issue and a half has been over a thousand.

Lest our readers run away with the idea that, although we have severely penalised ourselves in money, we have spared ourselves in personal labour, by using scissors and paste more than our brains and our pens, let us hasten to assure them that the selections from the British Press that we give are not made haphazardly, but involve more labour than the writing of leading articles and editorial notes. About twenty times as much matter as we print is read (not merely glanced through). Be that as it may, original writing has formed no mean proportion of each issue. The articles on the "Campaign" are long enough in all conscience, and if such self-revelation is not considered vulgar between comrades, however unconventional it may otherwise be, may we tell our readers under what circumstances a leading article over 15 columns in length, which appeared in a recent issue, was written? It was written all in one sitting, lasting about 40 hours uninterrupted by sleep or rest. It was revised in another twelve hours in the intervals of receiving a large number of visitors who had come to offer their condolences on a brother's death. And the man who had written that article had himself risen just then from a bed of sickness—the "first bell" for the final journey—which would have in an other man's case taken a week at the outside, but in his case had taken over a month. He too once had a robust health. But then he was not that abject being, a journalist. No, dear reader, we do not often have time to rest in the midst of roses or lie in the lilies of life. Some of us have not known for four years what it is to have a holiday. And if as the result of these conditions, none of which are of our making, we are called upon to pay the penalty of breaking all the ten commandments of the science of living and health by compulsory immobility, are we to be treated as if we were bootmakers or tailors who had failed to deliver a pair of boots or of breeches on the promised date? Even tailors and bootmakers who generally give the longest credit draw the line at getting six annas in the rupee. You complain even under such abnormal conditions that the *Comrade* is not issued "every Saturday". With fifty-five defaulters out of every hundred readers, and six annas paid out of every rupee due, do you not think you should thank God, if not us, that you get it at all? How long can any business last at this rate? Nearly four years of recurring deficits only partly relieved by the generosity of a few benefactors of their people, "bad debts" reaching five figures, and, on top of it all, the payment of a beggarly six annas in the rupee this year—do ask you, what is our "irregularity" to yours? Collectors and Commissioners and occasionally even mightier "Presences" have found a copy of the *Comrade* on some school or college library table and have just casually remarked—ah, yes, only casually, you know—"I see, you get the *Comrade* here," and thereafter we had one subscriber the less. Political Officers on visits to Native States have noted that the State Club, if not the Ruling Chief, takes in a copy, and have asked, "Is this a complimentary copy sent to His Highness?" and after this innocent query the *Comrade* is seen no more in the Club nor within fifty miles of that Ruling Chief's domains. "What do you think of the *Comrade*," is asked by the head of the department of the young graduate who is a probationer and hangs between hope and fear whether he will be confirmed. The reply is—a post-card sent to us to discontinue sending the paper to that probationer, and his young brother studying in a Primary School a couple of hundred miles away becomes a subscriber three days later. An undergraduate living in a college hostel has been an enthusiastic reader of the *Comrade* for two years, but in the third year his name removed from our books. On the same day another student of the same college and of the same year living in the city with his parents does not find a single copy sufficient for his needs and orders another. A Deputy Collector works hard during a famine but fails to get the story on which he had been counting. But another who has been

young his junior is sent to do Settlement work with a special allowance. One copy of the *Comrade* is posted less to that district till the next King's Birthday arrives and the senior Deputy Collector discovers in the solatium of a Khan Bahadurship that he has already reached the highest grade that he is ever likely to attain in the service and can hope for nothing more. All this we know and much besides, and we do not complain of it at all. This is the tribute that virtue must always pay to power and we do not grumble. But who is the Machiavel that has hit upon so effective a device as this, of making half of our readers take in the *Comrade* but refuse to pay for it? All else had failed to discourage us, but we confess ourselves absolutely beaten by this. If the paper is bad, irregular, unreadable, or extremist (as one Government official informed us—on a post-card), then by all means ask us to discontinue it. But is it honest of you to refuse the one copy that goes to you by the V.-P. Post and go on quietly accepting the dozens that go to you otherwise? If the paper does not satisfy you, say so and make an end of it. But to grumble and refuse to pay for it and yet read it greedily enough when it comes to you are tactics which deserve a harsher qualifying phrase than even we have ever yet used in commenting on public scandals.

Hitherto we have talked strictly of business. But you know that the *Comrade* was never run as a business concern. The man who could start such a concern for profit must be the biggest gambler. And the man who could carry it on under these conditions must be a lunatic. Newspapers also pay and people do make fortunes out of them. The *Guide* of Khudabad and the *Madrassee* of Madras may be combining profits with propaganda. But what is that to you? Do you know how much was sunk in them before they became paying? Do you realize what those in whose interests the *Guide* and the *Madrassee* are conducted do realize, that the *Guide* and the *Madrassee* can never be losing concerns because they pay the people a hundred times over in a thousand and one ways what they cost in money? The *Comrade* has always aimed at being the comrade of all and partisan of none, and it is not ashamed of its share in the advocacy of India's claims. Nor is it partisanship to espouse the cause of a community that has practically no advocates in the press of the country when that cause is just. And there is no shame—and there can be no shame—in admitting openly that the sympathies of the *Comrade* coincide—as they must coincide—with its ideals, and that those ideals are no other than those placed before the world more than thirteen centuries ago by the Last of the Prophets. This is the full extent of our "sectarianism" and "bigotry." But even if it fails to satisfy our so called Nationalists, the Mussalmans at least cannot accuse us on that score. We regret to have to say that far fewer Hindus subscribe for the *Comrade* than Mussalmans who subscribe for papers owned and conducted by Hindus. But is that any reason why the Mussalmans must offer it such scanty support? We hate the idea of parading our "services," a vulgar device only too commonly adopted, and a "tribune of the plebs" though we be, we are as obstinately aristocratic as Cicerone in our detestation of the trick of showing our "wounds" to the people and winning more voices. But there are worse things in the world than vulgarity, and let them that have silently sacrificed their time, health, labour, peace of mind, and—for the poor more than all these—their money, cast the first stone at him who has done so and then, instead of smiling like patience on a monument, vulgarly brags of his "services" and displays his "wounds." In fact, self-advertisement pays so much better in these days than silent sacrifice that if vulgarity receives a rush of recruits in these days no one should be surprised. Whatever the character and quality of our work, the magnitude and variety of our labours and the daily risks to which they have exposed us, we do not ask you to run your eye over these items of our accounts. But we must ask you, and do ask you, to remember that whether you get the *Comrade* every week, or every fortnight, or every month, you get not only a number of pages with printer's ink laid over them in varying designs, but you also get every time a piece of our heart.

من قاش دروش دل صد باره خوشم

We count not the cost of it to us in cash, nor the labour that goes into the preparation of an issue. But we do ask you to consider the cost of each issue to our emotions and our health, and you must be the simple ones of nature if after all these four years you have not been able to discover whether this currency of feelings is genuine or debased. Punctuality is a great virtue, and to the extent that we lack it we admit and deplore our failing. But punctuality in publication is no worse than punctuality in payment, and we, at any rate, have not yet come down to the notorious "pachpan-paintails ka bandobast." Even if irregular in payment we do not pay six annas in the rupee. We have paid to you every pie that we owed to you and we have generally repaid it to you with interest.

But bankruptcy has been the order of the day, and evidently it is no shame to close one's doors against all creditors. You yourself have set the example and if we follow suit we pay you the extreme compliment of imitation. We have now been forced to offer you the only alternatives that are possible under the circumstances. The *Hamdard* is a paper that addresses itself in the main to the people. Their education is the first charge on us and so long as we can afford to do so we shall continue it. But the *Comrade* was chiefly meant to be an advocate of the people, an interpreter between them and their rulers, the dragoman not only of the popular voice but also of popular feelings, of their expressed wishes and of their unexpressed and even sub-conscious thoughts. Because the medium has not proved refractory it has long been condemned by many among our rulers. Because the interpreter does not allow the listener to put words into his mouth as if they were the speaker's he has received the extremely precious testimonial of being considered unreliable. The *Comrade's* *muzajdan* of the people has left it no chance of being a *muzajdan* of their rulers. It has lacked for long that inestimable quality to which kings owe an intelligent anticipation of their wishes by their courtiers. So one party at least does not want it to exist. As for the other, the brief of the advocate is still there, but the "refresher" has ceased to be paid, and after Mr. Norton's characteristic generosity clients evidently insist on being paid for their upkeep and their education in addition to a free advocacy of their cause. So long as we could abide by those unique terms we have done. But we can do so no longer. Therefore, unless our dues are paid considerably before the expiry of this period, and the paper put on a sound financial basis, the *Comrade* will cease to appear at the end of this year. This is to us a painful alternative as perhaps even you can realize. But it is the only one that is possible and it is no use regretting the absence of the impossible. After four years of vigorous living we shall not regret the task of writing our own obituary, for one can live intensively as well as extensively, and we have lived in four years as much as some do in forty. We have played our part at least to our own satisfaction, and we shall bow ourselves away cheerfully enough when the curtain is rung down.

The Case of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.

At the commencement of the War we had of our own accord stated that all civic controversy must now cease, and so far as we are concerned this self-imposed obligation has invariably been kept in view. We find much to object to in the conditions attached by the Punjab Government to the grant to the Lahore Islamia College. Again, the action of local officers in some places in connection with the Haj proposals of the Bombay Government is in our opinion open to severe criticism. Similarly, the judgment in the Delhi conspiracy case deserves a searching review. Besides many other matters of greater or less importance there is the tragic blunder of Budge Budge. But in view of the preoccupation of Government in the supreme task of the defence of the Empire we have refrained from making any but a passing reference, and that too only to some of these matters. Even matters directly connected with journalism, such as a review of Government action during the four years in which the Press Act has been in force, details of which have at last been furnished in reply to an interpellation by the Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda, have been left untouched. Nor have we questioned the action of the authorities concerning our foreign mail not all of which reaches us. When war is over and peace once more reigns supreme, and we hope reigns for ever, all outstanding questions will be taken up, and our readers may be sure that they would then be taken up as vigorously as ever.

But there is a matter which if not handled judiciously at once may react adversely on the present situation, and has therefore to be taken up forthwith. Happily it is not of so tragic a character as the Budge Budge incident, so that the same reticence is not demanded. Moreover, we have reason to believe that there is at least one man in authority in India who has no illusions about the Budge Budge affair, and as he happens to be that astute man of affairs who is the representative of His Majesty in India, we can safely leave the sequel of the voyage of the *Komagata* in his hands. The hour has happily also found in Lord Hardinge the man to deal with its needs and difficulties. We feel confident our Sikh fellow-countrymen will not misunderstand our silence, and the Viceroy will know how to deal fairly and wisely with the unfortunate passengers of that now historic ship, even if by some mischance the recently appointed committee of officials and non-officials, in the Indian members of which not all their fellow countrymen have equal confidence, does not deal with them equally fairly and wisely. Had the Viceroy dealt directly with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan also we would have observed the same reticence in his case even if we were not satisfied with His Excellency's decision. But the action taken against the luckless editor of the *Zamindar* is once more, on the face of it at least, the action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and we have not been so convinced of the wisdom of His Honour's dealings with the *Zamindar* in the past that we could now say 'Amen' to his recent decision.

We reproduce elsewhere the notifications of Government, including the Foreigners Ordinance (No. III) and the Ingress into India Ordinance (No. V) of 1914, according to which Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's movements have been confined to his village home of Karamabad. Section 11 of Ordinance III makes it clear that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan has no legal remedy, and if—as we think—wrong has been done to him, and if—as the world knows—for every wrong the British constitution provides a remedy, then the only way to have this wrong remedied is to appeal to the sense of justice and to the sagacity of Lord Hardinge. Had Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's being at liberty been a source of danger to the safety and tranquillity of the State it was open to the Government to deal with him through the law courts. If even Government felt that these were anxious times, in which the intervention of the law courts was not the fittest measure, there was the notorious Regulation III of 1818 which gave to the Governor General in Council the fullest power to deal with such a danger. The law that has actually been applied has such a remote and accidental connection with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan that we feel convinced this measure of the Punjab Government does not owe its inception to Lord Hardinge whose statesmanship has favoured broad measures rather than the subtleties of pettifoggish lawyers.

A fortnight after the commencement of the War, Ordinance III was promulgated. It was designed to prevent mischief from foreigners, for in crises of this character man's instinct of self-preservation predominates over all other considerations, and, as in primitive societies, a stranger comes to be regarded as no better than an enemy. To such a law nobody could possibly object, and we did not care to offer any comment. A fortnight later another Ordinance was passed. By this the application of Ordinance III was extended, with some modifications, to all persons who were not foreigners but entered British India after its commencement. Thus for the purposes of Ordinance III all British subjects became foreigners provided they entered British India after 5th September. When Ordinance V was promulgated we believed that it was intended to deal with any emissary of Germany who may happen to be a British subject, whether European, Colonial or Indian, who had been sent out to disturb the peace of India and embarrass the Government. In such matters official sources of information are more reliable as well as more numerous than non-official sources of information, just as in matters relating to the internal condition of the country we have repeatedly found official sources of information to be less reliable as well as less numerous. Relying, therefore, on Government's superior knowledge, we did not think it right to question the propriety of labelling His Majesty's subjects, even if only for the purposes of the Ordinance, as "foreigners."

Renter's Agency and the *Standard* had publicly credited the passengers of the *Komagata* with seditious motives, and although we know by experience how little reliance can be placed on European interpretation of the character and motives of Indians, we could at least understand why these unfortunate people had their liberty restricted immediately on their arrival in India. But what was there to suggest that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan harboured "some purpose prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity," to protect the State from the prosecution of which, and for no other reason, the powers conferred on Government by the Ordinances are to be exercised? On the contrary, it is possible that it was "in order to protect himself from the prosecution of some purpose prejudicial to his own safety, interests and tranquillity" that he had migrated to England. When he felt sure that his paper had lived down its earlier reputation in official circles he decided to return home. Unless we are to believe that he was in the confidence of the murderers of the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, and of Count Berchtold as well as of the German Emperor, not to mention the Tsar of Russia, the French Cabinet, the German General Staff the King of the Belgians and Sir Edward Grey, we cannot attribute his resolve (declared to many of his friends and acquaintances early in July) to leave England before the end of that month a "purpose prejudicial to the State's safety, interests or tranquillity." Had he been able to act on his original resolve the Ordinances would have had no application in his case, for he would have been in India by the middle of August before even the Foreigners Ordinance had been promulgated. But simply because he and two other distinguished Mussalman public men, Khwaja Kamiluddin and Qari Sarfaraz Husain Sahebs, who travelled with him, could not secure passages before the 29th August Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is to-day a foreigner in his own country and his movements have been confined to his village home.

Even if it is believed for argument's sake that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is a German emissary who has been bound over by the Kaiser to disturb the peace of India, surely our Criminal Intelligence Department would have scented mischief from afar, and the Government of Bombay, that is the Gate-Keeper of India on the sea, would have exercised the power conferred on it on the same day as on Sir Michael O'Dwyer to compel Mr. Zafar Ali Khan to remove himself to Karamabad, or even Ahmadnagar, and remain in a specified

area. But this latest German emissary defied the detective abilities of the entire C.I.D. when he landed at Bombay on the 18th September, and the two Punjab officials who drove him in a motor car to Karamabad on the 17th October failed to give him a fitting reception as the Boat Train steamed into Lahore on the 20th September. Our contention is that if Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was not a German emissary on the 29th August when he left London, nor on the 18th September when he landed at Bombay, and that if the all-changing atmosphere of the Punjab did not transform an Indian into a foreigner between the 20th September and the 15th October, then Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was no more a German emissary on the 16th October than the most "loyal" Punjab title-holder or the most dutiful Punjab official.

But if there is anything in the record of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan since his return which makes him a source of danger to the safety of the State or its interests and tranquillity, whether it be his speeches in the Shahi Mosque, or the *Zamindar* articles on the "Procession of the Cow"—as some unsuccessful members of his profession have been suggesting—or the probability of an early declaration of war (if it has not already been declared) between Turkey and one of the Allies or their protégé, Greece—as Lahore rumours favour—the law applicable to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was the notorious Regulation III of 1818 and not Ordinance V of 1914, read with Ordinance III, which was designed, as its very name indicates, to deal with the "ingress" into British India. What difference can there be in the eyes of the law between the editor of the *Zamindar* and the editor of any other paper if the actions of both are the same? Yet if the editor of that other paper belongs to the stick-at-home variety and has never stirred out of the place of publication of his paper, it is certain that even the Government Advocate of the Punjab could not venture to suggest that he could be sent to his particular Karamabad and made to remain there. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's crime consists in having gone out of the Punjab and then returned to the Punjab after the 5th September. Had he either never gone to England to fight for the repeal of an obnoxious measure, or never returned to India in the belief that his misfortunes were now over, he would not have come under the new Ordinances. And who says it is a superstition to travel only on certain auspicious days and avoid others? Superstition, indeed! If Mr. Zafar Ali Khan had left London on the 14th August instead of the 29th, and landed at Bombay on the 4th September instead of the 18th, he would have still been a thorn in the side of the editors of two and a half contemptible contemporaries of the *Zamindar* and several dozen title-holders of the same genus in the Land of the Five Rivers.

We have been told by numerous visitors and correspondents that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's confinement means that the dogs of war have been set free from the leash on the frontiers of Turkey. We are even asked to believe that drastic action may also be taken any moment against an important educational institution of the Mussalmans. We refuse to believe this, and for very good reasons. In the first place, the Government of Lord Hardinge is not prone to panic nor is it likely to invite popular ferment by being the first to disturb the tranquillity of India. Had a large number of Indian Mussalmans been guilty conspirators, hatching plots and throwing bombs and awaiting the first opportunity to throw off the oppressor's yoke, or at least to exchange one yoke for another, we would have been the first to suggest that every leader of Moslem opinion should be spirited away to Mandalay at the outbreak of the War in order to keep him out of mischief and strike terror into his followers. But he who attributes these things to Mussalmans is a pernicious liar; and if there is any sincerity in the public statements of Government the man who suggests such things deserves to be taken to the highest hill in Simla and dropped into the deepest khud. Surely statements that had no vestige of truth in them were not worth the suggestion of sending copies thereof to the Kaiser. But we have no reason to suspect that the Government of India's recognition of Indian loyalty is like the poet's faith in heaven who wrote:

ہم کو سہم می جنت کی - جنت لیکن * دل کی بلانی کو غالب ہے خیال ہیما می

(We know the reality of heaven; but it is an excellent device, O, Ghalib! to beguile the heart.)

So long as the war is a secular one and the Mussalmans' ability to guard their Holy Places from falling into non-Moslem hands is not endangered, Indian Mussalmans can be trusted to know their duty to their King and Emperor even if, as yet, it brings the Sultan's armies into collision with British forces. Be this as it may, we confess we can understand even the panic which makes the rulers suspect the people when they do not deserve suspicion, and then makes them terrorise them. But to be a Hindu State one must be as thorough as that tyrant. Half measures are worse than no measures at all, and if a Government sits between two stools it ought to know where it is finally going to sit. Must we fear compromise between the policy of Lord Hardinge and

that, of some of his colleagues, we know by experience that Lord Hardinge is fully capable of over-ruling even a majority of his colleagues if his own superior insight into the minds and motives of men dictates a course different from one that suggests itself to them. He must know by this time that some of them are habituated to look upon everything from a narrow and traditional point of view. But even if Lord Hardinge had failed to rise to the occasion, he would have himself taken action against the leaders of Moslem opinion and not left it to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to deal with only one of them. The fact that only the Governor General in Council is empowered to use Regulation III. of 1818 and that that power has not been delegated to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab as the powers of the Governor General in Council under the Ordinances have been delegated to him, suggests the inference that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan once more owes his misfortune to the unaided judgment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We regret to have to criticise any official in these days, and still more so the head of a Local Government. But no other way is open to us to endeavour to remedy this wrong, and we appeal to H. E. the Viceroy not to be too sensible of the unpleasantness of offending the susceptibilities of a Local Government when matters of such Imperial importance make an urgent demand on his sagacity and sense of justice.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan desires a change of Government or the reign of anarchy in India no more than the journalistic and other hounds that have for years been on his trail. His confinement to a restricted area has created excitement where none existed before, and it is more dangerous than the popular resentment at his previous misfortunes inasmuch as it is running underground. No meetings will now be held for his release; but are not the pent-up feelings of the multitude more dangerous in the end than the setting at large of an individual whose mischief, if he ever meant it, never resulted even in a nose-bleeding? We stand by the stainless record of those within the orbit of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's influence, while those who have proved such determined enemies of his stand by nothing better than blown armises which they have themselves created. If Mr. Zafar Ali Khan needed a personal warning he has had it now, and we trust Lord Hardinge would now restore him to us, and win not only his own but his community's and his country's gratitude.

Under the circumstances we do not think it advisable to press this request repeatedly. But if His Excellency has any doubts about the universality of the people's grief we can prove it to the hilt by inviting an expression of the people's will in the customary way. Nevertheless, if it is really necessary in the interests of the tranquillity of this country that leaders of popular opinion should be deprived of their liberties, or even of their lives, there are others also besides Zafar Ali Khan who would willingly surrender their liberties and their lives in such a cause.

چه بود نصیب دشمن که شود شهید نیک * سردستان سلامت که تو خبر آزادی

(How could it be the good fortune of the enemy to become a martyr to thy sword? May the heads of thy friends remain safe that thou mayst test on them the sharpness of thy dagger.)

After the War.

We have set forth in some detail the point of view which the Allies are being loudly and persistently urged to adopt when the time for the settlement of the final terms of peace arrives. The theory underlying this standpoint must be constructed in well-defined words to show how far it is consistent with the solemnly-declared objects of the British ministers and more particularly with the hopes and aspiration of the earnest, high spirited workers in the paths of peace who have accepted this war as a painful, though unavoidable, necessity in the cause of civilisation. The basis of this standpoint is that Prussian militarism is a curse to Europe and a negation of the noblest ideals of humanity. It must, therefore, be crushed out of existence. But, since this militarism draws its sustenance from the whole intellectual and moral energy of the German nation, the nation itself should be humbled to the dust and rescued from its terrible obsession under the shock of disillusionment. The Allies should not, therefore, stay their hands until not only German militarism but its causes and its effects are destroyed once for all, and the institutions and forces that have fed and nourished it are smashed up beyond hope of repair. If "every man in the German Empire believes sincerely and honestly today that the war is one of self-defence against the hostile encroachments of Russia, France and England," then "every man" must be disillusioned. To achieve this great consummation the military and naval power of the Germans have got to be completely destroyed first of all, and their power of resistance broken so entirely as to make it easy for the Allies to impose their own terms of peace. Our purpose

is not, of course, to discuss the military possibilities of the success of this tremendous task, but to point out that a "fight-to-a-finish" cry is sure to nerve the Germans to fight to the uttermost limit of their resources and power. Both Germany and Austria have a population of about 120 millions. They are equipped with enormous forces for a fight for existence. They are purposeful, efficient and well organised to sustain the strain of the war for a considerable time, and when literally fighting for life they would shrink from no sacrifices that their patriotism and devotion to their own ideals and culture would demand in such an hour of peril. Even if the Allies win, as they have every reason to hope, it would be at a tremendous cost, and the effects of their combined exertions would be felt acutely for generations. Such a strain, such waste, such sacrifice must obviously postulate some dire necessity. Does the end justify the employment of such colossal means?

It has been said that it is a conflict of ideals. The right ideal of international law, nationality, civilisation and human development must be enforced. And for such an end no price can be too heavy. This is, it must be stated, the prevailing attitude of the classes in England who are clamouring for a fight to a finish, and they include some of the most prominent English thinkers and men of note. We are fighting, they say, for right because right is our supreme interest. The new German political theory enunciates that "our interest is our right." England stands for the idea of a public law of Europe, and for the small nations which it protects. All this may be very true, but unfortunately the Germans too profess to have taken their stand on similar principles. They say that they are fighting in defence of their freedom and culture and in order to repel the aggression of Russia whose triumph would, in their opinion, spell utter ruin to the civilisation of Europe. And according to all accounts the whole German nation is united in this view. What is then to be the test of the right ideal, of the worth and genuineness of the moral inspiration that is at the back of this conflict? The Germans may be wrong, but none can deny that they believe in what is called "Germanism" with all the fervour of faith. Even the Socialists of the Fatherland share this belief with an energy of conviction that is little short of amazing. Is then the argument of the stricken field to proclaim the triumph of an ideal? Is might to be the test of right?

Let us, however, grant that in the ordering of this world the sheer weight of physical force provides the moral basis and that the survival is not only of the fittest but of the loftiest. Is then Prussian militarism such a horror? Lest, however, we may be guilty of mere verbal casuistry, let us squarely face the whole group of the fight-to-finish arguments and push them to their logical conclusions. The fundamental fact is that the whole German nation is united in this fight. Its mind is said to have been debauched by the perverted teachings of its professors and military chiefs. The task before the world is to stamp the German psychology out of the German mind. Will a military defeat achieve it? Will an utter material exhaustion and moral affliction alter the mechanism of the German mind and pass a complete sponge over German traditions, thought and history? It is impossible. The only alternative is to wipe the German nation out of existence, an alternative that is not only unthinkable, but also impracticable. To enslave it is out of the question, for it would militate against the widely professed principles of the Allies. The fight-to-finish cry simply amounts then to the exasperated fury of vengeance which would seek to strike Germany to the last verge of impotence. Even if Europe succeeded, with an impotent and stricken Germany, to find a new and safe equilibrium, —a rather doubtful supposition—Germany herself would never forgive those that would have wrought her ruin and downfall and would prepare for generations, if need be, for the inevitable day of revenge, and prepare under the sway of a more desolating doctrine than even the Prussianism of to-day. Those who are in sympathy with this war in the spirit we have analysed are sowing, unconsciously perhaps, the seeds of more terrible cataclysms than this.

Even the French Socialists and Republicans are against a fight-to-a-finish war. The *Gauche Sociale* publishes a long and important letter from the veteran Republican M. Alfred Naquet, who has attained a great age and is suffering from an honourable malady. The general interest of the letter consists in the proposals for a settlement after the war which M. Naquet says are made by a large number of Republicans. M. Naquet is much concerned about certain "ridiculous proposals" which he says are beginning to be circulated, and which are calculated "to revive all that we are trying to suppress." These proposals, which he attributes to foreign influence, are to destroy the unity of Germany, annex in part to Belgium and in part to France the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, revive the old German independent monarchies of Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, etc., impose on these States collectively a war indemnity of such magnitude that it will take them a century to pay it off, and they will not be able

even to maintain in modern conditions the army of 40,000 men which Napoleon allowed to Prussia. Prussia would be made an independent kingdom, and, the Hohenzollerns having been expelled, the throne would be given to a member of the Cumberland family.

M. Naquet declares that such a settlement would discredit the French protest against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and would be a retrospective justification of the annexation on the principle that might is right. It would degrade Belgium from her lofty moral position, and bring about a racial conflict from which she would emerge exhausted and diminished. Moreover, as the separated States of Germany would be pushed by popular aspirations, they would be obliged to come together again, and their unity would be more solid than ever. A Cumberland monarch would be as unpopular in Prussia as were the restored Bourbons in France, and would soon be dethroned. In conclusion, M. Naquet appeals to Germany to avert these dangers by herself dethroning the Emperor and establishing a republic, and says that such action on the part of Germany would mean the end of the war. The importance of these remarks lies not only in the eminent position of the writer, but also in the fact that they are representative of a considerable section of French opinion.

Recent speeches of leading English politicians and recent declarations in certain English papers have referred to the desirability of continuing the war for two or three years if necessary. As to this, says the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, it is not a question open to discussion so far as France (and Germany also) is concerned. For France or Germany to continue such a war as this for two or three years is a material impossibility. That is recognised by everyone in Paris, whatever some papers may say. Of course if Germany is threatened with national extinction in any case, she might as well be extinguished by war as by a treaty of peace, but the French people is not prepared to accept national extinction for the sake of extinguishing Germany. Well-informed people declare that the French casualties up to the last week of September amounted to at least 300,000. It was then exactly seven weeks since the general mobilisation was ordered in France. Let us estimate the French casualties at 200,000, a figure, supposing them to continue on the same scale, that would mean about 1,500,000 casualties a year. It is hardly necessary to ask whether any country could stand such a loss, to say nothing of the economic results of the war, which are already disastrous. "It is well that it should be understood once and for all" says the correspondent, "that while the French people are prepared to fight to the bitter end to avoid defeat, they will not be prepared to continue the war indefinitely merely to make victory more crushing, for a war of even one year would ruin France. It is also desirable that those in England who desire a settlement on some such lines as those proposed by M. Naquet, which do not represent merely his own personal opinion, should combine for common action with those of the same opinion in France."

What the guiding principles of the final settlement should be have been clearly set forth in a striking manifesto by the Union of Democratic Control, a recently founded organisation which includes among its members men like Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald, Charles Trevelyan, Norman Angell, E. D. Morel and Arthur Ponsonby. The manifesto says that if the turn which the military situation has happily taken is maintained, the situation of the public will inevitably be directed more and more to the problem with which so many writers and public men have already dealt, which indeed has been widely discussed since the beginning of the war—the problem of the principles which must govern the final settlement, so as to make this war not the mere seed of future wars, but one that will give us a better and more secure Europe. Mr. Churchill has been the first member of the Government to furnish an indication of the broad lines of the settlement, and has very rightly warned people against the danger of repeating the mistake which Germany made in 1870 in disregarding the principle of nationality and in rearranging frontiers without regard to the wishes of the population concerned. He has well said that "whatever we do we must fight for and work towards great and sound principles for the European system."

Mr. Churchill has, says the manifesto, indicated here the feeling which animates all that is best in our people; but it is unlikely that this aim will be realised unless behind the statesmen there is the push of a well-defined public opinion, insisting that whatever the date and details of the settlement may be, at whatever stage of the military situation it may be deemed advisable to bring it about, certain well-defined ideas shall shape the final settlement. In order to ensure the maintenance of these ideas, the Union of Democratic Control deems it necessary to insist that the following policy shall inspire the actual conditions of peace, and shall dominate the situation after peace has been declared:—

(1) No province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent by plebiscite of the population of such province.

(2) No treaty, arrangement, or undertaking shall be entered upon in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parlia-

ment. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.

(3) The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining the "balance of power," but shall be directed to the establishment of a Concert of Europe, whose deliberations and decisions shall be public.

(4) Great Britain shall propose as part of the peace settlement a plan for the drastic reduction of armaments by the consent of all the belligerent Powers and to facilitate that policy shall attempt to secure the general nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments and the prohibition of the export of armaments by one country to another.

The signatories to the manifesto believe that these points will be found to embrace most of the recommendations that have been made by those who have written seriously on this subject since the beginning of the war, independently of what their political associations may be. They regard it as of the utmost importance that the mind of the public should be fixed upon these points, so that public opinion shall not at the crucial moment be taken by surprise and be unable to formulate a definite policy of any kind. In that case the British Government would be left without public support or direction, and by reason of the absence of such be overridden by elements in the future European Council of Peace which do not give the weight to certain principles which the British people have always placed upon them. Without depreciating in any way the value of these suggestions we may ask if even the lesson of such a great cataclysm can teach us to set up nothing less parochial than a Concert of Europe only if even such a complete failure of materialism can induce us to devise nothing more spiritual than "the democratic control of foreign policy." The union would save the nation and increase the power of democracy. But has not democracy proved as blood-guilty as any other form of society and Government, and is not an intrinsic nationalism and race feeling at the very root of this tremendous disaster? Is it not time to supplant the nation with the supranation, just as the tribe has long ago been supplanted by the nation? In short, is not the path clear for a God-fearing and a God-sustaining theocracy?



SUMMON FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order 5, Rule 1-5.)

IN THE COURT OF Small Causes, Ajmere.

Civil Suit No. 1804 of 1914

Har Nath Singh s/o. Dhokal Singh Rao of Ajmere .. Plaintiff.
versus

(1) Mr. Z. A. Bronsmiche.
(2) L. F. Bronsmiche, Ticket No. 810 and Dept
No. 6 Loco Shop, Ajmere. ... Defendants.

To Mr. Z. A. Bronsmiche residing at Delhi

Whereas Har Nath Singh has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 200, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed, and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some other person able to answer all such questions, on the 24th day of October 1914, at 12 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day beforementioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order 5, Rule 1-5.)

IN THE COURT OF Judge Small Causes Ajmere.

Civil Suit No. 1767 of 1914.

Seth Mohammed Esmail, General Merchant Ajmere ... Plaintiff.
versus

Mr. F. Leonard, Fireman Railway station, Ludhiana ... Defendant
To Mr. F. Leonard, Fireman, Ludhiana.

Whereas Seth Mohammed Esmail has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 86 3-6, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed, and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some other person able to answer all such questions, on the 28 day of October 1914, at 12 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day beforementioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

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OPINION.

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daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1913, writes: "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive inasmuch as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

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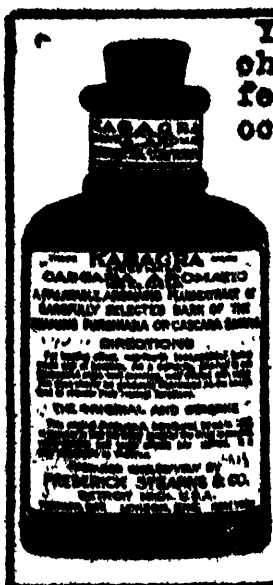
I am in receipt of all your communications for which I am much obliged. Herewith I send you two dozen of Gent's socks, knitted exactly to your kind instructions and trust these will meet with your kind approval. Will you please allow me to add that after a long and continued forbearance and obedience I have now been in a position to offer my sincere thanks for your kind treatment, and shall be glad to recommend you to any of the enquirers, and you may rest assured to refer me to your new constituents. I am also ready to teach and give every possible help in my power to those who might stand in need of it. Thanking you in anticipation of the same.

Shajjar Dt. Rohtak, 26th Sept. 1918.

(Sd.) R. S. ASGHAR HASAN (Alig.)

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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

— Morris.

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Vol. 8.
No. 17.

Single Copy
Annas 4

Delhi: Saturday, 7th November, 1914.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign 21

CONTENTS.

The Editor's Grateful Thanks ...	321	INT: A TAT:—	
Explanatory Notes ...	321	The Alternatives ...	340
Alternatives for Turkey ...	322	"That Very Feather!" ...	340
The Glory of War ...	323	A Chess-Board Strategy ...	341
What War Means ...	324	The Martyrdom of Belgium ...	341
After the War ...	325	Goethe and Patriotism ...	341
Alms in England ...	325	Sir E. Grey in German Eyes ...	341
British Authors and the War ...	326	Fight for Booty ...	342
Speech by Mr. Lloyd George ...	326	"But one Enemy" ...	342
Mr. Asquith on German culture ...	329	The German Casualties ...	342
Italy and the War ...	330	German Bewilderments ...	342
Sir V. Chitral and Mr. Ramsey Macdonald ...	330	German Officers' Out-o'-Nine Tails ...	342
The Indian Field Ambulance Corps ...	331	A Formidable Name ...	342
The Indian Troops at Marseilles ...	332	Fighting in Galicia ...	342
The War through German Spectacles ...	333	Italian Neutrality ...	343
The Turkish Attitude ...	335	Wars and Armament Firms ...	343
Turkey and Great Britain ...	336	School boys and the War ...	343
The Turkish Navy ...	337	War ...	343
The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea ...	338	What they believe in Germany ...	343
OUR FUTURE SECURITY—		Mr. Mohamed Ali's Interview ...	344
The Order of Forfeiture. I ...	338	LEADING ARTICLE—	
Application to the Security II ...	339	Indian Moslems and the War ...	344
The Argument III ...	339	The Third Lesson ...	345
		Magisterial Makochits ...	351
		ADV: RTTMENTS ...	352—354

through the severest trial to which the All Merciful God in His Wisdom has hitherto subjected me.

But I thank you no less heartily for your expression of sympathy in the loss of the security of our Press and the financial assistance that you are so liberally offering to me. Naturally all depends on the nature of the demand made on our resources and the extent of your succour. Should your response continue to be as hearty as the first few days after the order of forfeiture lead me to hope and our dues are paid to me at an early date, the *Comrade* may yet live to advance the cause of righteousness and truth.



Explanatory Notes.

ALAND ISLANDS, an Archipelago at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, about 25 miles from the coast of Sweden and 15 from that of Finland. These islands formerly belonged to Sweden, but they were ceded to Russia in 1809. They occupy a total area of 1426 sq. Kilometres, and their present population is estimated at about 19,000. These islands occupy a position of the greatest strategic importance, commanding as they do both the entrance to the port of Stockholm and the approaches to the Gulf of Bothnia, through which the greater part of the trade of Sweden is carried on. The question of the Aland islands created some discussion in 1907 and 1908 in connection with the new North Sea agreements, but the point was not definitely and officially raised.

ARMAMENT: 14—7.6 in. (45 calibres) guns, four in pairs in turrets fore and aft, a single in turret on beam, and four in casemates; 18—9 pounders; 8—8 pounders; 2—1 pounders. Torpedo tubes, 2-18 in submerged, broadside.

BAYAN, PALLADA and ADMIRAL MAKAROFF are three of the latest armoured cruisers of Russia. These ships are very similar to the Japanese *Aso* (ex *Bayan*) captured at Port Arthur in 1905.

Pallada and *Bayan* were built by the New Admiralty in 1906 and 1907, respectively, while *Admiral Makaroff* was constructed at La Seyne in 1906. Length: 44.9 ft; beam 57.4 ft; draught (mean): 21.8; displacement: 7,775 tons. Indicated Horse Power: 16,500; Speed: 21 knots.

Armour: Krupp. Belt for 850 ft. from bow, 6.5 ft. wide, 6.9 in. amidships, tapering to 4 in. at ends; lower deck side for 850 ft. from bow, 2.4 in. Bulkhead aft 5.9 in. Turrets and barbettes 5.9 in; battery and casemates 2.4 in; Conning tower 5.4 in; deck sloping 2 in. behind belt, 2.7 in. aft.

The Editor's Grateful Thanks

I beg to thank all kind friends who have made inquiries about Mrs. Mohamed Ali's health during her dangerous illness and prayed to the God of healing for her recovery. She was at death's door and for at least three days, 30th and 31st October and 1st November, her life hung on a thin piece of thread. But God in His mercy willed that she should live for her distraught husband, her aged father, her helpless little girls and her other relations and friends.

Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim Rasool Din Khan, Dr. Abdur Rahman and Dr. Singh were indefatigable in their efforts to pull her through and they succeeded by dint of their persistence and patience quite as much as their well known ability and knowledge of the Science of Medicine. My debt to them can never be repaid, and this is no place even to mention it.

حاج درستان وردل

I say the same to all of you whose expressions of affection and concern for me in this terrible crisis in my life has touched me more deeply than I can tell you. Naturally, the cancellation of the security of the Press could have had no weight with me when I was passing

Armament: 2—8 in. (45 calibres) in turrets fore and aft, 8—6 in. (45 calibres) four at corners of battery, four in double athwart-ship casemates; 22 3 in. (12 projected,) eight in battery fourteen shields; 4-6 projected; 4 machine gun torpedo tubes, 2 18 in. submerged broadside.

12—6-pounders;
6—3-pounders;
2—Machine guns.
2—18 in Torpedo tubes submerged, broadside.

Complement: 544.

BERWICK:—Is a British armoured cruiser with thin armour. She was built at Dalmuir in 1902.

Length between perpendiculars 440 ft.

Beam, 66 ft.; Draught (mean) 24.5 ft.; Displacement 9,800 tons. Indicated Horse Power 22,000 and Speed 28 knots.

Armour: Krupp. Belt for 830 ft., from bow, 11.5 ft. Wide, 4 in. amidships, 2 in. forward, after bulkhead, 5 in.; casemates, 4 in.; turrets and barbettes, 5 in.; conning tower, 10 in., deck sloping; 7 in.; main deck, 1.2 in.

Armament: 14—6 in. (45 calibres), four in pairs in turrets fore and aft, ten in casemates; 8—3 in. (12 projected); 3—3 projected. Torpedo tubes, 2—18 in., submerged, broadside.

Complement 655

BAILLEUL is a town of Northern France, in the department of Nord, situated on the Franco-Belgian border some 20 miles west-north-west of Lille.

CAROLINE ISLANDS:—are a widely scattered archipelago, in the Pacific Ocean, E. of the Philippines and north of New Guinea, and they belong to Germany. They fall into three main groups, the Western, Central and Eastern Carolines, the central being the most numerous. The total land area is about 380 sq miles. These islands are of considerable elevation. The total population is estimated at 8,600. The natives have finer physique and comparatively high mental standard, being peculiarly clever boat-builders and navigators. The Germans have divided the whole archipelago into two administrative districts, eastern and western.

CONDE is a French armoured cruiser built at Lorient in 1903. Her length between perpendiculars is 462.7 ft; Beam 65.3 ft. Draught (mean) 25.2 ft; Displacement 9,842 tons. Indicated Horse Power 20,220 and speed 21 knots.

Armour: Krupp. Belt from bow almost to stern, 12.2 ft wide, 6.7 on water line, 5.5 in. at top, 3.2 in. at bottom amidships, tapering to 4 in. on water line and 2.2 in. at edges at ends; Bulk-

DRESDEN is a German protected cruiser, and sister to *Emden*. She was built at Hamburg in 1907.

* Length, water line 386.6 ft.; Beam 44.3 ft. Draught (mean), 15.8 ft. Displacement 8,593 tons. Indicated Horse power 13,315 and speed 24.5 knots. **Armour:** Deck, 2 in. to 3 in.; conning tower 3.9 in.

Armament: 10—4.1 in (40 calibres); 2 machine guns; Torpedo tubes, 2—18 in. submerged on broadside.

Complement 361.

DIXMUDE is a Belgian town in the department of West Flanders. It is situated about 15 miles south of Ostend.

HAWKE was a British Protected Cruiser belonging to the Third Cruiser Squadron which consisted of the *Hawke*, the *Thetis*, four other sister ships of these two, and two sister ships *Crescent* and *Royal Arthur*. The *Hawke* was built at Chatham and the *Thetis* at Blackwall in 1891 and 1892 respectively.

Length: 260 ft.

Beam: 60 ft.

Draught (mean): 23.7 ft.

Displacement: 7,350 Tons.

Indicated Horse Power: 12,000

Speed: 19.7 Knts.

Armour Compound. Deck, 5 in. on slopes, 1 in. on flat; casings to engine room, 6 in.; casemates, 8 in.; bolts to big guns, 7 in.; Conning Tower, 12 in.

Armament. 2—9.2 in. (30 cal.) in shields fore and aft; 10—6 in. (40 cal.) four in casemates on main deck, six in shields on upper deck;

HAZEBROUCK is a town of Northern France, capital of an arrondissement in the department of Nord, on the canalized Bourre, 29 miles west-north-west of Lille. Its population in 1906 was 12,819. It is an important junction and railway employees form a large part of its population.

KARLSRUHE is a German small cruiser built at Germania in 1912.

Length, water line 456 ft., Beam 44.9 ft.; Draught (mean) 17.4 ft., Displacement 4822 tons. Indicated Horse power 25,660 and speed, 27 knots. **Armour:** Krupp. Belt amidships, 8.9 to 2.4 in.; Deck, 2 in. 8 in.; conning tower 8.9 in. to 8.1 in. **Armament:** 12—4.1 in. (calibres); 2 machine guns.

Complement 373

MIDDELKIRK is a Belgian port situated between Ostend and Nieuport, about five miles south of Ostend.

S. 90—is a German destroyer built in 1900.

Length 207 ft., Beam 23 ft.; Draught: 7.6 ft.; Displacement 396 tons.

Indicated Horse power: 5,330; Speed: 25.5.

Armament: 3—4 pounders. 2 Machine guns.

Complement 56.

MARSHALL ISLANDS are a group in the western Pacific Ocean belonging to Germany. The group consists of a number of atolls ranged in two almost parallel lines. The islands lie entirely within the German sphere of interest, and the boundaries were agreed upon between Great Britain and Germany on the 10th of April 1889. The area is estimated at 160 sq. miles, with 15,000 inhabitants, who are apparently increasing, though the contrary was believed. The administrator of the islands is the Governor of German New Guinea, but a number of officials reside on the islands.

MARIANNES is an archipelago in the north-western Pacific Ocean. With the exception of the island of Guam (United States) it belongs to Germany, and administratively forms part of the New Guinea Protectorate. It consists of two groups, and the area, excluding Guam, is about 245 square miles, and the population 2,500, mostly descendants of the Tagol immigrants from the Philippines.

WANGOROD, is probably Wyszogrod. It is situated on the east bank of the Vistula in Russian Poland. It is a town in the Government of Plock, situated between Warsaw and Plock some 40 miles east of Warsaw.

ST. DIE is a French town in the district of Vosges, situated 20 miles north-east of Epinal.

MELLE is a Belgian town in the department of East Flanders situated some seven miles south of Ghent, on the river Scheldt. This Belgian MELLE is different from the French MELLE.

WANGOROD is probably Wyszogrod which is a town in Poland situated on the river Vistula, some 40 miles west of Warsaw.

S. 115, 117, 118 and 119 are all German destroyers built in 1903.

Length: 210 ft.; Beam: 25 ft.; Draught: 7.7; Displacement 413 tons; Indicated Horse Power: 6,415; Speed: 28 knots.

Armament: 3—4-pounders; 2 machine guns.

Complement: 56.

WALDECK ROUSSU is a French armoured Cruiser built in 1906.

Alternatives for Turkey.

When last we wrote upon Turkey, at the end of August, we placed before her very clearly the choice which she has to make. She must either listen to the counsel of the Entente Powers, or throw in her lot with Germany and Austria-Hungary. In the first case the Allies offer her a guarantee of the integrity and independence of her possessions, valuable financial assistance, and liberation from the economic yoke which Germany has imposed upon her. In the other, they tell her frankly that they will take the fullest advantage of the successes which their military and naval strength assure them in a contest with her. The alternative is in her own hands. The Allies offer her their friendship and their support on condition that she preserves her neutrality in the European war, and that she does not attack her Balkan neighbours. Germany, on the other hand, calls upon her to attack the Allies, and create diversions in Egypt, in the Balkans, in the Caucasus, and possibly in North Africa. Hitherto she has been halting between these two policies. She cannot halt between them indefinitely. She has taken of late a series of steps, none of which is in itself conclusive, but which viewed collectively appear to indicate that she intends to throw herself into the arms of Germany. As a sovereign State that is her indisputable right, but before she makes a decision which will be irrevocable we desire once more to warn her plainly that to join Germany is to expose her Empire to dismemberment and ruin. We are confident that in the long run the Allies will be the victors in the European war, and that their victory will be complete. If, as we believe, this expectation is fulfilled, they will not spare Turkey the just punishment which wanton intervention in a struggle that is not hers will bring upon her. Her ill-knit Empire is open to attack by sea and by land in many directions. It includes possessions which each of the Allies may reasonably desire to annex or to assign to the minor States which prove amenable to their advice, and populations whose disaffection towards the rule of the Committee and whose aspirations for self-government are notorious. Respect for existing treaties and a wish to prevent the extension of the European war have led the Allies to promise Turkey a great reward for standing aside and keeping at peace with the Balkan States. But if she attacks either, they will not forego the uttermost consequences which victory may bring them. They will break up the Turkish Empire, or allow others to break it up, should they deem its destruction to their advantage, as almost certainly they will do. We have neither the right nor the wish to dictate to Turkey. We owe it to her, as an old friend, and owe it to ourselves, to put before her in blunt and unmistakable terms what the policy of the Allies will be if she treats them as enemies.

We need not discuss all the recent acts of the Turkish Government which have made the Allies suspect that she intends to join their foes. She has affected to abrogate of her own mere motion the whole series of treaties which regulate the rights of European subjects in her dominions. The immediate result of the measure should be a warning to her. It reconstituted at once the Concert of Europe *ad hoc*. Germany was the first Power to protest against this Oriental application of the "scrap of paper" doctrine, and the United States of America added their voice to that of the Concert. This proceeding may have been mere bravado, intended in reality for domestic effect, although the closing of some of the post offices maintained by the Powers under the Capitulations suggests that the Committee really mean to treat these compacts as a dead letter. The closing of the Dardanelles, however, it may be guessed, is another ominous sign. The interruption of the negotiations with Greece and the dispatch of Burhan-ed-Din, a son of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid, to Albania as nominal leader of the Moslem insurgents do not suggest pacific intentions. The presence of some 2,000 German fighting men in Turkey is yet more significant. They include a large number of non-commissioned officers, gunners, and artificers, and many of them have arrived since the outbreak of the war. Then there is the ambiguous and prolonged hospitality extended to the Goeben and the Breslau. There are the "purchases" by Turks in Constantinople of cargoes of flour from Roumania, which are resold to the Deutsche Bank and then sent by railway to Germany through Sofia and Bukarest. Finally, there are the mobilization of a large force in Syria—said to amount to 120,000 men—the forced contributions from the Syrians, and the active campaign of intrigue in Egypt. As we have said before, the military authorities in Egypt know all about this precious scheme, and are ready to deal drastically with the emissaries engaged in it should occasion arise. We only mention it again as one amongst the many circumstances which are leading the Allies to mistrust the purposes of Turkey. There is still time for her to explain them away and to set her face resolutely towards the path of peace to which the Allies invite her. But the "sands are running out." She must decide soon, and upon her decision rests her future as an Empire and as a Nation.—*The Times*.

The Glory of War.

By Douglas Jerrold.

(Abridged from an essay written in 1843.)

May we ask the reader to behold with us a melancholy show—a saddening, miserable spectacle? We will show him the 'embryo mischief' that, in due season, shall be born in the completeness of its terror, and shall be christened with a sounding name, Folly and Wickedness standing sponsors.

We are in St. James's Park. The royal standard of England burns in the summer air—the queen is in London. We pass the palace and in a few paces are in Birdcage Walk. There, reader, is the miserable show we promised you. There are some fifty recruits, drilled by a sergeant to do homicide cleanly, handsomely. In Birdcage Walk, Glory sits upon her eggs, and hatches eagles!

Contemplate God's image with a musket. Your bosom still expanding with gratitude to nature, for the blessings she has heaped about you, behold the crown glory of God's work managed like a machine, to slay the image of God—to stain the teeming earth with homicidal blood—to fill the air with howling anguish! Is not yonder row of elms a melancholy sight? Yet are they the sucklings of Glory—the baby mighty ones of a future Gazette. Reason beholds them with a deep pity. Imagination magnifies them into fiends of wickedness. There is carnage about them—carnage, and the pestilential vapours of the slaughtered. What a fine looking thing is war! Yet dress it as we may, dress and feather it, daub it with gold, huzza it, and sing awagging songs about it—what is it, ninetimes out of ten, but Murder in uniform? Cain, taken the sergeant's shilling?

And now we hear the fife and drums of her majesty's grenadiers. They pass on the other side, and a crowd of idlers, their hearts jumping to the music, their eyes dazzled and their feelings perverted, hang about the march, and catch the infection—the love of glory! And true wisdom thinks of the world's age, and sighs at its slow advance in all that really dignifies man, the truest dignity, being the truest love for his fellow. And then hope and a faith in human progress contemplate the pageant, its real ghastliness disguised by outward glare and frippery, and know the day will come when the symbols of war will be as the sacred beasts of old Egypt—things to mark the barbarism of by-gone war; melancholy records of the past perversity of human nature.

We can imagine the deep-chested laughter—the look of scorn that would annihilate, and then the small compassion—of the Man of War, at this, the dream of folly, or the wanderings of an inflamed brain. Yet, oh, man of war! at this very moment are you shrinking, withering, like an aged giant. The fingers of Opinion have been busy at your plumes—you are not the feathered thing you were; and then that little tube, the goose-quill, has sent its silent shots into your huge anatomy; and the corroding INK, even whilst you look at it and think it shines so brightly, is eating with a tooth of rust into your sword.

That a man should kill a man, and rejoice in the deed—may gather glory from it—is the act of the wild animal. The force of muscle and dexterity of limb, which make the wild man a conqueror, are deemed in savage life man's highest attributes. The creature, whom in the pride of our Christianity we call heathen and spiritually desolate, has some personal feeling in the strife—he kills his enemy, and then, making an oven of hot stones, bakes his dead body, and, for crowning satisfaction, eats it. His enemy becomes a part of him; his glory is turned to nutriment; and he is content. What barbarism! Field-marshal sick at the horror; nay, troopers shudder at the tale, like a fine lady at a toad.

In what, then, consists the prime evil? In the murder, or the meal? Which is the most hideous deed—to kill a man, or to cook and eat the man when killed?

But softly, there is no murder in the case. The craft of man has made a splendid ceremony of homicide—has invested it with dignity. He slaughters with flags flying, drums beating, trumpets braying. He kills according to method, and has worldly honours for his grim handiwork. He does not, like the unchristian savage, carry away with him mortal trophies from the skulls of his enemies. No; the alchemy or magic of authority turns his well-won scalps into epaulettes, or hangs them in stars and crosses at his button-hole; and then, the battle over—the dead not eaten, but carefully buried—and the maimed and mangled howling and blaspheming in hospitals—the weak Christian warrior marches to church, and reverently folding his sweet and spotless hands, sings *Te Deum*. Angels waft his fervent thanks to God, to whose footstool—on his own faith—he has so lately sent his shuddering thousands. And this spirit of destruction working within him is canonized by the craft and ignorance of men, and worshipped as glory!

And this religion of the sword—this dazzling heathenism, that makes a pomp of wickedness—seizes and distracts us, even on the threshold of life. Swords and drums are our baby playthings; the types of violence and destruction are made the pretty pastime of our childhood; and as we grow older the outward magnificence of the ogre Glory—his trappings and his trumpets, his privileges, and the songs that are shouted in his praise—enchant the bigger baby to his sacrifice. Hence, slaughter becomes an exalted profession: the marked, distinguished employment of what, in the jargon of the world, is called a gentleman.

But for this craft operating upon this ignorance, who—in the name of outraged God—would become the hireling of the Sword? Hodge, poor fellow, enlists. He wants work; or he is idle, dissolute. Kept, by the injustice of the world, as ignorant as the farm-yard swine, he is the better instrument for the world's craft. His ear is tickled with the life and drum; or he is drunk; or the sergeant—the lying valet of glory—tells a good tale; and already Hodge is a warrior in the rough. In a fortnight's time you may see him at Chatham; or, indeed, he was one of those we marked in Birdcage Walk. Day by day, the sergeant works at the block ploughman, and chipping and chipping, at length carves out a true, handsome soldier of the line. What knew Hodge of the responsibility of man? What dreams had he of the self-accountability of the human spirit? He is become the lackey of carnage, the liveried footman, at a few pence per day, of fire and blood. The musket-stock, which for many an hour he hugs—hugs in sniks and weariness—was no more a party to its present use, than was Hodge. That piece of walnut is the fragment of a tree which might have given shade and fruit for another century; homely, rustic people gathering under it. Now, it is the instrument of wrong and violence; the working tool of slaughter. Tree and man, are not their destinies as one?

And is Hodge alone of benighted mind? Is he alone deficient of that knowledge of moral right and wrong which really and truly crowns the man, king of himself? When he surrenders up his nature, a mere machine with human pulses, to do the bidding of war, has he taken counsel with his own reflection—does he know the limit of the sacrifice? He has taken the shilling, and he knows the feelings of his uniform.

When the born and bred gentleman, to keep to coined and current terms, pays down his thousand pounds or so, for his commission, what incites to the purchase? It may be the elegant idleness of the calling; it may be the bullion glitter of the regimentals; or, devout worshipper, it may be an unquenchable thirst for glory. From the moment that his name stars the Gazette, what does he become? The bondservant of war. Instantly, he ceases to be a judge between moral right and moral injury. It is his duty not to think, but to obey. He has given up, surrendered to another, the freedom of his soul: he has dethroned the majesty of his own will. He must be active in wrong, and see not the injustice: shed blood for craft and usurpation, calling bloodshed valour. He may be made, by the iniquity of those who use him, the burglar and the brigand; but glory calls him pretty names for his prowess, and the wicked weakness of the world shouts and acknowledges them. And is this the true condition of reasonable man? Is it by such means that he best vindicates the greatness of his mission here? Is he, when he most gives up the free motions of his own soul—is he then most glorious?

A few months ago, chance showed us a band of ruffians, who, as it afterwards appeared, were intent upon a most desperate mischief. They spread themselves over the country, attacking, robbing, and murdering all who fell into their hands. Men, women, and children, all suffered alike. Nor were the villains satisfied with this. In their wanton ruthlessness, they set fire to cottages, and tore up and destroyed plantations. Every footstep of their march was marked with blood and desolation.

Who were these wretches?—you ask. What place did they ravage? Were they not caught and punished?

They were a part of the Army of Africa; valorous Frenchmen, bound for Algiers, to cut Arab throats, and in the name of glory and for the everlasting honour of France, to burn, pillage, and despoil; and—all for national honour—all for glory!

But glory cannot dawdle Truth. Does it not at times appear no other than a high-way man with a pistol at a nation's breast? A buglar, with a crowbar, entering a kingdom. Alas! in this world, there is no Old Bailey for nations. Otherwise, where would have been the crowned heads that divided Poland? Those felon monarchs, anointed to—steal? It is true, the historian claps the cut-purse conqueror in the dock, and he is tried by the jury of posterity. He is past the verdict, yet is not its damnable voice lost upon generations. For thus is the world taught—albeit slowly taught—true glory; when that which passed for virtue is tested truly to be vile; when the shire is hauled from the car, and fixed for ever in the pillory.

But war brings forth the heroism of the soul; war tests the magnanimity of man. Sweet is the humanity that spares a fallen foe; gracious the compassion that tends his wounds, that brings even a cup of water to his burning lips. Granted. Pretty is it to see the victor with salve and lint kneeling at his bloody trophy—a maimed and agonised fellow-man,—but surely it had been better to withhold the blow, than to have been first mischievous, to be afterwards humane.

That nations, professing a belief in Christ, should couple glory with war, is monstrous blasphemy. Their faith, their professing faith, is—"love one another;" their practice is to—out throats; and more, to bribe and hoodwink men to the wickedness, the trade of blood is magnified into a virtue. We pray against battle, and glorify the deeds of death. We say, beautiful are the ways of peace, and then cocker ourselves upon our perfect doings in the art of man-slaying.

But there always has been—there always, will be, war. It is inevitable; it is a part of the condition of human society. Man has always made glory to himself from the destruction of his fellow, and so it will continue. It may be very pitiable; would it were otherwise! But so it is, and there is no helping it.

Happily, we are slowly killing this destructive fallacy. Some are calculating the cost of Glory table: some showing what an appetite the demon has, devouring at a meal the substance of ten thousand sons of industry—yea, eating up the wealth of kingdoms. And thus, by degrees, are men beginning to look upon this god, Glory, as no more than a finely-trapped Sawney Bean, a monster and a destroyer—a nuisance; a noisay lie.



What War Means.

Abolish war! What the devil is the world coming to? Those who wish to abolish war are lunatics. Why abolish an ancient custom—a custom that has existed in all ages and of which our forefathers were so proud? Was it not by war that our country became as it is, great and free? Was it not by war that all glory was won, and is not all our best ancient and modern literature about war, and is it not the theme of the poets and bards? Abolish war indeed! You might as well abolish another ancient institution, religion! And what next? Probably you would educate the poor and abolish our sacred system of modern government. You would commit the sacrilege of altering the spelling of our language, of introducing the Metric system, and altering the whole system of education and all those things which have made ours a great nation—greater than all other nations. You desire to kill nationality and international competition, and unite all nations. That would be suicide.

Our desire is to be the greatest of nations; and in order to do that we must have an army to prevent other nations becoming as powerful and as rich as ourselves. We must have a powerful navy to prevent foreigners invading our shores. Our army and navy must be the strongest in the world, so that we may be able to defeat all others, and maintain our own supremacy over all countries. We must be able to keep in bondage those savage countries we have heroically conquered, and on whose battlefields our forefathers fought and died. Those countries we shall civilise, and teach their inhabitants to be good children. They must be taught to reverence their rulers. We shall be very good to them, and not teach them too much, otherwise they might consider themselves our equals, or even superior to us. We must also proclaim our supremacy over all other nations on sea and on land. All greatness has been achieved by war, and by war it shall be maintained.

Mankind has gloried in war from the earliest times. But for war Cæsar would never have been heard of, and Homer and Virgil would have been small men, for it is their songs of war that have made them famous. Without these great men would not the world have been poorer? That which is natural is just. All animals fight amongst themselves, and man at best is but an animal. Not only is the abolition of war contrary to reason and the best interests of mankind, but also against the laws of nature. Its abolition would mean racial suicide. It would mean over-population, accompanied by famine and disease.

Ours is the best nation on earth. Our language, our religion, and our commerce are the best. It is our duty to do better than all other countries; and in order to be superior we must conquer the weaker nations, take their wealth, and keep their inhabitants in slavery. We should keep them in bondage until they know how to govern themselves, but they

should be prevented from learning the art of government, in taking part in political affairs, or even in civic matters.

The Army and Navy are healthy institutions. They make our young men healthy and muscular. It is in these institutes that athletes are made; and athletes make a nation.

Abolish war, and thousands of men, soldiers, contractors, and others are thrown out of employment. They die of starvation, and become a nuisance to the citizens by piling up the rates and taxes. But for war what would Messrs. Krupp and all the great shipbuilding firms and the makers of fire-arms do? What would the canners of beef and the makers of army biscuits and boots do? They would all starve, and patriotism and chivalry would no longer exist."

The abolition of war is an impossibility. It is a fool's dream. Let fools dream on while active men work. The makers of ammunition and fire-arms are rich men, and are wide-awake. To prevent wide-world peace they have an army of agents who justly sow discontent among all nations and create enmity and rivalry. It is they who are chiefly instrumental in bringing about war. They are the greatest patriots, and delight in making public speeches and in creating enthusiasm for the fatherland. They have the monopoly of the press and create Public Opinion. Men are so stupid, and especially the poorer class, that there would be no public opinion but for the richer class. The aristocracy, therefore, are the cream of society. Besides being the more enlightened and educated class, they are also the promoters of commerce; and wonderful are the methods employed by them in advertising their guns and ships. It is because they advertise themselves as patriots (which they undoubtedly are) and set one nation against another that they succeed in making fortunes. And they deserve their fortunes.

It is also said that war is the cause of poverty. This is untrue. War weeds out the useless and the poor,—not that the poor are not necessary, for without them we could not live, as they are the creators of wealth. It rids us of the superfluous. During war, contractors make fortunes, and they are able to give the poor employment. All, therefore, have an opportunity of becoming richer. Is not war, in that case, an advantage?

Abolish war, and you will go to the devil! There would be unemployment and poverty. It would all end in chaos and bloodshed, and the world would be consumed in a great conflagration—R. M., in *The Spun*.



After the War.

[We published an extract from an article in the Russian Liberal organ the "Retch" on the principles to be followed in the settlement at the close of the war. We are now able to give the article at length.]

Under such an arrangement (the declaration of the three Powers that they would only submit terms of peace collectively) it is obvious that each member of the Triple Entente secured against the excessive appetites of the others. It is evident that only such a combination will be accepted by all as will not threaten the European equilibrium. Nay, one is justified in expecting that the attainment of a better and more perfect method of securing that equilibrium than has obtained hitherto will be made the direct object of the future peace.

On this object of the war all its participants have agreed from the very beginning without any consultation whatsoever between them and, so to speak, tacitly. The opinions uttered by British statesmen and the British progressive press as to the desirable outcome of the war fully coincide with those of the Russian press of the same political tendency. Thus, the "Morning Post" and the "Manchester Guardian" both declare with one voice that England demands nothing for herself, not even Heligoland; all she wants is a well-balanced, peaceful and free Europe; and that requires that the frontiers of the European States should coincide with the frontiers of nationalities.

Indeed, the war must be terminated in such a way that it shall leave no vengeful aspirations on either side. The change in the map of Europe must be final, and no nationality must be opposed in the satisfaction of its legitimate ambitions. This ideal is, however, irreconcilable with the existence of an Empire like Austria-Hungary. It is also irreconcilable with the hegemony of Prussia in Germany.

Further, it is irreconcilable with the division of Poland and the treaty of Bucharest. The unifications of Russia, Italy, Germany, Rumania, and Servia must be completed. France must recover what has been taken from her, and Bulgaria also. A hundred years' fight for the principle of nationality must finish with a decision free from all compromise and therefore final.

THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF EUROPE.

But this is not all. If the London Declaration really aims at the prevention in the future of the rise of any new hegemony, it is not enough to agree at the present moment on the removal of excessive ambitions. These ambitions may spring up once more in the future, and then there will again begin the old race of armaments and the old unceremonious fight with the elbows for places in the sun. It is necessary to remove the very roots of the ability to harm and to threaten the others. But how is this to be done? The only method which has long been studied and repeatedly recommended is the mutual limitation of armaments and the international organisation of, at least, Europe. There is, of course, nothing Utopian in this idea, which was already in 1899 made by the Tsar the basis of the deliberations at the Hague. Now the same hope is being expressed often by such responsible statesmen as Mr. Churchill. In an interview with an American journalist Mr. Churchill said: "If as a result of our victory Europe should be reconstructed in accordance with the principle of nationalities and with the wishes of the populations in disputed territories, we shall be able to hope for a great relief in the burden of armaments."

Circumstances have hitherto been unfavourable to the realisation of this idea, and Europe has had to satisfy herself with the obsolete and imperfect system of an equilibrium of two groups of Powers, which was a substitute for the still older system of equilibrium of all States taken together. Now that this system has obviously proved its untenableness by leading to the war which all had foreseen, which all feared, and to which everybody was irresistibly drawn, it ought to be officially condemned and abolished in favour of another which, too, perhaps, is not final, but is nevertheless a higher form of organisation.

The great problem of the great hour through which we are passing consists in the return to the organic and super-national form of organisation. The idea of such a world's organisation was, as a matter of fact, always present during the past periods of universal wars. It formed the subject of meditations of the exile on St. Helena and, before him, of the theorists and practical advocates of universal monarchy at all ages. Now, after the unparalleled, gigantic, and world-wide efforts and sacrifices, the soil is once more favourable for the reception of this seed. Remove the old predatory form from the idea, arm it with all the resources of modern science of international law, supply it with the support of the innumerable forces on which modern civilisation rests, and you will get the new idea of the super-national organisation of Europe.



Aliens in England.

The authorities are about to take further measures for the stamping out of spying and sabotage by alien enemies.

The public even now seem scarcely to realize the great gravity of this matter. A few figures may help to a better understanding of the danger. There are at this moment in the United Kingdom as many as 50,000 alien enemies, subjects of the German and Austrian Empires. Thirty-four thousand of these are known to be in the Metropolitan Police District, and the chief problem is, therefore, a London one. Between 6,000 and 7,000 of these alien enemies still in England are Reservists of serving age, and the great majority of them, as, indeed, of the total of 50,000 are Germans. Austrians form only a small fraction of the whole.

The figures for London have been swollen by many arrivals from the prohibited areas. They also include such potentially active enemies as many Reservists on their way from America to Germany, who failed to pass through this country in time. Thousands of resident Germans—waiters, barbers, and the like—have lost their employment since the outbreak of war; the adage concerning work for idle hands naturally occurs to the mind. Many of the East-end Germans are known to the authorities as ex-criminals; some of them are regarded as dangerous men. This type is mostly to be found in the Whitechapel district, which has the unenviable distinction of accommodating more alien enemies than any other area in London.

Many of the Germans still in London are unquestionably agents of the German Government, however loose the tie may be. Some are already safely under lock and key; these are chiefly men who were known to the authorities as spies before the outbreak of war. Others are suspicious characters; many of these are under detention for infringements of the new Act imposing restrictions upon aliens. They failed to disclose that they had in their possession arms, wireless telegraph apparatus, aeroplane equipment, motor-cars, carrier-pigeons, and other material which might be useful to a belligerent. The weapons seized by the police make an extensive armoury. They are more numerous than had been suspected. There are Mausers, rook rifles (strange weapons to be found in London suburbs), and pistols. Some of the rifles are of an old pattern and were obviously used in the Franco-German War of 1870.

DANGER OF SABOTAGE.

Spying at the moment is not the chief danger to be faced. Most of the useful espionage has now been done, and the same agents are frequently engaged in sabotage, if, of course, they can evade the watch of the ever-vigilant authorities. It has been remarked by the observant that German tradesmen's shops are frequently to be found in close proximity to vulnerable points in the chain of London's communications, such as railway bridges. Some such alien tradesmen have already been moved on. The German barber seems to have little time for sabotage. He is chiefly engaged in removing the "Kaiser" moustache of his compatriots. They cannot, however, part with the evidences of their nationality altogether, for the tell-tale hair of the Teuton will show the world that new Smith is but old Schmidt writ small.

The danger is not one to cause a panic, but it certainly should not be underestimated. It is mainly due to the prompt and drastic but unseasonable measures taken by the authorities at the beginning of the war that no serious harm has yet befallen. The Metropolitan Police, for instance, have never had so anxious a time. Many men in responsible positions have been working 16 to 18 hours a day for a fortnight or more, and they have got by now the measure of the problem. Although there were yesterday less than 100 suspects in the Olympia guardhouse, the authorities are tightening rather than loosening their grip of the alien enemy. They are performing on land the same service which the British flotillas are performing at sea, sweeping up the alien mines.



British Authors and the War.

The following striking declaration on the subject of the war by British authors, including, as they point out, several who have been ardent champions of goodwill towards Germany, was issued recently:—

The undersigned writers, comprising amongst them men of the most divergent political and social views, some of them having been for years ardent champions of goodwill towards Germany, and many of them extreme advocates of peace, are nevertheless agreed that Great Britain could not without dishonour have refused to take part in the present war.

No one can read the full diplomatic correspondence published in the White Paper without seeing that the British representatives were throughout labouring whole-heartedly to preserve the peace of Europe, and that their conciliatory efforts were cordially received by both France and Russia. When these efforts failed Great Britain had still no direct quarrel with any Power.

She was eventually compelled to take up arms because, together with France, Germany, and Austria, she had solemnly pledged herself to maintain the neutrality of Belgium. As soon as danger to that neutrality arose she questioned both France and Germany as to their intentions. France immediately renewed her pledge not to violate Belgian neutrality. Germany refused to answer, and soon made all answer needless by her actions. Without even the pretence of a grievance against Belgium, she made war on the weak and unoffending country she had undertaken to protect, and has since carried out her invasion with a calculated and ingenious ferocity which has raised questions other and no less grave than that of the wilful disregard of treaties.

When Belgium in her dire need appealed to Great Britain to carry out her pledge this country's course was clear. She had either to break faith, letting the sanctity of treaties and the rights of small nations count for nothing before the threat of naked force, or she had to fight. She did not hesitate, and we trust she will not lay down arms till Belgium's integrity is restored and her wrongs redressed.

The treaty with Belgium made our duty clear, but many of us feel that even if Belgium had not been involved it would have been impossible for Great Britain to stand aside while France was dragged into war and destroyed. To permit the ruin of France would be a crime against liberty and civilisation. Even those of us who question the wisdom of a policy of Continental ententes or alliances refuse to see France struck down by a foul blow dealt in violation of a treaty.

THE INSANE GERMAN PINK.

We observe that various German apologists, official and semi-official, admit that their country has been false to its pledged word, and dwell almost with pride on the frightfulness of the examples by which it has sought to spread terror in Belgium. But they excuse all these proceedings by a strange and novel plea. German culture

and civilisation are so superior to those of other nations that all steps taken to assert them are more than justified, and the destiny of Germany to be the dominating force in Europe and the world is so manifest that ordinary rules of morality do not hold in her case, but actions are good or bad simply as they help or hinder the accomplishment of that destiny.

These views, inculcated upon the present generation of Germans by many celebrated historians and teachers, seem to us both dangerous and insane. Many of us have dear friends in Germany, many of us regard German culture with the highest respect and gratitude, but we cannot admit that any nation has the right by brute force to impose its culture upon other nations, nor that the iron military bureaucracy of Prussia represents a higher form of human society than the free Constitutions of Western Europe.

Whatever the world destiny of Germany may be, we in Great Britain are ourselves conscious of a destiny and a duty. That destiny and duty, alike for us and for all the English-speaking race, call upon us to uphold the rule of common justice between civilised peoples, to defend the rights of small nations, and to maintain the free and law-abiding ideals of Western Europe against the rule of "blood and iron" and the domination of the whole Continent by a military caste.

For these reasons and others, the undersigned feel bound to support the cause of the Allies with all their strength, in a full conviction of its righteousness and with a deep sense of its vital import to the future of the world.

The signatories are:—

Wm Archer, H. Granville Baker, J. M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, A. C. Benson, Edwd. Frederic Benson, Robert Hugh Benson, Laurence Binyon, A. C. Bradley, Robert Bridges, Hall Caine, R. C. Carton, C. Haddon Chambers, G. K. Chesterton, Hubert H. Davies, Arthur Conan Doyle, H. A. L. Fisher, John Galsworthy, Anstey Gurthrie F. Anstey, H. Rider Haggard, Thomas Hardy, Jane Ellen Harrison, Anthony Hope Hawkins, Maurice Hewlett, Robt. Hichens, Jerome K. Jerome, Hy Arthur Jones, Rudyard Kipling, W. J. Locke, E. V. Lucas, J. W. Mackail, John Massfield, A. E. W. Mason, Gilbert Murray, Henry Newbolt, Barry Paine, Gilbert Parker, Eden Phillpotts, Arthur Pinero, Arthur Quiller Couch, Owen Seaman, George R. Sims, May Sinclair, Flora Annie Steel, Alfred Sutro, George Macaulay Trevelyan, George Otto Trevelyan, Humphry Ward, Mary A. Ward, H. G. Wells, Margaret L. Woods, and Israel Zangwill.



Speech by Mr. Lloyd George.

VISION OF A NEW BRITAIN.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S characteristic qualities were notably exhibited in his speech on the war in the Queen's Hall on September 18th. It touched many chords—irony, scorn, pathos, denunciation—and ended with a passage of prophetic eloquence. The meeting was composed mainly of London Welsh, and was worthily presided over by Lord Plymouth. Among the first names in the roll of the honoured dead is that of his son, the Hon. Archer Windsor-Clive. No direct reference was made to the poignant bereavement which the chairman has sustained through the war, but the thought of it was in the minds of all when Lord Plymouth spoke of the heavy sacrifices that would have to be endured in the maintenance of the honour of the nation. "We must learn," said he, "to say with Mr. Rudyard Kipling, and say it with deep conviction, 'Who dies if England lives?'" The unaffected simplicity and pride of the words made them very telling, and the audience most sympathetically responded to the deep feeling with which their utterance was surcharged.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was received with great enthusiasm, said:—

I have come here this afternoon to talk to my fellow-countrymen about this great war and the part we ought to take in it. I feel my task is easier, after we have been listening to the greatest battle-song in the world. (Cheers.) (This was a reference to "Men of Harlech," which was sung before he rose.) There is no man in this room who has always regarded the prospects of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance, with greater repugnance, than I have done throughout the whole of my political life. There is no man either inside or outside of this room more convinced that we could not have avoided it without national dishonour. (Cheers.) I am fully alive to the fact that whenever a nation has engaged in any war she has always invoked the sacred name of honour. Many a crime has been committed in the name of honour. There are some crimes being committed now. But all the same, national

honour is a reality, and any nation that disregards it is doomed. Why is our honour as a country involved in this war? Because in the first place we are bound in an honourable obligation to defend the independence, the liberty, integrity of a small neighbour that has lived peaceably, but she could not have compelled us because she was weak. (Cries of "Quite right!") The man who declines to discharge his debt because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard. (Cheers.)

We entered into this treaty a solemn treaty, a full treaty to defend Belgium and her integrity. Our signatures are attached to the document. Our signatures do not stand alone. This was not the only country to defend the integrity of Belgium. Russia, France, Austria, and Prussia (bissers)—they are all there. Why did they not perform the obligation? It is suggested that this treaty is purely an excuse on our part. It is our low craft and cunning, just to cloak our jealousy of superior civilization which we are attempting to destroy. Our answer is the action we took in 1870. Mr. Gladstone was the Prime Minister. Lord Granville, I think, was Foreign Secretary. I have never heard it alleged to their charge that they were ever rogues. That treaty bound was this: We called upon the belligerent Powers to respect that Treaty. We called upon France, we called upon Germany. At that time, bear in mind, the greatest danger to Belgium came from France and not from Germany. We intervened to protect Belgium against France exactly as we are doing now to protect her against Germany. We are proceeding exactly in the same way. We invited both the belligerent Powers to state that they had no intention of violating Belgian territory. What was the answer given by Bismarck? He said it was superfluous to ask Prussia such a question in view of the treaties in force. France gave a similar answer. We received the thanks at that time of the Belgian people for our intervention in a very remarkable document addressed by the Municipality of Brussels to Queen Victoria after that intervention:—

The great and noble people over whose destinies you preside have just given a further proof of its benevolent sentiments towards this country. The voice of the English nation has been heard above the din of arms. It has asserted the principles of justice and right. Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence, the strongest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude to the people of Great Britain. (Loud cheers).

FRENCH SELF-SACRIFICE IN 1870.

That was in 1870 three or four days after that document of thanks the French Army was wedged up against the Belgian frontier, every means of escape shut up by a ring of flame from Prussian cannon. There was one way of escape—by violating the neutrality of Belgium. The French on that occasion preferred ruin and humiliation to the breaking of their bond. The French Emperor, French Marshal, 100,000 gallant Frenchmen in arms preferred to be carried captive to the strange land of their enemy rather than dishonour the name of their country. It was the last French Army defeat. Had they violated Belgian neutrality the whole history of that war would have been changed. And yet it was the interest of France to break the treaty. She did not do it. It is the interest of Prussia to break the treaty, and she has done it. ("Shame.") She avowed it with cynical contempt for every principle of justice. She says treaties only bind you when it is to your interest to keep them. What is a treaty? says the German Chancellor, "A scrap of paper." Have you any £5 notes about you? I am not calling for them. (Laughter). Have you any of those neat little Treasury £1 notes? (Laughter). If you have, burn them; they are only scraps of paper. (Cheers.) What are they made of? Rags. (Laughter). What are they worth. The whole credit of the British Empire. (Cheers.) "Scraps of paper." I have been dealing with scraps of paper within the last month. We suddenly found the commerce of the whole world coming to a standstill. The machine had stopped. I will tell you why. We discovered, many of us for the first time, that the machinery of commerce was moved by bills of exchange. I have seen some of them (laughter)...wretched, crinkled, scrawled over, blotched, frowy—and yet wretched little scraps of paper move great ships, laden with thousands of tons of precious cargo from one end of the world to the other. (Cheers.) What was the motive power behind them? The honour of commercial men. (Cheers.) Treaties are the currency of international statesmanship. Let us be fair. German merchants and German traders have the reputation of being as upright and straightforward as any traders in the world; but if the currency of German commerce is to be debased to the level of that of statesmanship no trader, from Shanghai to Valparaiso, will ever look at a German signature again. (Cheers.)

THE ROAD TO BARBARISM.

This doctrine of the scrap of paper, this doctrine which is proclaimed by Bernhardi, that treaties only bind a nation as long as it is to its interest, goes under the root of all public law. It is the straight road to barbarism. It is just as if you removed the magnetic

pole whenever it was in the way of a German cruiser (Laughter.) The whole navigation of the seas would become dangerous, difficult, impossible, and the whole machinery of civilization will break down if this doctrine wins in this war. We are fighting against barbarism, and there is only one way of putting it right. If there are nations that say they will only respect treaties when it is to their interests to do so we must make it to their interests to do so for the future. (Cheers.)

Just look at the interview which took place between our Ambassador and the great German officials. When their attention was called to this treaty to which they were parties they said:—"We cannot help that." Rapidity of action was the great German asset. There is a greater asset for a nation than rapidity of action, and that is honest dealing. (Cheers.) What are her excuses? She says that Belgium was plotting against her; that Belgium was engaged in a great conspiracy with Britain and with France to attack her. Not merely is it not true, but Germany knows it is not true. What is her other excuse? France meant to invade Germany through Belgium. Absolutely untrue. France offered Belgium five Army Corps to defend her if she were attacked. Belgium said:—"I don't require them, I have got the word of the Kaiser. Shall Caesar send a lie?"

All these tales about conspiracy have been vamped up since. A great nation ought to be ashamed to behave like a fraudulent bankrupt. It is not true what she says. She has deliberately broken this treaty, and we were in honour bound to stand by Belgium. (Cheers.) Belgium has been treated brutally—how brutally we shall not yet know. We know already too much. What had she done? Had she sent an ultimatum to Germany? Had she challenged Germany? Was she preparing to make war on Germany? Had she inflicted any wrong upon Germany which the Kaiser was bound to redress? She was one of the most unoffending little countries in Europe. There she was peaceable, industrious, thrifty, hardworking, giving offence to no one. Her cornfields have been trampled down. Her villages have been burned to the ground. Her art treasures have been destroyed. Her men have been slaughtered; yes, and her women and her children, too. What had she done? Hundreds and thousands of her people, their neat, comfortable little homes burnt to the dust, wandering homeless in their own land. What was their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian King.

OUTRAGES IN BELGIUM.

I do not know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. I have a shrewd idea what he will accomplish, but one thing is made certain, that no nation in future will ever commit that crime again. I am not going to enter into these tales. Many of them are untrue; war is a grim, ghastly business at best, and I am not going to say that all that has been said in the way of tales of outrage is true. I will go beyond that, and say that if you turn two millions of men, forced, conscripted, and compelled and driven into the field, you will certainly get among them a certain number of men who will do things that the nation itself will be ashamed of. I am not depending on them. It is enough for me to have the story which the Germans themselves avow, admit, defend, proclaim. The burning and massacring, the shooting down of harmless people. Why? Because, according to the Germans they fired on German soldiers. What business had German soldiers there at all? (Cheers.) Belgium was acting in pursuance of a most sacred right, the right to defend your own home. But they were not in uniform when they shot. If a burglar broke into the Kaiser's palace at Potsdam, destroyed his furniture, shot down his servants, ruined his art treasures, especially those he made himself—(laughter and cheers)—burned his precious manuscripts, do you think he would wait until he got into uniform before he shot him down? (Laughter.) They were dealing with those who had broken into their households. But their perfidy had already failed. They entered Belgium to save time. They have not gained time, but they have lost their good name.

THE CASE OF SERBIA.

But Belgium was not the only little nation that has been attacked in this war, and I make no excuse for referring to the case of the other little nation—the case of Serbia. The history of Serbia is not unblotted. What history in the category of nations is unblotted? The first nation that is without sin, let her cast a stone at Serbia—a nation trained in a horrible school. But she won her freedom with her tenacious valour, and she has maintained it by the same courage. If Servians were mixed up in the assassination of the Grand Duke, they ought to be punished. Serbia admits that. The Serbian Government had nothing to do with it. Not even Austria claimed that. The Serbian Prime Minister, is one of the most capable and honoured men in Europe. Serbia was willing to punish any one of her subjects who had been proved to have any complicity in that assassination. What more could you expect?

What were the Austrian demands? She sympathized with her fellow-countrymen in Bosnia. That was one of her crimes. She must do so no more. Her newspapers were saying nasty things about Austria. They must do so no longer. That is the Austrian spirit. You had it in Zabern. How dare you criticize a Prussian official? And if you laugh it is a capital offence. The colonel threatened to shoot them if they repeated it. Servian newspapers must not criticize Austria. I wonder what would have happened had we taken up the same line about German newspapers. Serbia said: "Very well, we will give orders to the newspapers that they must not criticize Austria in future, neither Austria, nor Hungary, nor anything that is theirs." (Laughter.) Who can doubt the valour of Serbia, when she undertook to tackle her newspapers editors? (Laughter.) She promised not to sympathize with Bosnia, promised to write no critical articles about Austria. She would have no public meetings at which anything unkind was said about Austria. That was not enough. She must dismiss from her Army officers whom Austria should subsequently name. But these officers had just emerged from a war where they were adding lustre to the "Servian arms—gallant, brave, efficient. (Cheers.) I wonder whether it was their guilt or their efficiency that prompted Austria's action. Serbia was to undertake in advance to dismiss them from the Army the names to be sent on subsequently. Can you name a country in the world that would have stood that? Supposing Austria or Germany had issued an ultimatum of that kind to this country. (Laughter.) "You must dismiss from your Army and from your Navy all those officers whom we shall subsequently name." Well, I think I could name them now. Lord Kitchener (cheers) would go. Sir John French (cheers) would be sent about his business. General Smith-Dorrien (cheers) would be no more, and sure that Sir John Jellicoe (cheers) would go. (Laughter.) There is another gallant old warrior who would go—Lord Roberts. (Cheers.)

It was a difficult situation for a small country. Here was a demand made upon her by a great military Power who could put five or six men in the field for every one she could; and that power supported by the greatest military Power in the world. How did Serbia behave? It is not what happens to you in life that matters; it is the way in which you faced it. (Cheers.) And Serbia faced the situation with dignity. (Loud cheers.) She said to Austria:—"If any officers of mine have been guilty and are proved to be guilty I will dismiss them." Austria said "That is not good enough for me." It was not guilt she was after, but capacity. (Laughter.)

Then came Russia's turn. Russia has a special regard for Serbia. She has a special interest in Serbia. Russians have shed their blood for Servian independence many a time Serbia is a member of her family, and she cannot see Serbia maltreated. Austria knew that, Germany knew that, and Germany turned round to Russia and said:—"I insist that you shall stand by with your arms folded whilst Austria is strangling your little brother to death." (Laughter.) What answer did the Russian Slav give? He gave the only answer that becomes a man. (Cheers.) He turned to Austria and said:—"You lay hands on that little fellow and I will tear your ramshackle empire limb from limb." (Prolonged cheers.) And he is doing it. (Renewed cheers.)

HISTORY OF LITTLE NATIONS.

That is the story of the little nations. The world owes much to little nations (cheers) and to little men. (Laughter and cheers.) This theory of bigness—you must have a big empire and a big nation and a big man—well, long legs have their advantage in a retreat. (Laughter.) Frederick the Great chose his warriors for their height, and that tradition has become a policy in Germany. Germany applies that ideal to nations. She will only allow six-foot two nations to stand in the ranks. But all the world owes much to the little five-foot-high nations. (Cheers.) The greatest art of the world was the work of little nations. The most enduring literature of the world came from little nations. The greatest literature of England came from her when she was a nation of the size of Belgium fighting a great empire. The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Ah, yes and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation. God has chosen little nations as the vessels by which he carries the choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and to strengthen their faith, and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages. (Cheers.)

But Germany insists that this is an attack by a low civilization upon a higher. Well, as a matter of fact the attack was begun by the civilization which calls itself the higher one. Now, I am no apologist for Russia. She has perpetrated deeds of which I have no doubt her best sons are ashamed. But what empire has not? And Germany is the last empire to point the finger of reproach at Russia (Hear, hear.) But Russia has made sacrifices for freedom—great

sacrifices. You remember the cry of Bulgaria when she was torn by the most insane tyranny that Europe has ever seen. Who listened to the cry? The only answer of the "higher civilization" was that the liberty of Bulgarian peasants was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian soldier. But the rude barbarians of the north they sent their sons by the thousands to die for Bulgarian freedom. (Cheers.)

TRIBUTE TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

What about England? You go to Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and France and all these lands could point out to you places where the sons of Britain have died for the freedom of these countries. (Cheers.) France has made sacrifices for the freedom of other lands than her own. Can you name a single country in the world for the freedom of which the modern Prussian has ever sacrificed a single life? (Cheers.) The test of our faith, the highest standard of civilization, is the readiness to sacrifice for others. (Cheers.) I would not say a word about the German people to disparage them. They are a great people; they have great qualities of head and heart. I believe, in spite of recent events there is as great a store of kindness in German peasant as in any peasant in the world, but he has been drilled into a false idea of civilization (hear, hear) efficiency, capability. But it is a hard civilization; it is a selfish civilization; it is a material civilization. They could not comprehend the action of Britain at the present moment. They say so. "France they say, 'we can understand. She is out for vengeance, she is out for territory—Alsace, Lorraine. (Cheers.) Russia, she is fighting for mastery; she wants Galicia.' They can understand vengeance, they can understand you fighting for greed of territory; they cannot understand a great Empire pledging its resources, pledging its might, pledging the lives of its children, pledging its very existence to protect a little nation that seeks for its defence (Cheers.)

God made man in his own image, high of purpose, in the region of the spirit. German civilization would re-create him in the image of a Diesel machine—precise, accurate, powerful with no room for the soul to operate. That is the higher civilization. What is their demand? Have you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy, I advise you to buy it; they will soon be out of print—and you won't have any more of the same sort again. (Laughter and cheers.) They are full of the clatter and bluster of German militarists—the mailed fist, the shining armour, Poor old mailed fist—its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armour—the shine is being knocked out of it (Laughter.) But there is the same swagger and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. You saw that remarkable speech which appeared in the *British Weekly* this week. It is a very remarkable product, as an illustration of the spirit we have got to fight. It is his speech to his soldiers on the way to the front.

Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, on me as German Emperor, the Spirit of God has descended. I am his weapon. His sword, and His Vice-governor. Wee to the disobedient! Death to cowards and unbelievers!

There has been nothing like it since the days of Mahomet. Lunacy (laughter) is always distressing, but sometimes it is dangerous, and when you get it manifested in the head of the State and it has become the policy of a great empire it is about time it should be ruthlessly put away. (Cheers.) I do not believe he meant all these speeches, it was simply the martial straddle which he had acquired. But there were men against him who meant every word of it. This was their religion—Treaties: they tangle the feet of Germany in her advances, cut them with the sword. Little nations: they hinder the advance of Germany; trample them in the mire under the German heel. The Russian Slav: he challenges the supremacy of Germany in Europe; hurl your legions at him and smother him. Britain: she is a constant menace to the predominance of Germany in the world: wrest the trident out of her hand.

A DIET OF BLOOD AND IRON.

More than that, the new philosophy of Germany is to destroy Christianity—sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others, poor pap for German mouths. We will have the new diet, we will force it on the world. It will be made in Germany (laughter) a diet of blood and iron. What remains? Treaties have gone the honour of nations gone, liberty gone. What is left? Germany—Germany is left—Dentalists and other things. That is all that is left. That is what we are fighting, that claim to predominance of a civilization, a material one, a hard one, a civilization which if once it rules and sways the world, liberty goes, democracy goes, and unless Britain comes to the rescue and her sons it will be a dark day for humanity. (Loud cheers.)

We are not fighting the German people. The German people are just as much under the heel of this Prussian military caste, and more so thank God, than any other nation in Europe. It will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant and artisan and trader when the military caste is broken (Cheers) You know his pretensions. He gives himself the airs of a demi-god walking the pavement—civilians and their wives swept into the gutter; they have no right to stand in the way of the great Prussian Junker. Men, women, nations—they have all got to go. He thinks all he has got to say is, "We are in a hurry." (Laughter.) That is the answer he gave to Belgium: "Rapidly of action is Germany's greatest asset," which means, "I am in a hurry. Clear out of my way." You know the type of motorist, the terror of the roads, with a 60-h.p. car. He thinks the roads are made for him, and anybody who impedes the action of his car by a single mile is knocked down. The Prussian Junker is the road hog of Europe. (Loud cheers.) Small nationalities in his way hurled to the roadside, bleeding and broken; women and children crushed under the wheels of his cruel car; Britain ordered out of his road. All I can say is this: If the old British spirit is alive in British hearts, that bully will be torn from his seat. (Prolonged cheers.) Were he to win it would be the greatest catastrophe that befell democracy since the days of the Holy Alliance and its ascendancy.

"THROUGH TERROR TO TRIUMPH."

They think we cannot beat them. It will not be easy. It will be a long job. It will be a terrible war. But in the end we shall march through terror to triumph. (Cheers.) We shall need all our qualities, every quality that Britain and its people possess—prudence in council, daring in action, tenacity in purpose, courage in defeat, moderation in victory (cheers)—in all things faith, and we shall win. (Cheers.) It has pleased them to believe and to preach the belief that we are a decadent, degenerate nation. They proclaim it to the world, through their professors (laughter), that we are an unheroic nation skulking behind our mahogany counters, whilst we are egging on more gallant races to their destruction. This is a description given to us in Germany—"a timorous craven nation, trusting to its Fleet." I think they are beginning to find their mistake out already, and there are half a-million of young men of Britain who have already registered the vow to their King that they will cross the seas and hurl that insult to British courage against its perpetrators in the battlefields of France and of Germany to. And we want half-a-million more, and we shall get them. (Cheers.)

But Wales must continue doing her duty. I should like to see a Welsh Army in the field (Cheers.) I should like to see the race who faced the Normans for hundreds of years in a struggle for freedom, the race that helped to win Crecy the race that fought for a generation under Glamorgan against the greatest captain in Europe—I should like to see that race go and give a taste of its quality in this great struggle in Europe. And they are going to do it. I envy you young people your opportunity. They have put up the age limit for the army. But I have marched, I am sorry to say, a good many years even beyond that. But still our turn will come. It is a great opportunity. It only comes once in many centuries to the children of men. For most generations sacrifice comes in drab weariness of spirit to men. It has come to-day to you—it has come to-day to us all in the form of the glory and thrill of a great movement for liberty that compels millions throughout Europe to the same noble end. It is a great war for the emancipation of Europe from thralldom of a military caste which has thrown its shadows upon two generations of men and which has now plunged the world into a maelstrom of bloodshed and terror.

PROMISE OF THE FUTURE.

Some have already given their lives. There are some who have given more than their lives, they have given the lives of those who are dear to them. I honour their courage, and may God be their comfort and their strength. Those who have fallen have died unconquered deaths. They have taken their part in the making of a new Europe—a new world. I can see signs of it coming through the glare of the battlefield. The people of all lands will gain more by this struggle than they comprehend at the present moment. They will be rid of the greatest menace to their freedom.

That is not all. There is another blessing, infinitely greater and more enduring, which is emerging already out of this great contest—a new patriotism, richer, nobler, more exalted than the old. I see a new recognition amongst all classes high and low, shedding themselves of selfishness—a new recognition that the honour of a country does not depend merely upon the maintenance of its glory in the earthly field, but in protecting its homes from distress as well. It is a new patriotism which is bringing a new outlook over all classes. The great flood of luxury and of sloth which had submerged the land is receding, and a new Britain is appearing. We are, for the first time, the fundamental things that matter in life, and that had been obscured from our vision by the tropical fever of the present.

May I tell you in a simple parable what I think this war is doing for us. I know a valley in the north of Wales between the mountains and the sea—a beautiful valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered by the mountains from all the bitter blast. It was very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hill above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance, and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which come from the hill tops, and by the great spectacle of that valley. We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable, too indulgent, many, perhaps, too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation—the great peaks of honour we had forgotten—Duty, Patriotism, and—clad in glittering white—the great pinnacle of Sacrifice, pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven. We shall descend into the valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of these great mountain peaks, whose foundations are not shaken in the convulsions of a great war. (Cheers.)

Amid great enthusiasm a number of young Welshmen at once left the hall for the special recruiting station prepared in the precincts of the hall, where they enrolled themselves. The recruiting station was speedily filled by those eager to respond to the call of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.



Mr. Asquith on German culture.

Mr. Asquith in the course of a stirring address to a public meeting held in Edinburgh on 18th September with a view to induce the youth of the nation to take service in the present war, said as follows:

GERMAN CULTURE AND THE GERMAN SPIRIT.

But, faint as is this denial of this part of our case, it becomes fainter still, it dissolves into the thinnest of thin air, when it has to deal with our contention that we and our Allies are withstanding a power whose aim is nothing less than the domination of Europe. (Hear, hear.) It is, indeed, the avowed belief of the leaders of German thought, I will not say of the German people, of those who for many years past have controlled German policy, that such a domination, carrying with it the supremacy of what they call German culture—(laughter) and the German spirit, is the best thing that could happen to the world.

Let me ask for a moment. What is this German culture? What is this German spirit, of which the Emperor's armies are at present the missionaries in Belgium and in France? (Laughter.) Mankind owes much to Germany, a very great debt, for the contributions she has made to philosophy, to science, and to the arts. But that which is specifically German in the movement of the world in the last thirty years has been on the intellectual side the development of the doctrine of the supreme and ultimate prerogative in human affairs of material forces, and on the practical side the taking of the foremost place in the fabrication and the multiplication of the machinery of destruction.

"A VERY PURBLIND PHILOSOPHY"

To the men who have adopted this gospel, who believe that power is the be-all and end-all of the State, naturally a treaty is nothing more than a piece of parchment, and all the old-world talk about the right of the weak and the obligations of the strong is only so much threadbare and nauseating cant. For one very remarkable feature of this school of doctrine is, whatever be its intellectual or its ethical merits, that it has turned out, as an actual code for life, to be a very purblind philosophy. The German culture, the German spirit, did not save the Emperor and his people from delusions and miscalculations as dangerous as they were absurd in regard to the British Empire. We were believed by these cultivated observers—(laughter)—to be the decadent descendants of a people who by a combination of luck and of fraud—(laughter)—had managed to obtain dominion over a vast quantity of the surface and the populations of the globe. This fortuitous aggregation—(laughter and cheers)—which goes by the name of the British Empire, was supposed to be so insecurely founded and so loosely knit together that at the first touch of serious menace from without it would fall to pieces and tumble to the ground. (Cheers.)

Our great Dominions were getting heartily tired of the Imperial connection. India—(loud cheers)—it was notorious to every German traveller—(laughter) was on the verge of open revolt. And here at home we, the people of this United Kingdom, were riven by dissension so deep and so fierce that our energies, whether for resistance or for attack, would be completely paralysed. What a fantastic

dream! (Hear, hear.) And what a rude awakening! (Laughter and cheers.) And in this vast and grotesque and yet tragic miscalculation is to be found one of the roots, perhaps the main root of the present war.

BRANDS ON THE BROW OF GERMAN CULTURE.

But let us go one step more. It has been said "By their fruits ye shall know them," and history will record that when the die was cast and the struggle began it was the disciples of that same creed who revived methods of warfare which have for centuries past been condemned by the common sense as by the humanity of the great mass of the civilised world. (Cheers.) Bouvain, Malines, Termonde—these are names which will henceforward be branded on the brow of German culture. The ruthless sacking of the ancient and famous towns of Belgium is fitly supplemented by the story that reaches us only to-day from our own headquarters in France of the proclamation issued less than a week ago by the German authorities who were for a moment—and happily for little more than a moment—in occupation of the venerable city of Rheims. Let me read it, for it should be put on record. Let me read the concluding paragraph of the proclamation:—

"With a view to securing adequately the safety of the troops and to instill calm into the population of Rheims, the persons named below"—eighty-one in number, and including all the leading citizens of the town—"have been seized by the Commander-in-Chief of the German army. These hostages will be hanged at the slightest attempt at disorder. Also, the town will be totally or partly burned, and the inhabitants will be hanged for any infraction of the above. By order of the German authorities."

(Hisses.) Do not let it be forgotten that it is from a Power whose intellectual leaders are imbued with the idea that I have described, and whose generals in the field sanction and even direct those practices—it is from that Power the claim proceeds to impose its culture, its spirit—which means its domination—upon the rest of Europe. That is a claim, I say to you, to all my fellow countrymen, to every citizen and subject of the British Empire whose ears and eyes my words can reach—"that is a claim that everything that is great in our past and everything that promises hope or progress in our future summons us to resist to the end. (Loud cheers.)

THE MAGNITUDE OF OUR TASK.

The task—do not let us deceive ourselves—will not be a light one. Its full accomplishment, and nothing short of its full accomplishment—(cheers)—is worthy of our traditions or will satisfy our resolve. It will certainly take months. It may even take years. I have come here to-night, not to ask you to count the cost, for no price can be too high to pay when honour and freedom are at stake, but to put before you, as I have tried to do, the magnitude of the issue, and the supreme necessity that lies upon us as a nation, nay, as a brotherhood and a family of nations, to rise to its height, and acquit ourselves of our duty.



Italy and the War.

Her Interests on Sea and Land.

MR. CHURCHILL'S VIEWS.

THE Press Bureau issued during the mail week the following text of the interview recently accorded by Mr Churchill to Signor Calza-Bedolo for publication in the "Giornale d'Italia":—

Question.—What impression was made in England and upon the British Government by the Italian declaration of neutrality?

Mr. Churchill.—We always thought it was impossible for Italy to fight with Austria or to fight against England, and in all the Admiralty arrangements for the Mediterranean since I have been here we have always acted on the certainty that Italy would be neutral, and measured our naval force only against Austria.

Question.—There has been a great deal of talk in Italy of the possibility of active intervention by Italy in the war in case of a change in the Adriatic situation: is there any probability of a change in the Adriatic situation in consequence of the Franco-British naval operations?

Mr. Churchill.—You see, the naval situation in the Adriatic is rather like that in the North Sea. The Austrian Fleet is hiding. It lies hidden in its hole, and until it is convenient to dig them out it is difficult to get a decision. I do not see how any change in the Adriatic situation would result from the naval operations, but the great changes that will come will result from the collapse of Austria on land. The greatest feature yet apparent in the course of the war is the collapse of Austria as a military factor. That collapse appears to be irreparable, and that is a tremendous event in the history of the world.

Question.—Do you think it probable that there will be the possibility of such an arrangement as will give a guarantee to the position of Italy and leave her free from any fears of hostile pre-dominance?

Mr. Churchill.—I think the great events of this war that will affect Italy are taking place on the land rather than on the sea. Italy would have nothing to apprehend navally from the victory of England and France. She would always be strong enough to deal with Austria on the sea, unless, of course, a victorious Germany came to the aid of Austria. If Germany succeeded in the war and the English power was broken, Germany could, of course, send as many ships as she liked to join the Austrian Fleet and could send them much quicker than Italy could build them. But still, I repeat that for Italy this is primarily an affair of the land rather than the sea.

NO DANGER FROM AFRICA.

Question.—There appears to be at this moment a danger of an Islamic movement in the North of Africa, promoted by Germany, that would eventually menace the British, Italian, and French interests equally on the northern shore of the Mediterranean. Do you think it possible that on this basis there would be room for an agreement between the three chief Mediterranean Powers?

Mr. Churchill.—The great issues of the hour are in Europe, not in Africa, and if they can be satisfactorily regulated so far as Europe is concerned, Africa is an easy matter.

Question.—The argument is put forward by a few that there has hitherto been no decisive engagement between the German and British Fleets and consequently they regard this as a success. Do you think there is any foundation for this belief, and whether the fact that the German Fleet still remains in being is in any way likely to affect the outcome of the war?



Sir V. Chirol and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

A Severe Indictment.

IN a letter to the *Times* Sir Valentine Chirol makes a very vigorous attack upon Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, than whom, he says, no one in the United Kingdom bears a heavier responsibility for the incredibly fierce hatred of England throughout Germany, which has not only intensified the bitterness inseparable from a state of war, but will prove an appalling obstacle to the re-establishment of any tolerable relations between the two people long after peace, at however distant a date, has been officially restored between Great Britain and the German Empire.

After this country had been committed to a struggle which was clearly destined to involve our whole national existence (continues Sir Valentine.) Mr Ramsay MacDonald published, on the 13th August, in the *Labour Leader*, a manifesto, subsequently republished and distributed broadcast as a separate leaflet, containing a long and violent indictment of the policy of the British Government, which incidentally he described as "a pretty little game in hypocrisy." Against Sir Edward Grey in particular he made two definite charges which, whatever he may say, stand out conspicuously from a context that in no way modifies their gravity. The first charge figures as the final of seven conclusions on which he lays special emphasis. It runs as follows:—

(7) When Sir Edward Grey failed to secure peace between Germany and Russia, he worked deliberately to involve us in the war, using Belgium as his chief excuse.

The second charge, to which special prominence is given by large and heavy type, is that if France had decided to attack Germany through Belgium, Sir Edward Grey would not have objected, but would have justified himself by Mr. Gladstone's opinion.

A third charge, to which the eye is caught by the same device, is directed equally against the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey. "Both," he says, "withheld the full truth from us" in regard to the later offers made by Germany with a view to securing our neutrality.

EFFECT ANSWER.

What was the effect which such gross charges of duplicity against British Ministers were likely to produce on Mr. MacDonald's own fellow-countrymen, who, without distinction of party, were rallying round the King's Government with unquestioning and whole-hearted patriotism? None. What was the effect that they were certain to produce abroad, and especially in Germany? It was this. They were greedily welcomed as affording just the material that were required for bolstering up the German propaganda. Set

only in Germany but throughout neutral countries all over the world, of which the chief aim and object was to represent Great Britain as the villain of the piece. Is it a mere coincidence that the German Chancellor himself, in framing his appeals for sympathy with a peace-loving Germany, reluctantly dragged into war by the machinations of her enemies, invariably bases his denunciations of Great Britain's perfidy on just the same sort of arguments which Mr. MacDonald employs? Is it a mere coincidence that following Mr. MacDonald's lead, the whole German Press has concentrated its worst venom upon Sir Edward Grey as the embodiment of British bad faith with peace always on his lips and war in his heart? It has been my business, though no longer in a journalistic capacity, to study the German Press and the Press of some of the neutral States very carefully during the last seven weeks. There is scarcely an important German paper which has not reproduced Mr. MacDonald's manifesto, in part or in whole, to justify its own diatribes against England. So much value is, indeed, attached to it for the purposes of German propaganda that it has evidently been imported in considerable quantities into Germany in the leaflet shape as it is being actually distributed from there to neutral States with a view to "spreading the truth." I have seen it also reproduced or translated in the pro-German newspapers of neutral countries with the same sort of comments and the same purpose.

The fact is never mentioned in Germany that Mr. MacDonald can no longer be regarded as the mouthpiece of the political party he is the spokesman of the guilty conscience of England, which the Government cannot stifle. Germans take note that, whereas official communications are issued in England for transmission abroad controverting the same charges that Mr. MacDonald brings against British Ministers when those charges are made by the German Chancellor or other responsible Germans, the British Government has failed to take any sort of official cognizance of Mr. MacDonald's own responsibility for having been the first to utter them, but that, on the contrary, he continues apparently to retain so much of the confidence of the King's Ministers that he is still considered worthy to sit on official committees and commissions. It is surprising that the Germans and their friends should infer that Ministers are afraid either to challenge the powerful influence which he is still assumed to possess in this country, or to meet in a British forum charges brought by one of their countrymen to which they are ready enough to return a glib answer for merely foreign consumption?

We may be rightly proud of the tolerance we display towards even the most extreme licence of speech in ordinary times, though I, too, think that, in regard to the Home Rule controversy to which Mr. MacDonald refers, that licence has frequently been carried to dangerous and reprehensible lengths. But, grave as was the Home Rule controversy, it was a domestic controversy. Mr. MacDonald's case is a very different one. In time of actual war—the most terrible war in which we have ever been engaged—Mr. MacDonald has sought to besmirch the reputation of his country by openly charging with his graceful duplicity the Ministers who are its chosen representatives, and he has helped the enemy State—and helped it not unsuccessfully—to poison against his country the wells of public opinion, not only in Germany, but in neutral States whose attitude towards Great Britain might at any moment materially and decisively affect the issue of the war. Such action oversteps the bounds of even the most excessive toleration, and cannot be properly or safely disregarded by the British Government or the British people.

MR. MACDONALD'S REPLY:

Replying to the above, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says: It is not quite clear from Sir Valentine Chirol's letter whether it is a serious contribution to this discussion or not. If it is, is it not necessary for Sir Valentine Chirol to restrain himself so that his criticism keep within the bounds of well-known fact? Three British Ministers have resigned their positions as a protest against the policy which led to this war. To one of them has been attributed and widely circulated in Germany a detailed and thoroughgoing attack on that policy, on an attack which affects German opinion none the less though the speech was never delivered. But the only thing which really encourages Germany at the present movement is apparently an article which I happen to have written in a weekly Socialist paper. It is that all. I am the person who is mainly responsible for German animosity to England, and your leading article goes the length of hinting that the Kaiser's order to his army before Mons reflects my opinions, and that he might have been more civil to us had it not been for me! I am under the impression that I read about German hostility against the British Embassy in Berlin the night that war was declared and that days before my article appeared similar stories, written by British people in various parts of Germany were published in the newspapers. Were all these stories concocted in Berlin and was there no substance in any of them until my article appeared with German decorations in Germany?

"No one in these islands (says Sir Valentine Chirol) bears, I believe, at the present movement a heavier responsibility than does Mr. MacDonald for the incredibly fierce hatred of England throughout Germany, which has not only intensified the bitterness inseparable from a state of war, but will prove an appalling obstacle to the re-establishment of any tolerable relations between the two peoples long after peace, at however distant a date, has been officially restored between Great Britain and the German Empire."

I am afraid that, will all the respect I bear to Sir Valentine Chirol, the attempt made there to state facts and to form a judgment upon them is so ludicrously absurd that in it I can recognize neither myself, my opinions, nor my sins, and it only shows the boundless credulity and the utter subordination to imaginative impulsiveness under which many who in normal times are moved by both common-sense and reason are now labouring. I read the Kaiser's order before the attack of Mons after your own leading article, and in the expectation of finding something justifying your observations. All I did find was a reference to "treacherous English," a phrase which, under ordinary circumstances, I should have recognized as the hackneyed expression which has been thrown at our heads by Continental writers, bankrupt both in words and in ideas, for the last century. But even that is apparently the creation of my article in the *Labour Leader*!

Finally, I confess to no feeling but that of amazement when I read Sir Valentine Chirol's opinion that what I have written "will prove an appalling obstacle to the re-establishment of any tolerable relations between the two peoples" and remembered that up to now the attack has been on the grounds that I held pro-German sentiment—which I do not—that I wanted to "spare the feelings of the destroyers of Louvain," and so on. I am very glad that I really agree with Mr. G. W. Prothero, but I am profoundly grateful to him for one sentence in his interesting little and otherwise inaccurate letter. It is this: "Is not this rather about Mr Ramsay MacDonald's interferences a little calculated to make a mountain out of a molehill?" It really is; and so far as I am concerned, as common-sense and proportion now seem to be lost sight of, I have said all that is necessary at the present moment.



The Indian field Ambulance Corps.

Speech by The Aga Khan.

[FROM THE "PIONEER" (CORRESPONDENT.)]

London, 2nd October.

The Indian Field Ambulance Corps, which is shortly to go forward to the front under the command of Colonel R. J. Baker, I. M. S. (retired), may be said to have been publicly inaugurated by the stirring speech of His Highness the Aga Khan at a crowded and representative meeting at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, yesterday afternoon. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, to whose suggestions on arrival from South Africa the Corps largely owes its existence, presided in his capacity as chairman of the Indian Volunteers' Association. He spoke appropriately in opening the proceedings, and announced a gift from his Highness of £200 to provide extra comforts for the Corps when on active service. The Aga Khan, who was received with the most enthusiastic applause, spoke as follows:—

"I am unable to tell you the feelings of pride and joy with which I address my own fellow countrymen here whose spontaneous desire to actively serve the King-Emperor in this supreme hour in the destinies of Europe and the Empire has found scope in the formation of the Indian Field Ambulance Corps. For weeks past, first under Dr. James Cantlie—(cheers)—and now under Colonel Baker—(cheers)—you have been preparing yourself by diligent training for the task now definitely allotted to you by the War Office and by the Red Cross Society. It will be the proud privilege of most of you to go to the front to minister to the medical and hospital needs of soldiers of our own nationality engaged for the first time in history in fighting on West European soil for the great Empire to which we belong. (Cheers) It is in fact a unique occasion. You represent a spirit which is universal amongst our countrymen in India and here. Some of them in provincial centres being fewer in number have not facilities for combined training equal to yours, but I believe they are no less eager to serve the Empire; and I am glad to know that in some of the University towns young Indians have been attached for training to the Red Cross Section of the Officers' Training Corps. A few have quietly offered themselves for Lord Kitchener's New Army, and I believe they have been welcomed and are welcomed on passing the same physical tests as are applied to their English comrades. I can only say that I envy them the opportunity of combat and I envy you the equally necessary, though not equally dangerous, if

perhaps not so picturesque service of which they have taken advantage. I should be very proud and happy to be one of their number, which I may add is by no means improbable. (Cheers) Do not forget, however, that the services you are about to render are in some ways even more glorious than those of the men in the fighting line. You have to expose yourselves constantly to danger, and you cannot actually take a part in the fighting, so that you will not have the benefit of the excitement that combatant work brings, that helps one to go through. From the very first day when the war commenced our noble and high-souled Chairman, Mr. Gandhi—(cheers)—whom those who know his work in South Africa cannot help but revere—(cheers)—urged that there should be no picking and choosing but that we as Indians must at once go and do any work that came to our hands.

READY FOR ANY SERVICE

"That spirit of patriotism finds expression in the intimation of your Committee to the India Office placing your services unconditionally at the disposal of the authorities as a proof of India's desire to share the responsibilities no less than the privileges of membership of this great Empire. That you should be actuated by these high standards of public duty is in accordance with the confident expectation of those who, like myself, have been closely familiar with the thoughts and the noble aspirations of my educated fellow-countrymen. After all, you but mirror in a different environment the wave of loyal enthusiasm which has swept through our Motherland, and to which I shall make further reference. I feel confident that these patriotic conceptions will accuate all who have undergone training when the time comes for most of you to proceed to the Continent, and for the others to remain behind, for, as you are aware, some are sure to be wounded and many more are sure to come back ill and broken in health. For these reasons I feel sure that many who are remaining behind will be required to go to the front later on. I feel confident that the many wastages that will occur will be easily replaced by further volunteers who will be trained in this country. In this hour of India's and the Empire's difficulties happily no differences of race and creed exist in India, they do not count (cheers);—and the Indian blood that will be shed on the fields of France and Belgium, and I hope, Germany—(loud cheers)—will not have been shed in vain if it leads to a permanent disappearance of racial and religious antagonism or any other suspicion in India. (Cheers). We are absolutely united in the common purpose of taking our full share in the trials and sorrow of the Empire, and in contributing to the sacrifice entailed by the unconquerable determination of the British Empire and her Allies to win through. (Cheers)."

"You are well aware that though I have always been convinced that Germany would be a most dangerous enemy of Turkey and all other Moslem countries, for she was the one that was most anxious to annex by peaceful penetration Asia Minor and Southern Persia—(laughter) she has been at the same time posing for years past, to serve her own ends, as a sort of protector of Islam—(Heaven forbid that we should have such an immoral protector!) (cheers)—and is only too eager to turn to mischievous account such unguarded expressions from Englishmen of eminence. Happily so far as the Moslem and other subjects of the King-Emperor are concerned these efforts of our enemies are absolutely futile. We will never break down the strong wall of loyalty, based on the certainty and consciousness that not only our truest interests, religious as well as civil, are guaranteed to us by British rule more securely than they could ever be otherwise, but that our ultimate aspirations to rise in everything to the standard of Europe and America can only be obtained through permanent association and union with British rule. (Cheers)

ENGLAND'S SURPRISE.

"Gentlemen, I have been only a few days now in this country, having just come from South Africa, with which our distinguished President's name is so intimately associated; and I was, I must say, rather surprised to see that there was in this country a feeling of pleasant surprise, but still it was a distinct form of surprise, at the unanimity and loyalty of India in this time of crisis. Gentlemen, that feeling of surprise was not shared by any Indian who knew his country or who had travelled amongst the people of India or who realised how the people of that country were deeply attached to the King-Emperor, and, in spite of any passing clouds, of the permanent confidence they had in the goodwill and in the good sentiments of the British people as a whole towards India. (Cheers.) There has been, especially amongst the educated classes of India, a feeling towards British rule which has always reminded me of the feeling of Cordelia towards Lear before the tragedy. It is a feeling and a sentiment that is too proud to show its loyalty and affection when all goes well, but England's needs will be India's opportunity to shed her last drop of blood and spend her last penny to save and to help the Empire. (Cheers.) The educated classes of India have not been fair weather friends, and no one in the world

who has any sense of justice can deny that to a man they have shown their united loyalty to the Empire in this great crisis of its history.

AN END TO MISUNDERSTANDING.

"But, Gentlemen, when this war is over, let it be the end of misunderstandings. (Cheers.) Let us begin with a clean slate. Let us not in future either on one side or the other allow our natural pride or the feelings that stopped Cordelia from showing her sentiments towards Lear come in our way. Let us not have any more misunderstandings, or let us reduce them as far as possible in the future. For, after all, whatever happens to this country, if this country is ever weakened, India's aspirations and India's future go to pieces. On the other hand, whatever happens in the future India can always be an inexhaustible source of man power, of wealth, and of natural resources for the British Empire. (Cheers.) Let us hope, and more than hope—let us work when the war is over, that the same good will and that the same energy that we are now showing towards helping the Empire will be devoted towards what I may call a permanent reconciliation, and an end of all the misunderstandings of the last twenty years or so. Throughout India—and I can claim to speak with some knowledge, having travelled practically all over the country once every year—the final settlement that was come to in 1858 has been loyally accepted. Instinctively and subconsciously, which are infinitely more important motives of action in times of great crises in human affairs than conscious and reasoned conclusions—instinctively, subconsciously, our people have accepted British rule, and have realised that their future development to its fullest can only be possible under the King-Emperor and within this Empire. On the other hand they have never forgotten the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation—(cheers)—and it is for the English people also not to forget the letter and spirit of that Proclamation, but to keep it as it was meant by Queen Victoria, whom John Bright, I believe, described as the most truthful person that he had ever met. Let it be accepted in its entirety, in its letter. Let the future of India develop on our side by loyalty and devotion towards the Sovereign, towards the Empire, and towards England, but at the same time let the people of England realise that that must be the bond of union between us, a bond of union which I hope will last for ever. (Loud cheers.)"

"One small and humble personal explanation. If I do not get anything of a more combatant nature I hope to come with you as your interpreter, if I may. (Cheers.) I know English, French, German and Hindustani, and I do not think you will find many interpreters so useful; so that I will earn my bread if I am there. If I do not go it will be because of some *force majeure*, and not through any want of effort on my own part." (Loud cheers.)

MR. GANDHI AND THE MOSLEMS.

The Chairman, in the course of some concluding remarks, said: "We Hindus have to live side by side with Mahomedans. Their sorrows must be our sorrows; their joys must be our joys. I entirely believe in the doctrine that the Hindus and Mahomedans of India are the two eyes of Mother India. If one is hurt the other is equally affected, and India without Mahomedans or without Hindus would be only a one-eyed mother, and India divided between these two sections, who would war against one another would only see with one eye, and then but faintly and dimly. With reference to the other part of His Highness's speech, I am sure we shall treasure the message he has delivered this afternoon. We shall always be conscious that we have undertaken a high duty. The camp life that we shall have to lead will knit us Indians from different parts of the Empire together in a common bond. We shall be comrades and feel as one soul as perhaps we have not been able to do in India itself. Let us then conserve all the energy we may have at our disposal in order to discharge the mission that we have undertaken." (Cheers.)



The Indian Troops at Marseilles.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

MARSEILLES.

To-day it has been my great good fortune to assist at the making of history. I have seen the troops of one of the world's most ancient civilisations set foot for the first time on the shores of Europe. I have seen proud Princess of India ride at the head of thousands of soldiers, Princess an man alike fired with all the ardour of the East, determined to help win their Emperor's battles or die. And, of far greater significance to my fellow-countrymen than the mere making of history, I have seen welded before my eyes, as it were, what may well prove to be the strongest link in that singular and wonderful chain which we call the British Empire.

The haze that betokened a hot September day had just begun to lift from the bay, when suddenly an interminable line of steamships swept along by the romantic Chateau d'If and adjacent islands. The telescope showed that all were riding high in the water, and awakening Marseilles knew that the long-expected ships with the Indian troops aboard had arrived.

With a precision and expedition that made every observer marvel, the armada of transports swung into harbour and moored alongside the appointed quays. A French officer was lost in admiration. Afterwards he confided to me with delightful frankness that the British Army and Naval authorities were the finest organisers in the world, and that Great Britain alone of all the nations was capable of carrying out a project of the kind with such success.

THE LANDING.

The strong southern sun had by now dissipated the mist, and as each dark-painted liner glided to her moorings, the troops packed on deck as close as pit-props on a Baltic schooner, and with *pugris* flying in the breeze, were thrown up in relief, presenting an imposing and, for a Briton, unforgettable picture. The camera may hint at the strangely stirring scene in black and white, but nothing less than the brush of a master could convey an adequate portrayal to the present generation and to posterity. It does seem a pity that an event so vitally important to our own and our Allies' destinies should only live in the columns of newspapers.

Across the Indian Ocean, up the Red Sea, and through the Mediterranean the same propitious conditions prevailed, and the troops, Indian and English alike—for many of our sunburnt foreign service troops have also come over to join in the great fight for liberty and right—stepped ashore in magnificent condition. Military surveillance of the port was, of course, very strict, but the good people of Marseilles were bent on having a glimpse, however distant, of what was passing, so that every road within a mile of the docks was a mass of excited Latins, and every second-storey window and every roof within a like area was a coveted vantage seat. Daily for a couple of months now Marseilles streets have echoed to the tread of a remarkable medley of soldiers—picturesque Zouaves and Turcos from Algiers, white-turbaned, swarthy Moors from Morocco, coal-black negroes from Senegal, and a score of different units from France itself—and all have been received with heartiness. But the welcome the high-spirited Marseillais extended to the Indians transcended all others in spontaneity and warmth.

Hour after hour fully a score of steamers discharged their cargoes, and I am certain happier fighting men never landed in a country where death or glory was to be their goal. Had not the Emperor of India paid them the highest tribute in his Imperial power by asking them to join his white soldiers in crushing the military despotism that was rendering impossible peace and progress in Europe, and therefore upsetting the political balance of the empires and kingdoms of the whole earth? Yes, the King-Emperor had done this, and the soul of every Indian of every race represented in that mighty throng was filled to overflowing with a pardonable joy.

The Indians were made to feel at home almost as soon as they came ashore. The French soldier immediately set about shaking every brown hand that came within reach, and examining in a professional manner, but not without curiosity, the rifle, the bayonet, and general accoutrement of his newly-made comrade-in-arms. The uniform he unhesitatingly pronounced more practical and superior to his own. But what impressed and interested him most was the curved *kukri* of the little Gurkha, who with dramatic action described more graphically than by words its many uses. All the troops are in khaki, with only slight differences in design.

COMPLETE IN EVERY DETAIL.

Not the least extraordinary feature of the wonderful expeditionary force is that not only is it an army from another continent, but an army complete in every detail and ready to take its place in the firing line at a moment's notice. How it will immediately make its presence felt and prove of immense help to the Allies can best be realized by those who, like myself, have seen it on the march. I have been observer of most of the European armies in peace and in war, but never have I seen troops with a finer *entrain* than those swung past me on the roads in the environs of Marseilles this afternoon. It is no exaggeration of language to say that the regiments brought over from India are composed of noble and majestic specimens of manhood.

Everything necessary for campaigning has been brought, even to the shovels and picks to dig the trenches, paraffin lamps to light the sleeping places, and praying mats.

Throughout the forenoon while the troops were landing excitement had been steadily rising in the city, and the swelling of the British and Indian soldiers through the street in the afternoon en route to their rest camps was the signal for the whole of Marseilles to give vent to frantic enthusiasm. Sikh, Panjabi,

Baluchi, or Gurkha was no matter to the dense, struggling crowds; they cheered all to the echo.

First came a detachment of stalwart Sikhs, for the greater part head and shoulders above the spectators. Immediately the police guarding the route were swept aside, the ranks were rushed, men and women shook the laughing soldiers by the hand and young girls showered flowers upon them, pinning roses in their tunics and in their turbans. Tricolours were distributed with prodigality, and it seemed that within a minute or two every second soldier was proudly flying a flag from his rifle. Old ladies with bitter memories of '70 pressed forward the better to admire these handsome bearded men with gleaming eyes and flashing white teeth, and it would be difficult to conjure up anything more deeply touching than the sight of those frail women patting the bronzed giants on the back and calling down blessings on their heads.

So it proceeded for hours, the only difference being that the townspeople waxed in enthusiasm. When the sturdy little Gurkhas, still smiling, of course, came marching along to the strains of "The Marseillaise," played marvellously well on a weird collection of reed instruments, the crowds considered that they could better show their regard by allowing the soldiers the right of the cobbled streets.

Accordingly men, mountain battery mules, and officers' horses marched along under the very awnings of the *café terrasses*, men and women meanwhile standing on chairs and tables waving hats, sticks, and handkerchiefs, and expending every ounce of lung energy in shouting "Vivent les Anglais, Vivent les Indiens." The quick-witted Indians voiced that gratitude by replying "Veeve France," and by making repeated use of a phrase in Hindustani, the intonation of which was suspiciously reminiscent of the British soldier's dearly-beloved "Are we downhearted? No!"

JUMPING FOR JOY.

I have often heard of a man jumping for joy. This afternoon I have watched hundreds of younger Indian troops perform the operation, to the amazement and delight of thousands of on-lookers. From sheer patriotic exuberance they would leap two or three feet in the air and wave the Union Jack and the French flag, with as deep faith in the force and sense of the action as children at home on Empire Day or Alsatian pilgrims to the Strasbourg statue in the Place de la Concorde. Several princes, distinguished by finely chiselled features and by gold ornaments flashing in their turbans, rode on magnificent chargers, exhibiting every sign of pleasure at reception accorded them.

At one part of the route taken by the Sikhs a little incident created much amusement among the spectators. A particularly striking company, all men over 6ft., was passing and the crowd clapped their hands loudly in addition to cheering. Presumably in the belief that they were intended to respond in similar fashion, the whole of the company slung their rifles and vigorously clapped their hands till they were tired. The British officers, who walked at the head of their regiments, were singled out for special ovations.

It was amusing experience to stand in the crowd and listen to the remarks when our own British regiments that had come over with the Indians passed. Bronzed by the Oriental sun, clean limbed and keen-faced, the French people at once put them down as officers, every one of them, and it was some time before I could wean those around me from their belief. They would have been better pleased had I not disillusioned them.

In the failing light of an autumn evening I wandered on the outskirts of what must be one of the most picturesquely situated camps ever pitched. To-morrow, side by side, Briton and Indian will go out, heads high and hearts beating true to one King-Emperor and one Empire, to battle with the common enemy, the enemy of civilization itself.

Our Indian troops, comparable as they are to any martial force in the world, have only one fear, and I have done my best to explain to them that it is absolutely groundless. It is that the war may be over before they get to the front!



The War through German Spectacles.

The German View.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL).

Amsterdam, Sept. 18th.

The following statement, issued, according to a telegram from Berlin, by the German General Headquarters Staff last evening, shows the view of the present military situation in France which German authorities are presenting to the German public:—

So far there has been no decision in the battle between the Oise and the Meuse, but certain signs indicate that the power of resistance of the enemy is relaxing. The efforts of the French troops to break through the German right wing collapsed without any great effort by our troops.

In the centre the German army is gaining ground slowly but surely. On the right bank of the Meuse allies from Verdun have been easily repulsed.

The following messages regarding the fighting in France have been officially circulated from Berlin dated 19th September by wireless:—In continuation of the communication despatched yesterday regarding the operations in the western theatre of the war, headquarters report that the French Thirteenth and Fourth Army Corps, together with a portion of a further division were finally defeated yesterday south of Noyon, the French losing several batteries. The enemy made attacks on several positions across the battle front, but they were broken with sanguinary losses. On the storming of the Château Brimont, near Rheims 2,500 prisoners were taken. Fighting in the open field resulted in the enemy losing more prisoners and guns, the number of which it is not yet possible to state.

Sept. 20th.

The general situation in the west remains unchanged. The Allied armies have been forced to take up a defensive attitude along the entire line of battle, and their attack against strong partly fortified positions must proceed slowly. Preparations have been made for an attack upon the line of outpost forts south of Verdun.

In Alsace our troops are closely massed against the French along the frontier.

Sept. 21st.

Main headquarters report that in the attack against the French and British armies advances have been made on some points.

In the region of the Vosges French attacks on the Donon, near Senones, have been repulsed.

A Russian General Put in Chains.

The official wireless news from Berlin received by the Marconi Company dated Berlin, September 20, includes the following:—

The Russian General Martos, who ordered that all the male inhabitants of East Prussia should be shot and that villages should be destroyed, has been brought into Halle in chains. He will be tried by court-martial. A Russian Major has been condemned to death after trial by court-martial. He is alleged to have committed infamous acts.

The success of the War Loan is assured. Three and a half milliards of marks (£175,000,000) have already been subscribed, but this figure will be increased. The result of the loan surpasses all expectations, and affords striking proof of the financial capacity as well as the patriotic spirit of the German nation.

A RUSSIAN THREAT OF REPRISALS.

With reference to the treatment of General Martos in Germany, an official statement was issued in Petrograd yesterday (says a Press Association telegram). The Headquarters Staff, after positively denying the German charges, adds:—"This novel manner of waging war will certainly find echo from the Russians, who will not lose an opportunity of applying it to prisoners who represent the corrupt military standard which German senior officers employed in such a marked manner at Czenstochowa and Kalish."

The German Report.

September 23.

Except for a statement regarding Rheims Cathedral, the official wireless message from Berlin contains no reference to the battle in France but the following:—

"Verdun has been successfully bombarded. Colonel Roussel, in 'La Liberté,' states that the strength and actual position of the German army are unique in the history of warfare."

The German Case.

The official wireless message from Berlin September, 25th. says:—

The statement made by the French Government that the German troops systematically directed their fire against Rheims Cathedral without military necessity is a distortion of fact. The French statement that the Cathedral has been ruined by bombardment is denied, and it is stated that the spiral is still standing.

An army order expressly forbade the bombardment of the Cathedral with other than field artillery, and that only in case the enemy

established observation stations on the Cathedral. This was done, and in consequence the German infantry suffered enormous losses.

A strong protest is raised against the slander that German troops destroy monuments of historical interest or architectural beauty without the strictest necessity owing to their rage for destruction.

"No actual decision yet."

The following has been circulated through German wireless stations and received by the Marconi Company dated Berlin, September 24:

Main headquarters reports with regard to operations in the western theatre of the war on September 23rd that on the right wing of the German Army on the south side of the Oise the battle is at a standstill. The efforts of the French to encircle us have not had any result. On the east wing, as far as the Forest of Argonne no battle of great importance took place. East of the Forest of Argonne the town of Varennes has been captured by us, and our attack is proceeding. The sections of the Army engaged in attacking the outpost forts south of Verdun have defeated and driven back fierce counter-attacks from Verdun and from Toul, and prisoners, machine-guns, and cannon have been taken. The fire of our heavy artillery has been opened with evident success against the outpost forts of Troyon, Les Paroches, Camp des Romains, and Louville. In French Lorraine and on the Alsatian frontier French scouts were driven back in certain places. To sum up, no actual decision has yet resulted anywhere.

No news is to hand from Belgium and from the eastern theatre of the war. Main headquarters further reports that it has ascertained that one mortar shot was fired against the Cathedral of Reims, as it was otherwise impossible to drive away the enemy's observation posts which were noticed there with field artillery.

Three British cruisers Aboukir, Hogue, and Cressy were sunk by the German submarine U 9 on the morning of September 22nd. At the time of the attack the majority of the British sailors were in their bunks and not a single shot was fired by any of the cruisers. In recognition of their services an Iron Cross has been awarded to each member of the crew of the U. 9.

It was the German submarine U 21, commanded by First Lieutenant Herring, which sunk the British cruiser Pathfinder in the Firth of Forth on September 5th.

A prominent Bavarian Socialist, Michael Schwab, who is serving with the Landwehr, has been awarded the Iron Cross for bravery in the field.

It is officially reported from Vienna that the Austrian forces have now been concentrated in their new position for several days, but they have waited in vain for any serious Russian attack. This proves the inaccuracy of the statement made by the Russian General Staff that their troops were victorious, that General Dank's army had been defeated, and that Austrian troops were completely broken, and were being pursued by Russians. Equally untrue are the reports which have been circulated abroad concerning famine in the country, and the depressed state of public feeling, and the illness of the Emperor. The public as well as the Army have entire confidence in the final victory of Austrian arms over their powerful enemy.

During the past few days Austrian troops have been engaged in several unsuccessful battles with Serbians. The 42nd Landwehr Division, consisting of Croats, displayed extraordinary courage in the field, and received the congratulations of the Hungarian Minister for National Defence and of the commander of the 15th Army Corps. It is officially stated that in the recent battles near Innsbruck the Russian losses in killed and wounded were 22,000 and 150,000 prisoners.

A further message relating to operations in France states that there has been no fighting during the past few days except for some unimportant artillery engagements. In spite of the unfavourable weather, however, the German troops are in excellent condition.

German Silence.

25th September.

The wireless message officially circulated from Berlin says:—

Main headquarters reports that there are no actual successes to record to-day in the western theatre of the war, except for a few small engagements which resulted in favour of the German army.

No news is yet to hand from Belgium or from the eastern theatre of the war.

Germany and Peace.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

New York, 25th September.

A message received from Berlin by wireless via Sayville states that the "Berliner Tageblatt," in an article which is believed to be inspired, says that in view of the enormous sacrifices made by Germany Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg and General Count von Moltke could only agree to make peace after Germany's future position had been made quite unassailable. This point of view, the "Tageblatt" contends, is supported by public opinion throughout Germany.

Fall of Outpost Fortress Claimed.

The official wireless message circulated from Berlin says:—

Main headquarters reports with regard to operations in the western theatre of the war for yesterday as follows:—

26th September.

The resumption of our operations has led to new engagements on our extreme right wing without any decision being arrived at present except for a few partial advances by both sides. Nothing has happened in the centre of the battle line.

The outpost fortress of Camp des Romaines, near St. Mihiel, south of Verdun, was the first to fall to-day, and a Bavarian regiment, commanded by Von der Tann, hoisted the German flag on the fortress. From this spot our troops have crossed the Meuse. For the rest there are no alterations of any kind either in the east or the west.

A military expert in Paris explains that the excellent entrenchments of the Germans make the slow progress of battle very probable. Uhlans have blown up the bridge between Amiens and Arras.

The German Version.

The official wireless message circulated from Berlin says:—

27th September.

Main headquarters reports that by making use of their railways the French and English troops have commenced very extensive advances against the extreme right wing of the German army. A French division advancing towards Bapaume in the course of these operations was repulsed by weaker German forces which they encountered.

Elsewhere, too, the enemy's advance has been brought to a standstill. In the centre our advance troops have come to grips with the enemy in certain places. The outpost forts south of Verdun, which were attacked by our troops, have now suspended their firing, and our artillery are engaged again with forces which the enemy have brought into position on the western side of the Meuse.

Elsewhere the situation remains unchanged.

Prince Oscar of Prussia contracted acute heart weakness, due to over-exertion during the battle and he was brought to Metz, where he is undergoing special treatment.

The reports as to quarrels among Prussian and Bavarian soldiers, the escape of imprisoned French soldiers, and the sinking of a German cruiser and two torpedo boats in the Baltic are officially denied.



The Turkish Attitude.

We take the following from the letter of the *Pioneer's* Egyptian correspondent dated Cairo, October, 12th:—

The news of the despatch to Constantinople by Germany of four howitzers and one thousand tons of ammunition, which was cabled out here this week, has given rise to many rumours as to the intentions of Turkey. Every letter from Syria tends to show that the greatest activity reigns there in military circles. The families of the Government officials have all been sent into the interior and the officials themselves are preparing to follow at a moment's notice.

Every horse and mule fit for service has been commandeered, even out of private stables belonging to foreigners and a cordon has been placed round Mount Lebanon to prevent possible conscripts and their families taking refuge there from the neighbouring vilayets. About \$12,000,000 is said to have been collected in the form of "badalia" (contribution money) and whole villages have been called upon to supply fixed quantities of clothing for the troops, of whom it is understood about a million and a quarter are stationed between Aleppo and Akaba.

Refugees arriving from Syria affirm that there are any number of Germans attached to the Turkish troops and this, taken with the above despatch of howitzers and ammunition, is a clear indication

that the Wilhelmstrasse is at the back of all this Turkish activity. Whilst the latter is undoubtedly intended to act as a menace to Egypt it is fairly clear that no deliberate act of aggression on the south is contemplated. Howitzers would be useless against Egypt since they could not be transported across the intervening desert. The despatch of these weapons and the levy of warm clothing made on the Syrians seems to show that action is contemplated in cold climates and against a nearer enemy, in other words against Russia or Greece. The manner in which the Arabs have been pressed into the army is possibly due to the Turkish fear of an Arab rising, which has long been threatened and which would seriously jeopardise their chances of success in the north.

THE TURKISH CABINET DIVIDED.

It has long been known that the Turkish Cabinet is divided on the question of the attitude the country is to take up during the present war, and a short time ago a rumour was current that Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, who is all for Turkish intervention on behalf of Germany, had been shot. The details of the story that circulated connected a member of the Sultan's family with the deed, but at the time little credence was attached to the rumour. It now transpires that it was substantially correct. It appears that Prince Izzedin, the heir to the throne, who came to Egypt two years ago on a special mission to King George, asked the Ministers to his house about the middle of August with a view to discussing with them the then situation. It was understood that the conference should be kept secret and that only the Cabinet should attend.

ENVER'S QUARREL WITH PRINCE IZZEDIN.

Enver Pasha, however, took General Von Sanders, the German Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army, with him. Prince Izzedin was somewhat annoyed at this, but made no reference to the question, beyond expressing his feelings to the Grand Vizier. The discussion was opened by the Prince, who said how pleased he was that Turkey had declared her neutrality and explained the reasons why he held this view. The Grand Vizier, the Ministers of Interior and Commerce and the Sheikh-ul-Islam endorsed what he said, but Enver Pasha disagreeing called upon General von Sanders to explain how intervention would benefit Turkey. Prince Izzedin, however, interrupted and said the General had no right to express his opinion or to oppose the views of the heir to the throne or the Ministers. The War Minister retorted that the General would speak as a Turkish and not as a German Officer, but the Prince replied that it was entirely due to a mistake on the part of Enver Pasha that Von Sanders was present at all at this meeting. Enver apparently then lost his head and made an offensive remark, to which the Prince replied that his head was swollen by his position. Thereupon Enver rose to leave the room and in his rage touched his revolver in a threatening manner. Prince Izzedin thinking that Sheikot's and Nazim's fate was to be his, drew his own pistol and fired several shots, one of which wounded Enver in the thigh and another hit General Von Sanders on the shoulder.

The War Minister and his German protégé then retired, but the Ministers stayed with the Prince. It now remains to be seen whether the pacific intentions of the heir to the throne and of the Grand Vizier will in the end prevail or not. As the *Tribuna* said in one of its last issues to hand, the *Entente* can offer Turkey her integrity in return for the maintenance of a neutral attitude, but it is difficult to see what more tempting bait Germany can offer in order to provoke the Porte to action. Indeed Turkey's intervention, if it comes to pass, will have been entirely prompted by the self-interested motives of the clique of which Enver is the admitted leader. Opinion in Egypt has during the past week or so become very pronounced on the question and the Vernacular Press unanimously recommends Turkey to maintain her neutral attitude and to do nothing to alienate the good relations which exist between England and Turkey, as it is on the continuance of these good relations that the future of the Ottoman Empire such as it now is depends.

THE FOREIGN POST OFFICES.

The action of the Porte in abolishing the foreign post offices is likely to react somewhat seriously on Turkish commerce. For the time being no foreign ships will carry Turkish mails, and the French Post Offices in Alexandria and Port Said decline to accept postal matter for the Turkish Post Offices. In Syria the French Post Office has been transferred to the interior of the French Consulate, and the Russian, which is similarly located at the Russian Consulate, remains open. The German and Austrian offices have been shut, but the British still keep open. The Turkish authorities so far have not intervened, and it is to be presumed that they are afraid to do so, as they probably now foresee what the real effect of the abolition of the foreign Post Offices will be.

TURKISH SYMPATHIES.

The Jerusalem correspondent of the *Daily Mail* writing on 4th September says as follows:—

"While a few educated Moslems are on the side of the Allies, the bulk of Islamic sympathy is for the Germans. Ever since the visit of the Kaiser to Turkey in 1898, the German Emperor has been regarded as the protector of Islam in the world. The masses believe him to be Moslem at heart, but Christian in appearance for political and geographical purposes. A Moslem newspaper declared the other day that the Kaiser had sworn to say his Friday prayers in Paris very soon. But beside this far-fetched creed of the masses, Turkish officials are openly in sympathy with the Germans. The Military Governor of Jerusalem, who is a staunch supporter of Young Turkish ideals, called the journalists of the city round him and actually prohibited them from publishing any telegrams that were unfavourable to German success.

Mobilisation is not as keenly carried out now as it was at the beginning of August, and several hundred troops have been sent back home. The condition of the soldiers is deplorable. They provide their own food and clothing, the Government supplying their rifles and other arms. Horses, mules, foodstuffs, clothes and shoes are being requisitioned for military purposes. Receipts are given in return for these, but no one believes in the credit of the Turk.

Syria, Damascus, Beyrout, Aleppo, Haifa, Nablous (shechem), and Jerusalem have become great military camps. The recruits are taken out every day and drilled. The fez has been superseded by the German fashioned hat, which sits shabbily on the head of the native soldier's. It is significant that this radical change in the Turkish soldiers' headgear has called for little comment from fanatical Moslems, who have always maintained that the fez is the distinguishing mark of a Mahomedan believer.

The prestige of European Consuls is waning very fast. England is believed to be at the bottom of all this trouble; consequently English residents come in for a large share of the Moslem's spite and hatred. The departure of all the English colony from Palestine owing to want of money (the large majority of English residents are missionaries) has caused the wildest conjectures. Some said a massacre of Christians is contemplated, others that England intends to occupy Palestine, invading it from the borders of Egypt.

Trade is at a standstill owing to the closing of the banks.



Turkey and Great Britain.

Viceroy's Communique.

Simla, Oct. 31st.

The following *communique* has been issued at Simla:—

News has been received by telegram, dated the 29th October, from the British Consul General at Odessa, to the following effect:—Two or three torpedo boats raided this port before dawn this morning and sank the Russian gunboat *Donetz* in the harbour. Part of the crew have been killed and wounded. The Russian steamships *Vitias*, *Liazaref* and *Whampoa* have been damaged. The French ship *Portugal* has been damaged, two of the crew killed and two wounded. Further shells fired on the town damaged the sugar factory, with some loss of life. The Governor of Odessa states that the raiding vessels were Turkish.

News has also been received that the Russian Stationnaire at Constantinople has been sunk and that a naval attack has been made on Theodosia. These attacks on Russia have been made without declaration of war and with no shadow of provocation or pretext.

As these acts of war against Great Britain's ally are likely to affect seriously the relation of the British and Turkish Governments, His Excellency the Viceroy thinks it desirable that the princes and peoples of India should be made acquainted without delay with the following facts, indicating the consistently aggressive attitude of the Turkish Government adopted at German instigation, which has culminated in the incidents above reported:—

The attitude adopted by the Turkish Government in regard to the German man of war, *Goeben* and *Breslau*, aroused great misgivings in London, Paris and Petrograd. These ships were flying from French and British fleets in the Mediterranean and took refuge in the Dardanelles, where by the rule of international law and under Turkish treaties they should either have been laid up by the Turkish Government, their crews not being repatriated until the close of the war, or made to leave for the open sea at the end of 24 hours.

Instead of this the ships were allowed to remain in shelter and to exercise belligerent rights on a French ship; and then it was suddenly announced that they had been purchased by Turkey, who retained the German crews and dismissed the British Admiral from his executive command of the Turkish fleet. At the same time the passage of the Dardanelles was sown with mines and all British merchant vessels in those waters, or coming through from the Black Sea

were held up, first on the pretext that their cargoes were wanted for troops whom Turkey was mobilising and then that the presence of mines rendered it unsafe for vessels to proceed. This was not only a totally unjustifiable interference on the part of a neutral State with the trade of Great Britain, involving both shippers and merchants in heavy loss, but it paralysed the movements of all British shipping in the Black Sea, amounting at the time to 60 or 70 vessels, since not only was it impossible to get through into the Mediterranean, but there was nothing to prevent the *Goeben* and *Breslau* from passing into the Black Sea and destroying all the shipping collected there. The Dardanelles have now been closed in defiance of international treaties.

Another reason for grave disquietude has been the unfriendly treatment by responsible Turkish officials in Baghdad and Mesopotamia of British subjects, and the open incitement of the population by Turkish official circles against Great Britain and her Allies. Notwithstanding all this provocation, His Majesty's Government intimated that if Turkish were substituted for German crews on the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, if British merchant shipping were not impeded, and if Turkey would honourably carry out the duties of a neutral State, not only would all these illegalities and hostile acts be overlooked but that a solemn and written guarantee would be given that Great Britain would scrupulously respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, assurances were given that at the conclusion of peace Great Britain would see that no conditions were laid down which would impair that independence and integrity and that economic conditions of a character favourable to Turkey would be obtained.

In spite of these assurances, the attitude of Turkey towards Great Britain became increasingly provocative. Evidence continued to reach His Majesty's Government of military preparations in Syria, which could have had no other purpose than to facilitate an attack on Egypt, and of active propaganda carried on by Turkish and German agents among the Bedouin Arabs in the regions adjoining the Egyptian frontier. The Mosul and Damascus army corps have since their mobilisation, been constantly sending troops south preparatory for an invasion of Egypt and the Suez Canal. From Akaba and Gazi a large body of Bedouin Arabs have been called out and armed to assist in this venture. Transport has been collected and roads have been prepared up the frontier of Egypt. Mines have been despatched to be laid in the Gulf of Akaba to protect the force from naval attack and the notorious Sheikh Aziz Shawish, who has been so well known as a firebrand in raising Moslem feeling against Christians, has published and disseminated through Syria and probably India, an inflammatory document urging Mahomedans to fight against Great Britain. It is also reported that Dr. Pfaffner, who was so long engaged in intrigues in Cairo against the British Occupation and is now attached to the German Embassy, Constantinople, has been busily occupied in Syria trying to incite the people to take part in this conflict.

Similar intrigues were set on foot elsewhere and reports were even received of the despatch of Turkish emissaries to India with the object of stirring up anti-British feelings among Indian Mahomedans. A striking illustration of the extent to which intrigue has been carried on is furnished by the case of a German employe in the Alexandria City Police, who latterly returned from leave *via* Constantinople saying that he has been excused from military service. He was arrested on suspicion on landing, and on his person were found a detailed map of the Suez Canal, a sheet of numbered cypher messages concealed in his *Turban* and other compromising correspondence. He had also entrusted to a member of the ship's company two boxes of detonators for exploding dynamite or nitro-glycerine. Further a steady stream of German officers and men, both naval and military, together with all kinds of war material, has flowed increasingly into Constantinople, which has been converted to all intents and purposes into a German military base. German officers are known to have penetrated far into the interior of the Turkish Empire in the endeavour to stir up agitation among the inhabitants against Great Britain and her Allies. All these movements, it is impossible to doubt, have been carried on with the direct connivance of the Ottoman authorities and can point to only one conclusion.

Finally the deliberate intention of the Turkish Government to provoke Great Britain to War is shown by the instructions which are known to have been issued by the Turkish Minister of War to the Commandant at Jaffa, not later than the 18th October, on the subject of the measures to be taken by him in the outbreak of hostilities. These instructions not only alluded to His Majesty's Government as the enemy but they also included an order to break the flagstaff of His Majesty's Consulate and to remove the insignia of Great Britain. The greatest Mahomedan power in the world and the faithful and consistent friend of Turkey, whom she has steadfastly helped to maintain her position in Europe and to recover her stability, which was shaken in the Balkan War, would see with the greatest regret that Turkey had been deceived into making herself on the side of England's enemies and into adopting an attitude of

unjustified as it would be ungrateful. But it cannot be denied that the present situation shows that there is a chauvinistic element endeavouring to drive Turkey into war with England for the benefit of Germany and of Austria the secular enemy of the Turkish State.

To The Editor of "The Comrade" Delhi.

A copy of the following public announcement is forwarded, and it is requested that publicity may be given to it :—

In view of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey, which to the regret of Great Britain has been brought about by the ill-advised, unprovoked and deliberate action of the Ottoman Government, His Excellency the Viceroy is authorised by His Majesty's Government to make the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia including the Holy Shrines of Mesopotamia and the port of Jeddah, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's most loyal Moslem subjects as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in this war in which no question of a religious character is involved. These Holy Places and Jeddah will be immune from attack or molestation by the British Navy and Military forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given them similar assurances.

By ORDER,

(Sd) E. F. DE MONTMORENCY.

Delhi, 2nd November, 1914.

Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner

Delhi.

NIZAM'S MANIFESTO.

The following is an English translation of a manifesto, published in the "Gazette Extraordinary" of the Hyderabad State, by order of His Highness the Nizam G. C. S. I. It begins with the Minister's introduction as follows: "The wise and statesmanlike *Farman*, which His Highness has been pleased to issue for the guidance and peace of mind of his beloved subjects, in view of the recent events in Europe and the turn taken by the war, is published in this *farida* for general information. It is to be hoped that the Subjects of this State will realize the importance of these directions in their own best interests, and the interests of their country and their master and the Sovereign, and carry them out fully and completely."

(Sd.) Salar Jaug,

Minister to His Highness the Nizam.

The following are the words of the *farman*:—

In view of the present aspect of the war in Europe, let it be generally known that at this critical juncture it is the bounden duty of the Muhammadans of India to adhere firmly to their old and tried loyalty to the British Government, especially when there is no Moslem or non-Moslem power in the world under which they enjoy such personal and religious liberty as they do in India; and when, moreover, they are assured by the British Government that as it has in the past always stood the best friend of Islam, so will it continue to be the Islam's best friend and will always protect and cherish its Moslem subjects. I repeat and reiterate that in the crisis before us, the Muhammadan inhabitants of India, especially the subjects of this State, should, if they care for their own welfare and prosperity, remain firm and whole-hearted in their loyalty and obedience, swerve not a hair's breadth from their devotion to the British Government whose cause I am convinced is just and right, keep sacred the tie which binds the subject people to their rulers, and, lastly, that they should in no case show themselves to be beguiled by the wiles of any one into a course of open or secret sedition against the British Government. Finally, I give expression to the hope that, as, I, following the tradition of my ancestors, hold myself ever ready to devote my own person and all the resources of my state and all that I possess to the service of Great Britain, so will all the Muhammadans of India, especially my own beloved subjects, hold themselves whole-heartedly ready in the same way.

The Turkish Navy.

The following ships may now be said to comprise the Turkish navy.

Names.	Tons.	Completed.	Primary Armament.	Speed.	Crew.
BATTLESHIPS.					
GOEBEN	22,040	1912	10 11-in.	28	1,026
Assari-i-Fevfik	4,613	1879	3 5.9-in.	18	300
K. Barbarossa	9,901	1894	6 11-in.	17	...
Messondieh	9,120	1876	2 9.2-in.	17	600
Turgut Reis	9,901	1893	6 11-in.	17	...
CRUISERS ETC.					
BRESLAU	1,500	1912	12 4.1-in.	27	373
Berkie-Satvet	740	1907	2 4 in.	22	...
Hamidieh	3,800	1904	2 6 in.	22	300
Heibetnuma	1,960	1893	3 5 9 in.	14	...
Lutfi-Hamayoun	1,313	1894	4 6 in.	18	...
Medjdieh	1,432	1904	2 6-in.	22	300
Pelik-i-Shevkot	740	1907	2 4-in.	22	...
Pelenk-i-doria	840	1891	2 4-in.	20	111

Also seven 14-knot gunboats (310 to 420 tons) built in France in 1912-13 and about twenty other gunboats of various classes. The mine-layer, *Nusrat*, 380 tons, 15 knots, was built at the Germania Yard, Kiel, in 1912. There are also some seventeen destroyers, ranging in size from 145 to 610 tons displacement, and from 25 to 35 knots speed.



The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea.

The following table will show the strength of the Russian Fleet now in the Black Sea.

BATTLESHIPS Name.	Tons.	Completed.	Primary Armament.	Speed.	Crew.
Livstaff	12,733	1911	4 12-in.	16	731
I Zlatoust	"	1910	"	"	696
Panteleimon	12,582	1902	"	17	686
Rostislav	8,880	1900	4 10 in.	16	624
Sinope	10,180	1890	6 12-in.	16	325
CRUISERS.					
Kagul	6,675	1905	12 6-in.	28	570
Kozarsky g. b.	100	1891	9 1.3-in.	28	60
P. Mercuria	6,675	1907	12 6-in.	28	...

There are also twenty-five destroyers, ranging from 240 tons to 1,050 tons displacement, and seven submarines and a mine-layer, the *Krab*. At Nikolayev, the chief Russian Naval port in the Black Sea the Dreadnoughts *Maria Imperatritsa* of 22,500 tons was launched last year and *Alexander III*, of the same class, was launched this year, but they had not been completed up to May of this year. A third sister ship the *Ekaterina* is also in building at Nikolayev, but not yet launched, and two cruisers, the *Lazareff* and the *Kakhimoff* each of 7,600 tons are in a like condition at this dockyard, where the construction is conducted in conjunction with the British firm of Messrs. Vickers, Ltd., just in the same manner as the famous Scotch firm of Messrs. John Brown and Co., supervise the work at the Admiralty Dockyard at Petrograd.

The Forfeiture of our Security.

The Order of Forfeiture.

1

The following notice was handed over to the Keeper of "The Comrade and The Hamdard Press" by Major Beadon, the District Magistrate of Delhi, on the 8th of November.

NOTICE.

In pursuance of section 4 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910

To

The Keeper of "The Comrade and The Hamdard Press,
Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi."

Whereas, in exercise of the power conferred by section 3 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912 (XIII of 1912) the Governor General in Council has been pleased to declare by Notification No. 1018, dated the 1st of October, 1912, that the powers or duties conferred or imposed on the Local Government under the Indian Press Act, 1910, (1 of 1910) shall be exercised or performed by the Governor General in Council, and not by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and

Whereas, it appears to the Governor General in Council that the printing press known as "The Comrade and The Hamdard Press, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi," in respect of which security to the amount of Rs. 2,000 has been deposited in accordance with the provisions of section 3 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, has been used for printing and publishing the issue of the newspaper called "the Comrade" bearing date the 24th of September, 1914, and

Whereas, the said issue of the said newspaper contains an article entitled "The Choice of the Turks," printed at pages 233 to 240 of the said issue, the whole tenor of which article, and in particular the words indicated and described in the schedule annexed to this notice, is in the opinion of the Governor General in Council likely or has a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference or suggestion or otherwise, to excite disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India,

Now, therefore, take notice that the Governor General in Council in pursuance of section 4 (1) of the Press Act, 1910, declares the security of Rs. 2,000 deposited in respect of "The Comrade and the Hamdard Press, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi," and all copies of the issue of the newspaper, called "The Comrade" bearing date the 28th of September, 1914, wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

(Sd.) H. WHEELER,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Home Department,
(Political)
Delhi, 2nd November 1914.

Duly served on Farooq Ali s/o Major Yusuf Ali Khan this third day of November 1914.

(Sd.) H. O. BEADON,

D. M.

SCHEDULE.

Description of words in the issue of the newspaper called "The Comrade" bearing date the 28th September 1914, referred to in the foregoing notice.

Page.	Column.	Line.
233	Second	18-19.
234	First	51-55 and 76-80.
236	First	56-61.
237	First	49-52.
237	Second	6-8, 40, 54-55
(read with the quotations reproduced on p. 237 second column and p. 238 first column).		
238	Second	47-49, 56-58, 67-75, 77-84.
239	First	1-4, 17-22, 59-62, 64-69, and 68-82.
239	Second	1-3.
240	First	61-64, and 73-82.
240	Second	1-3.

(Sd.) H. WHEELER,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Application re the Security.

II

The following application was presented to Major Beadon, the District Magistrate of Delhi, by Mr. Mohamed Ali :—

In the Court of the District Magistrate of Delhi.

Sir,

The petition of Mohamed Ali residing in Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi, humbly and respectfully sheweth :

(1) That your petitioner desires to declare and hereby declares that he is the keeper of a press for lithograph printing at Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi

(2) That your petitioner desires to declare and hereby declares that he is the printer and publisher of the periodical works entitled the 'Hamdard' the 'Ichuddam ul-Ka'ala' and the 'Old Boy' printed and published at Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi.

(3) That, apart from doing ordinary job work for others, your petitioner desires to use his printing press for the purpose of printing only such literature as would promote knowledge and its wide diffusion, and would educate the people of this country in their rights and help them to realize their responsibilities as loyal subjects of His Majesty and useful and progressive citizens of the Empire

(4) That the periodical works mentioned in para 2 above have consistently maintained the standard which your petitioner has set up for his press and have never to his knowledge been in any way complained of by the responsible officers of Government.

(5) That your petitioner prays that in view of the facts set forth in paras 3 and 4 above you will be pleased to dispense with the deposit of any security under Section 3 (1) of Indian Press Act (1 of 1910) and that you will be further pleased to authenticate the aforesaid declarations of your petitioner under Section 6 of the Press and Registration of Books Act (XXV of 1867).

(Sd.) Mohamed Ali.

The Argument.

III

Mr. Mohamed Ali's application for exemption from the deposit of security for a Lithograph Printing Press under the proviso to section 3 (1) of the Press Act and the authentication of his declaration under Section 6 of the Press and Registration of Books Act that was in part heard on the 5th instant, and a statement was taken by the District Magistrate in the course of which Mr. Mohamed Ali said that he had not till then entrusted the lithograph press nor decided whether he would continue the management of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press of which the security has just been declared forfeited, or make other arrangements. He would use some of the lithograph machines of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press but he would add some others also. His press would be situated in part of the building in which the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press was situated. The District Magistrate asked whether this press would be the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press *redress*, to which Mr. Mohamed Ali replied that he could not answer that question unless he knew the precise and full interpretation of that phrase. The District Magistrate wanted to ascertain these facts with a view to judge whether he should proceed under section 3 (1) of the Press Act or under section 5, the latter section dealing with the deposit of security a second time when the security previously given in respect of the same press had been declared forfeited under section 4. Under Section 3 (1) the amount of security that can be demanded may vary between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000, and the proviso to that section allows the Magistrate, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, to dispense with the deposit of any security. Under section 5 the security must be taken in all cases, the amount varying between Rs. 1,000 and 10,000 at the discretion of the Magistrate. Mr. Mohamed Ali argued on the 6th instant against the application of section 5 to his case on the grounds that (1) the Keeper of the Press was not the same as the Keeper of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press and that (2) the press did not bear the same name, and could not bear it, as the *Comrade* could not be printed by a lithograph press. He pointed out that even if these differences did not exist the Magistrate had no jurisdiction under the Act to go behind the statement of the keeper that it was not "such a press" as was dealt with by section 3 of the Act. There were two sets of declarations and securities under the Act, those for printing presses and those for newspapers.

Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 dealt with printing presses and sections 8, 9, 10 and 11 dealt with newspapers. For newspapers Section 10 corresponded to section 5 for presses, and there was a marked difference in the phraseology of the two sections. While section 10 covered not only the same newspaper as had had its first security declared forfeited, but also "any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper," section 5 confined itself to the same press only and did not extend to "any other press which is the same in substance as the said press." This marked difference between the phraseology of the two sections must indicate an equally marked difference in the intention of the legislature, and Mr. Mohamed Ali submitted that section 5 as it stood left no discretion to the Magistrate to go behind the declaration of the keeper of the press as section 10 had left him a clear discretion to go behind the declaration of the publisher of a newspaper. But even assuming, against the clear wording of the section, that the Magistrate had such a discretion, if the Magistrate in the exercise of that discretion refused to accept the keeper's declaration that it was not the same press, it was only right and just that the Magistrate should state in his order wherein lay the identity of the press, in its name, in its keeper, in its situation, or in its engines, machinery, types, stones, implements, utensils, and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing. Supposing that the Magistrate pronounced that the identity of the press lay in its machinery etc., Mr. Mohamed Ali invited him to consider the consequences of such a decision. If the press or any part of it was sold, or otherwise transferred, after its first security had been declared forfeited, whosoever acquired this *damnos hereditas* would have to be dealt with under section 5 and not under section 3 (1) because he would be declaring himself to be the keeper of "such a press." Would this taint be removed only by boiling down the lead of the type and scrapping the iron of the machinery and re-manufacturing them, or would the original sin be the heritage of him also who acquired type cast from the same lead and machinery re-manufactured out of the same iron? Where and when would this visitation end? Would not the possession of a single "space" or "en quod" by the most loyal purchaser from the keeper of a press which had been unfortunate enough to come within the reach of this all-embracing piece of legislation make him liable to deposit Rs. 10,000 when making a declaration as the keeper of a press in which that "space" or "en quod" was used? The thing was absurd, and whatever else the legislators might have meant they certainly could not have meant anything so absurd and preposterous. It was not for him to say what exactly they had meant, but the Magistrate should not merely say that the application must be dealt with under section 5 and not under section 3 (1), but should also indicate in his order what the petitioner must do to make section 3 (1) applicable to his declaration. He prayed for this all the more because no person throughout this vast empire other than the District Magistrate of Delhi had any jurisdiction in the matter. From his order there was no appeal. Besides, there was no High Court to give decisions binding on all subordinate courts, and if the District Magistrate of Delhi decided that section 3 (1) was inapplicable there would be two divergent decisions on the same point within such a narrow area as that which included both Delhi and Lahore. At Lahore two presses publishing two Urdu papers had applied under the same conditions, except that in one case the keeper was different, and in the other it was the same keeper also, only the names of the presses being different. In both cases security was demanded under section 3 (1) and not under section 5. The Keeper of the *Zemindar* Press had chosen to make a declaration under section 5 and had altered nothing after the forfeiture of the original security; but to his knowledge the other two presses had merely changed their name and in one case the keeper also, and had been absolved of the original sin for which the first security had been declared forfeited. In this case, "The *Comrade* and The *Hamdard* Press" had lost its security for printing an article in the *Comrade* in type. The lithograph press for which he now declared, said Mr. Mohamed Ali, had never printed a single letter of a single word of that article, and with the best will in the world could not be done so. Even if the type and machines that printed that article of the *Comrade* were thereby tainted for ever, what had the lithograph stones of the *Hamdard* and its lithograph machines done to merit this eternal punishment? Mr. Mohamed Ali also stated that the *Hamdard* and the other publications printed with the help of these machines were never complained of, and in fact the *Hamdard* was more than once officially praised to his knowledge for its moderation. It had not printed a translation of the article of the *Comrade* to which exception was taken by Government even when he was pressed by some of his sub-editors because he desired to take no risks in the case of a paper sometimes read out to the illiterate masses as well as read by the educated classes. He trusted that the Magistrate would apply Section 3 (1) to his application and not section 5, and that in view of the past record of the *Hamdard* and other Urdu publications of which he was the printer and publisher the deposit of any security would be dispensed with under the proviso to section 3 (1). The Magistrate said he would pass orders on the 9th instant as the application had raised a very knotty point.

TETE A TETE



In our last issue we unreservedly placed before our readers the alternatives that confront us in regard to the future of the *Comrade*. Either the enormous sums in arrears still due to us should be paid up speedily to enable us to carry on, or we should stop publication altogether at the end of this year. After the huge financial loss we have already suffered, it has become impossible for us to go on as we have done so far with the certain prospect of still greater loss in the future. This is the plain fact of our situation. What it would cost us to have to write our own epitaph we need not say. We know as well that it would be an equally painful and distressing eventuality to most of our readers. The only way to avert it is to help us at once in realising our dues and making sure for the future that the *Comrade* would not be starved to death by those on whose support we have every right to count. Several of our readers have written to us expressing deep sympathy and concern and making anxious inquiries as to whether the situation is altogether irretrievable. An English friend, who is a constant reader of the *Comrade*, in the course of a letter writes:—"I am very sorry to learn from the last issue of the *Comrade* of the bad luck you are having with that paper. Of course regular financial support is a *sine qua non* for newspaper enterprise, still I have been told that no English paper in India can be expected to do more than barely pay its way for the first 10 years of publication. Advertisements and job-work are essentials required for success. Though one often differs from the remarks in some of your articles, the paper is the best printed and got up of any Indian organ. Written for educated Mohammedans, it has kept free from objectionable seditious leanings—as two Civilians who were talking about the *Comrade* with me lately had to admit." A Mussalman friend writes from Bankipore:—"Your leader, The Two Alternatives, in the *Comrade* of the 24th October has caused us very great concern. The *Comrade* is the only advocate which we possess. It will be most ungrateful on our part if we let the only paper worth the name die for want of funds. That is a very sad commentary on our much talked-of recent awakening. What a return we are making for your splendid advocacy of our cause and for your most whole-heartedly throwing yourself in works which were so often attended with palpable dangers! This must be a sad and most heart-breaking lesson to all disinterested workers. For my part I voluntarily offer my poor services to you. I know this is of little value and am ashamed to think that I can give you nothing better, but I hope if others of more weight and experience come forward to work as voluntary agents for you something might be done towards the realisation of your huge dues. I shall try my best to realise your dues in the Patna District provided you arm me with your authority and send me a list and other particulars of your defaulters. You might as well send me the list of the whole province, for I hope I can get a few men who will be most willing to work for you and who can be made to realise the great loss that will be occasioned by the *Comrade's* death to the community. I do not know whether this device will answer but I think you should try it. At least there is no reason why you should not avail yourself of the services of voluntary agents and sincere well-wishers." Need we assure our friend that we will readily and gratefully accept all such help. In fact the realisation of the arrears can only be achieved through the help of our readers, and if only their sympathies were to take a practical turn the fate that awaits the *Comrade* may still be averted. A young friend writing from an important educational institution says that the *Comrade* is loved and studied there with much eagerness, but that its threatened extinction through lack of funds is not taken seriously. That is a grievous mistake. We have stated the plain, literal facts. Perhaps our earlier warnings were taken in a similar spirit of indifference, with the result that we have at length been driven to the only decision

now open to us. A Barabanki friend, whose interest in the *Comrade* has been as great as it has been practical, writes: "The *Comrade* has lately been very irregular—most irritatingly so, but it has never been so popular as it is today. You will be gratified to hear that our Hindu friends read it with great eagerness..... I have just been reading the Alternatives. I only hope you are not serious. If the *Comrade* dies the new movement among the Mussalmans will perish with it. It is entirely due to the *Comrade* that the Mussalman community has emerged from the *johuism* of years. Let me know if the situation is really as grave as it is painted. I can't contemplate without a shudder the death of the *Comrade*. I shall be relieved to hear that the *Comrade* shall live and not die. I wish it lay in my power to place it beyond death or disaster." We assure our friend that we have never been in the habit of crying "wolf," and we have been pulling on through enormous difficulties as long as we could. But now we have reached the end of our tether. If the *Comrade* is to be saved from death, we should be helped in recovering the thousands that make up our outstanding dues. Failing this, there is no other alternative but to give up the struggle that has literally grown hopeless.

LAST WEEK we offered a fairly lengthy explanation and apology for our irregularities and then gave some details of the "irregularities" of our readers. In the course of that article we recalled the fact that some, at least, of our shortcomings did not exist when we were in Calcutta two years ago. We then intended to explain our difficulties in connection with press management, then the difficulties of office management, and, lastly, the difficulties of the editorial staff. The last two explanations have already appeared in full, but paragraphs in which we explained the difficulties of press management were significantly omitted, possibly by some extremely intelligent press hand, for reasons which will be obvious when our readers peruse the missing portion which we now insert below. After describing the state of affairs in Calcutta we said:—"All this, however, now reads like strangely pleasant dream, or at least a story from a dim and idyllic past. Now for the reasons of this great and much to be deplored change. If some of them are personal, others, and the more numerous, are connected with the place of publication. The *Comrade* never claimed to be the ripe fruit of mature journalistic experience, and it is a marvel to us, even if we say so, that we did not betray the touch of the amateur more often than we have done. But whether amateurs or not in journalism, we never pretended, nor could pretend, to be anything but the veriest tyros in the matter of running a printing press. A kind friend, who has himself risen to a great eminence in journalism from the lowest rungs of the ladder and knows not a little of printing, warned us, when we were launching our little bark, against attempting the passage of the choppy seas of a printing press of our own, and advised us to rely on an outside press even if we had to get our paper printed at some place removed several hundred miles from our editorial offices. Well, we did not follow this advice and know only to-day how valuable it was. Our printing bill used to be a heavy one, but if we then complained of scarcity we now suffer from a devastating famine. A cloud of locusts that darkens the atmosphere is eating up everything, and there is hardly a blade of grass left after their appetite and greed are satisfied. Had our preoccupations been less than they have been we could have done something to avert the starvation which we now have to face. But those preoccupations being what they were, we found that those to whom we entrusted the management of the press involved us in awful waste when they were incompetent, and robbed us with both hands when they were fully conversant with press management. So far the defect lay in us, but had the press been started elsewhere than in Delhi, the consequences of our own shortcomings would have been much less disastrous. But as we found soon after coming to Delhi and more than once stated in these columns, this place has about the same facilities for printing a paper like ours as a modest sized village in Bengal. Hardly a thing that one requires for printing purposes can be procured except by ordering from the Presidency town, and not a single compositor, machine man or setter of any value can be secured locally. Lucknow, Allahabad and Lahore are the nearest places from which press hands have to be brought, and the raw recruits whom one trains up locally generally seek fresh fields and pastures new the moment they fancy they know something. And when the summer and the rains come, theinking rollers sedulously imitate the consistency of a jelly and consume more ice and electric power for fans than the poor proprietor ever allowed himself. We believe in the possibilities of the new capital as firmly as Lord Hardinge and some of his colleagues; but we cannot mistake the prospects of the future for the stern realities of the present. We have therefore, to endure every hardship that pioneering entails, and surely it is not unreasonable if we request our readers to make allowances, if not for us, then at least for Delhi." (This is what we wrote, but what the press managed to omit. Hitherto we were under the impression that press hands could not distinguish a reproduction from the thing from a

trade advertisement, and a leading article from a court summons. But in this case evidently a genius in the press has used the "blue pencil" even in the case of a leading article. Or is it, like the misquotation in some Anglo-Indian contemporaries to which we referred last week, the result of "an unconscious process of the elective affinities"? If so, it recalls the fate of the lover who moaned the mischance in verse:

جس میں باندھا تھا نامہ دلبر کا وہی رگڑا کوز کا

(The feather in which I had tied the letter to my love, alas and alack, that very feather of the carrier-pigeon fell off from its wing.)

DR. LASKER, the famous chess champion, has contributed the chess master's view of German strategy in France to the *Vossische Zeitung*. He says:—

A Chess-Board Strategy. "The plan of the Germans in France is to assure the advance positions and to secure to the troops more freedom of movement. For that purpose an attack on the fort is necessary, and at the same time a defensive attitude must be taken up against the French army. It is probable that this phase will last for several weeks. In order to imagine this phase upon the chess-board we must picture those stages in a game which follow immediately upon a successful attack. Then, as is well known, there comes a critical moment. Although one result has been reached, the struggle is thereby in no way decided. By the pushing forward of the pieces their position has become worse, and the adversary, who has suffered losses, suddenly obtains an advantage. He, therefore, also attacks, and it often happens that the advantage obtained by this counter-attack is again lost. For this reason the chess player often says that nothing is more difficult than to win a game that is won, but this idea is also but partly true, for a master of the game will yet in the end maintain his victories by a new development of his strategy. If he has so far attacked, now he restricts himself to defence, newly orders his fighting forces, and knows how to hold the encloses obtained. He leaves it to his opponent to make desperate attacks, brings to nought the other's artful plans by calm consideration, and before he ventures again on the offensive he first builds up his well-assured position. This is now just the strategy of the German General Staff at the moment, and it will so remain for the next two to three weeks. The row of fortresses from Verdun down to the south hinder the movements of the armies of the German Crown Prince, General von Heeringen, and the Bavarian Crown Prince, and for that reason there can be no talk of a decisive battle yet. And what will further happen may be thus represented under the analogy of a game of chess. The attacks of the French will resemble the springs of a cat, and the German army will be able to stand against them without great losses. Just as at chess, system and method will finally triumph; and even though the operations of the Germans may cost time, they will in the end checkmate the French as certainly as the operations of castle and king against king." Dr. Lasker's exposition of the present German strategy is not very lucid, but he seems to assume that the Germans will stand on the defensive from east to west in France until they have again attacked and broken through the line of defences from Verdun to Belfort.

DR. BAROLEA, Belgian Consul in Edinburgh, and editor of *Everyman*, issued a moving appeal for his native

The Martyrdom of Belgium.

country, Belgium, from which we quote the following:—"The Belgian refugees who are coming over to our shores are only a small section of the sufferers. The vast majority are either too poor, or too old, or too young, or too ill to cross the Channel. Nor must we forget that there are hundreds of thousands of the sufferers who are still living within the territory occupied by the Germans. When, as we earnestly hope, part of that territory is evacuated, within a few weeks, by the enemy, the appalling amount of misery and destruction will be revealed, and we must be prepared to tackle at once the work of relief and reconstruction. There is little enough danger of overstepping! £150,000 in all has been subscribed. I am convinced that the number of those urgently in need of relief exceeds one million. £150,000 distributed amongst one million sufferers would yield about 2s. per individual case. British generosity is unbounded, but Belgian misery is infinite. I have just spent five weeks in my native country, and what I have seen in those days baffles description. My nerves are still shattered and my imagination is still haunted, and will be haunted till the end of my days, by the harrowing events which in the course of those five tragic weeks followed with such staggering rapidity. I still see before my mind's eye emerging in a starlit sky the sinister cigar-shaped monster raining bombs on defenceless Antwerp. I see in the huge almshouse of Malines, down in the murky catacombs, oozing with moisture, two hundred old men and women awaiting in a frenzy of terror the arrival of the Huns. I see from the high railway bank overlooking the battlefield of Hoofstade a hail storm of shrapnel bursting around

us and setting fire to one village after another. Other belligerent nations may suffer from unemployment. In Belgium alone there has been created a whole nation of unemployed. In other countries trade and industry are dislocated. In Belgium they have come to a complete standstill. Out of a population of eight millions, seven millions are under the heel of the invader. Railwaymen are starving, for railways have ceased to work. Office clerks are starving, for banks and offices are closed. Public officials are starving, for no salaries can be paid. The Belgian Government is beleaguered in Antwerp. Journalists and printers are starving, for newspapers and books have ceased to appear. Millhands and coalminers and ironworkers are starving, for mills and coal mines and ironworks are closed. It is true that the Germans have reopened the gigantic works of Cockerill, and have even offered the Belgian ironworkers an increase of wages of 50 per cent. But I doubt whether the 15,000 ironworkers of Cockerill will be induced by this diabolical bribe to manufacture the German guns which will mow down their Belgian brethren. A few days ago King Albert, in the course of an interview, was dilating on the recent barbarities committed by the enemy. I pointed out to his Majesty that retribution was coming, that victory was near at hand. His Majesty's confidence in the final issue was as absolute as my own, but no anticipation of a final victory could comfort him in the present universal distress of his subjects and the appalling ravages of the war. 'When victory comes to our arms, what will remain of my miserable people?'

GOETHE was hardly able, perhaps, quite to continue business as usual during the battle of Jena. The French cannon burst over his house and the bayonets of the Prussians in flight gleamed over his garden wall. Later the French Marshal Augereau was quartered in the poet's house, with directions to secure it from pillage. Some drunken soldiers, however, before the Marshal's arrival broke into the house and forced Goethe to come from his bed to drink with them. The French spared Goethe's precious manuscripts, though they drank twelve casks of his wine in three days. Goethe was much blamed at the time by patriotic Germans for his want of patriotism, his indifference to the fate of his country, and his open admiration of Napoleon. But he held that conquest of territory was an accidental achievement, that political independence was a minor matter, and that true greatness does not depend on these, but on intellectual conquests. When Eckermann approached Goethe for not having written war songs like Körner and Uhland, he replied: "How could I take up arms without hatred, and how could I hate without youth? We cannot all serve our country in the same way. I have only composed love songs when I have loved, and how could I write songs of hatred without hating?" Goethe's father showed a very different spirit. When French soldiers were quartered in his house during the Seven Years' War Councillor Goethe could not conceal his anti-French spirit, and was placed under arrest for expressing the wish that the Prussians had "blown all the French to the devil" in one of the engagements. But the young Goethe, then ten years old, made friends with the French commander, learned French from him, and accompanied him to the French theatre which the French troops established in Frankfurt-on-Main during their stay.

SIR EDWARD GREY, says the *Morning Post*, is at present the *bête noir* of German politicians. That the war was originated by the English all Germans have now been taught to believe. The Hamburg *Fremdenblatt*,

Sir E. Grey in German Eyes

a very influential journal, devotes a leading article to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the course of which it describes Sir Edward Grey as being the exponent of the policy begun by King Edward VII. There can be no doubt, this newspaper says, that Sir E. Grey is a "political capacity," and it declares that no purpose is served by characterising him as an impostor or as a political adventurer, as Germans have got into the habit of doing. "He is, it is true, our enemy," the journal writes, "and unquestionably our most dangerous enemy, but his animosity to Germany is not due to innate antipathy or to blind malice; he hates Germany simply and solely because he is an out-and-out Englishman, and nothing but an Englishman." The only concern of the English, the *Fremdenblatt* continues, is to make sure that the good things of the earth belong exclusively to them. "The little group which rules England with the power of its money succeeded most cleverly in influencing English public opinion and English statesmen against Germany. It was not for nothing that King Edward VII. assembled around his table the princes of finance and of commerce from the City. All these men, whose money bags were being reduced in weight by Germany's industry and skill, had King Edward's ear." Personally, the *Fremdenblatt* says, Sir Edward Grey is an irreproachable

gentleman, but because he is such a thorough Englishman he thinks exactly as do the rich shopkeepers among his countrymen. The German nation had to be rendered absolutely incapable of competing further in the world's markets. Therefore England not only conspired with Germany's arch-enemy, she collected the enemies of Germany throughout the world, "as one hires murderers." "She was not dainty in her choice," the paper observes, "for she has allied herself with the Russians, whom she hates, and with the Japanese, whom she despises." "Sir Edward Grey," the Hamburg journal concludes, "is nothing but the impersonation of Englishism. This lean, cold egoist, with his aquiline nose and the glance of a bird of prey, who barely understands French, who never reads a foreign newspaper, and whose unspeakable English conceit has deterred him from becoming personally acquainted with foreign countries—this man has incited the pack of enemies against us because he imagined he was thereby doing the best service in his power to his country."

According to a message from Rome, a telegram from Berlin says that

Fight for Booty.

Dr. Self, the German Secretary for the Colonies, in the course of an interview referred to the fate of the German possessions. He dealt specially with Samoa, "the Pearl of the Pacific," as he styled it, where he planted the German flag when he was Governor ten years ago. "Now," he continued, "the time has come to reap the harvest. Must Samoa pass into the hands of the invaders? Fortunately the fate of the German colonies will be decided on the European battlefields, where I hope decisive victory awaits us. Our worst enemies are the English. Our task as regards them is more difficult than many of our countrymen imagine. Germany does not fear England by land, but on sea she must face the most powerful fleet in the world, with the addition of the Japanese. Our greatest expectation is merely to damage our enemy there, although Nelson won Trafalgar over much superior forces. We have also to fight the disloyal methods of England in damaging our commerce and industries. We must fight to the end on the battlefield and in the economic domain, and impose peace and security for at least a century. Against our Continental enemy we fight for victory. Against England we fight for booty. That booty must be in proportion to the enormous sacrifices which our people now endure."

German bitterness against England is manifested to a remarkable

"But one Enemy."

extent by the comments of German papers over German "victories." Writing in his German-American newspaper, the *Staats Zeitung*, Mr. Hermann Ridder declared on the 24th September that the destruction of the three British cruisers in the North Sea showed that Germany was beginning to recognise her most irreconcilable enemy. Too much, he said, had recently developed from the insidiousness of British diplomacy to permit of anything but the most retaliatory measures against Great Britain. He continued:—"The operations of the German submarines and when the time comes, of the German dirigibles, will bring home to the British people the fact that the war is not simply a commercial scheme in which our allies go to death in order that British purses may wax fat. There is but one enemy from now on—the irreconcilable, determined, commercially-motivated enemy, England. Against her the German attack will be directed. A breach has been opened. Three British cruisers have been sent to the bottom. That is only the beginning of the end. When England started out to effect the destruction of German commerce and German culture in Europe and the world at large she struck her own death knell."

It appears that many Germans have been expressing a well-

The German Casualties.

founded fear that their casualties in the present war will be much greater than they were in the war of 1870-1, and the *Fremdenblatt*, in order to reassure them, gives a list of the casualties in the chief battles of the Franco-Prussian War. The total list at that time, it says, amounted to 6,248 officers and 128,453 men. As against this the *Fremdenblatt* finds consolation in the fact that the first twenty-two casualty lists in the present war amount only to 872 officers and 20,354 men. It is impossible, however, to attach any value to this comparison, because it is well known that the Germans stopped the publication of their complete casualty lists before the heavy fighting really began—before, that is, the Battle of Mons-Charleroi. Estimates of casualties, therefore, can only be guesswork. It may be mentioned that in Paris before the Battle of the Aisne the French casualties from the beginning of the war were being put at 300,000 and the German as high as half a million. Some idea of the losses among the German princely houses may be judged from the statement that Princess Frederick of Saxe-Meiningen has within a few

weeks lost her father-in-law, husband, son, cousin, and nephew. Prince Frederick was killed at Namur. His son, Prince Ernest, fell at Mauberge. The house of Lippe has also suffered heavily; both Prince Frederick William and Prince Ernest have been killed.

The news of the sending of troops to Europe from India appears to have caused great bewilderment to the German press. The Germans had evidently been taught to believe that the entanglement of England in a European war would be a signal of revolt to India, and they now find it hard to explain how England could possibly send British and Indian troops from India to France. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, usually a sensible paper, says:—"If this report is correct, then it shows, above all, that the British Government is very much afraid of the Indians, and for this reason is removing the Indian troops in order to prevent them from making common cause with a revolution. In any case these Indian warriors will hardly have any influence on the outcome of the war."

German Bewilderments.

It will be remembered that at the beginning of September, when the German cruiser Magdeburg was wrecked in the Gulf of Finland, the Russians reported that they found on board a number of cat-o'-nine-tails, one for each officer, and suggested that there had been used for disciplinary purposes on the crew. The *Kölnische Zeitung* quoting this statement from the Russian press with the heading "A Pretty Story," scornfully observes:—"We must not, we suppose, be astonished that the Russians know nothing about the cleaning of uniforms [by beating], and that when the use of whips is in question they can only argue from their own practice to that of others."

German Officers' Cat-o'-Nine-Tails

The most formidable name that has yet appeared in the war news is that of the Polish town of Przemyśl; and yet it is quite easy when you know. The "z" represents the sound which the late Sir Isaac Pitman spelled "zh"—the sound of "s" in leisure. The rest of the letters in Przemyśl are pronounced in the normal Continental way, from which the English language alone has departed very far. One may attempt to spell it phonetically thus: "Przhay-meeessl"—with the stress on the first syllable. The only difficulty is the excessive allowance of six consonants to two vowels. The stress accent in Polish, as in Welsh, is always on the last syllable but one of a word.

Half the trouble in the reading of Polish names arises from this letter "z" with the sound of "ch" or "zh." For example, the name of the related language and people of Bohemia, Czech, is pronounced (as near as one can represent it to English ears, "check." How many English people would recognise "Szekspir" as the most famous of English names? Yet it is just the Polish way of spelling Shakespeare.

Many of the war news with which we have hitherto been served remain more or less unsolved puzzles, but most of the bulletins issued from Petrograd have literally constituted the "fog of war." They invariably read very emphatic, decisive, almost as dazzling in their glare as lightning, and yet they somehow seem to be mere records of history still to be made. They have announced a succession of victories in Galicia, each more complete and decisive than the one that had gone before, but the Austrian armies still seem to be "in being," and the Russian advance has not prospered much further than Lemberg. The *Vormars* prints a message from Vienna which throws some light on the difficult character of the country where the Austrian armies in Galicia have been fighting. Letters received from Poles in the field say that the country impeded the progress of the guns to a remarkable extent. Each gun had to be dragged by ten horses, four being the usual number, and planks had to be pushed under the wheels of the gun carriages in order to prevent the guns from sinking. Besides this, the letters complain that the Russian infantry fought from behind very strong and carefully prepared entrenchments. It is added that the Russian commanders had employed the peasantry to prepare these entrenchments in the rear of the first Russian lines, so that when the Russians were at first driven back by the Austrians they found thoroughly good positions ready for them as they retreated. An interesting description by an eye-witness of the evacuation of Lemberg has reached the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He describes the panic which fell on the town on the news that the Russians were at hand, and then adds:—"Luckily the Russians had decided to spare Lemberg. In order to save looking immediately after the entry of the Russians into the city, general

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were posted in front of all the great places of business." The correspondent also argues that the advance of the Russians through the smaller Galician towns up to Lemberg had been assisted by the treachery of the Ruthenian element of the population. "Shortly before the evacuation of Lemberg," he says, "a number of Ruthenian traitors had been executed in the town."

The Rome correspondent of the General News has received from a member of the Italian Government the following statement on the subject of Italian neutrality.—

Italian Neutrality. "We shall preserve our neutrality as long as Italian interests are not threatened. Italians set great store on being regarded as an earnest and loyal nation. One may decline to follow a friend into a dangerous adventure, but one may not profit by the embarrassments of that friend to stab him in the back. Until yesterday Italy was Austria's ally. She cannot dishonour herself to day by attacking her old ally simply because the latter is no longer able to defend herself. Honour and loyalty before everything. Our neutrality has already been of immense service to France and her Allies. It has enabled her to empty her garrison on the frontier of the Alps and to employ against the Germans half a million men whom she would otherwise have had to leave to act against us. What more can be asked of us? It is wrong to confound us with other neutral States. Others may emerge from their neutrality without dishonour. We cannot. The neutrality of the others is important. Ours has saved France. In one eventuality only we should abandon our neutrality, namely the disappearance of Austria and the resultant effect upon her Italian provinces. But Austria will not disappear; she will continue to live because of British and French interests in her continued existence. We should never allow her Italian provinces—ho Trentino, Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia—to be ceded to other States. If they should be no longer in Austrian possession, they would be ours."

It is a commonplace amongst pacifists that the "armour-plate" interests and the "armour-plate" press look out wars. To a certain extent it is true that the manufacturers of armaments and the papers they own carry on the militarist propaganda, but, according to a writer, who seems to have closely studied the question, the "armour-plate" interests do not want big wars. They want little wars and rumours of big wars. This keeps a good steady trade going with plenty of orders, improvements every year, credit good and bills regularly paid. By way of evidence it is said that during the crisis before the present outbreak the only papers in Berlin which opposed war were the *Sozialist Vorwärts* and the *Post*, owned by Kropfs of Essen, and the *Tagliche Rundschau*, another paper of the "armour-plate" press. One can readily see the point of view. In a big war Governments are using armaments more than they are buying them, and future profits are a mere gamble against defeat. Perhaps the "armour-plate" interests have not overlooked the possibility that Armageddon may put them out of business altogether.

The Schoolboys all the world over must at this time be greatly enjoying the pucker on the brow of their school-masters who have to dragoon them through their lessons in Geography. This war will end by changing the map of Europe—so we are told—and in some places also the maps of other parts of the world. Meanwhile Central Europe is in the melting pot and school publishers of geography manuals must have had their activities considerably curtailed. A well-known English firm is reported to have suspended the issue of a new school atlas, which was on the point of publication, because the maps of Europe and its countries will possibly require drastic alterations when the war is over. A representative of the firm pointed out that no school would order any stock maps of Europe at present, and he expressed the confident opinion that English schools were more carefully supervised than any others with respect to prospective equipment, and, he added, "the publishing-houses have always to be a year in advance of the schools." Those who are anxiously pondering over the form the final settlement would take, may do worse than apply for an "anticipation" copy of the map of Europe from any of these enterprising British firms.

Here is an opposite quotation from "Tristram Shandy" which throws light on the realities of war:—

War.

"'Tis one thing, brother Shandy, for a soldier to hazard his own life, to leap first down into the trench where he is sure to be cut to pieces; 'tis one thing from public spirit and a thirst of glory to enter the breach the first man, to stand in the foremost rank and march bravely on with drums and trumpets and colours flying about his ears. 'Tis one thing, I say, brother Shandy, to do this; and 'tis another thing to reflect on the miseries of war, to view the desolations of whole countries and to consider the intolerable fatigues and hardships which the soldier himself, the instrument who works them, is forced (for sixpence a day if he can get it) to undergo." "Need I be told, dear Yonok, as I was by you in Le Fevre's funeral sermon, 'that so soft and gentle a creature, born to love, to mercy, and kindness, as man is, was not shaped for this'? But why did you not add, Yonok—'not by Nature that he is so by Necessity? For what is War? What it is, Yonok, when fought, as ours has been, upon principles of Liberty and upon principles of Honour—what is it but the getting together of quiet and harmless people with their swords in their hands to keep the ambitious and turbulent within bounds?'"

The following letter written at a fashionable hotel in Berlin on September 28th by an American lady, wife of an American diplomatist, has been published by the *Times*. The writer had only a short time previously left London for Berlin and Vienna.

What they believe in Germany

The letter is interesting especially as reflecting the state of mind of the upper classes in the German capital. It would seem that the Germans know of the war only through the official bulletins:—"We arrived here two days ago after a most comfortable easy journey. We spent one night at Bentheim on the frontier. It was wonderful to get over the border, and when we arrived at the nice, clean, little German hotel we found the proprietor and his family gathered round the piano, singing National Anthems, and though it was one in the morning, G— and I joined in and sang lustily remaining to have supper with some German officers, who were full of interesting news. We came through to Berlin with many wounded, but had comfortable compartments, and arrived here on the second of scheduled time. Everywhere smiling, confident faces and grave courtesy. The crops all garnered and the land tilled for next season, and the factory chimneys smoking as in times of peace. Plenty of men, young and strong, everywhere. D zens of taxis in the streets run by men, of course, like the trams. In fact Berlin looks just the same as in peace time, as the streets are full of men, the shops all open, also theatres, opera, and art exhibitions. F—says it is the same in Vienna and there are dinner parties constantly. Last evening we dined with a gay crowd at the Bristol, every one in gala dress and as you can imagine coming from England, I had a *success* *you*. After dinner I was literally surrounded by generals, ambassadors, diplomats, and officials, who chuckled with mirth when I told them what we believed in England about famine, revolution, &c., and —'s remark about getting to Berlin. When I told them that in London nothing was known of the greatest battle of modern times or of ancient—reidy, when in East Prussia the Germans surrounded and captured 150,000 Russians, they could not understand it. They say it is equal to Napoleon's greatest victory, and there is not one Russian left in Germany except 100,000 prisoners. The Austrians have over 50,000 prisoners and have won three victories over the Russians, but retired from Lemberg, being out-numbered three to one, to wait for German reinforcements. Now they are in a splendid position! The Serbs are practically crushed and suffered fearful annihilation!! When I think of the daily reports of Austrian decimation by Serbs!! My stock of provisions is a source of endless mirth. S, who knows papa, explained to an old General that 'her father, who is an intelligent man, is thinking of coming over to rescue her from famine and revolution in a yacht!' They shouted with glee, and then added, 'Poor England; what a terrible awakening for her.' My dear, when the Germans get to Paris—leave England. I can't tell you why, but if you love your children—let out! F. says the same. Tell Mrs. G. too. I can hear you laugh in derision, but don't. Believe my words. Even J. told me yesterday, 'The Germans can't help winning' Even — in The Hague told us it would take a week to get to Vienna. The night train runs through on time with *wagons lits*, 14 cars only! F. arrived yesterday. So happy to have us here, and the family are mad with joy. F. was afraid of drifting mines in the Channel or would have sent for us long ago!! Tell your 'clever' friend the Pole that there has never been a sign of riot in any part of Austria—they are waited

The Comrade.

Indian Moslems and the War.

WHAT was dreaded most by every Mussalman in India and what had long kept them in a state of intolerable anxiety and suspense has at last come to pass. Great Britain is at war with Turkey. The reasons which have led England to break off diplomatic relations with the Porte are set forth in the *communiqué* issued by the Viceroy. It is no time to examine the grounds detailed in this document even if we had the will. Except for stray, brief Renter's messages hinting at German intrigue in Constantinople and overt manifestations of Turkish attitude we know nothing of the actual state of affairs in Turkey and of the forces that have guided the counsels of her statesmen. In an atmosphere of obscurity and mist it is idle to search for the necessary light that would enable us to understand the situation. According to all indications allowed us from afar, the omens were all propitious. There were reports of Turkish mobilisation, of the calling up of every able-bodied man fit to bear arms. There were stories of wholesale requisitioning of food-stuffs, clothing and other provisions, of horses and mules and carts. Various English correspondents had written about extraordinary military activity at various centres and particularly about military concentrations in Thrace, in Erzerum and near the Egyptian border. All these measures, if true, point to a deliberate policy and design; and though there have been persistent reports of extraordinary German pressure being exerted at Constantinople, we can not say whether the Ottoman Government has been altogether the victim of German hypnotism. At all events, the Sultan's Ministers have themselves to bear the responsibility for all to which their acts may lead; and, unless they are a set of lunatics or imbeciles, they must be supposed to have weighed the consequences.

Whether the Turkish Government is right or wrong in the decisions at which it may have arrived, whether it has been wheedled into its present attitude by German lures or coerced by German threats, or whether it has made a deliberate and careful choice after striking the balance between loss and gain and honour and interest, we are neither competent to judge nor have any desire to speculate about. The plain fact with which we are immediately concerned is the outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and England and the manner in which this unfortunate situation would affect the Mussalmans of India.

Now, we are using no conventional language when we say that war between Turkey and England is a calamity that the Indian Mussalmans would have given anything in the world to avert. They had hoped and prayed all these anxious days that it would somehow be averted, and had even gone out of their way to press advice on the Sultan and his Ministers in terms which would have seemed in some instances impertinent and inexcusable but for the stress of the deep anxiety and emotion under which they were framed. But the fates were disposed otherwise. The catastrophe they had feared so much has happened at last, and what is now left for them is to pray to God that they may be equal to this terrible and supreme trial.

It would be hypocrisy to disguise the facts that love of Turkey and her people is to the Indian Mussalmans a deep and abiding sentiment and that millions of them reverence the Sultan as their Caliph. The unity of culture and faith has consecrated their feelings of sympathy and devotion, and they have remained strong and vital forces through the ages. The Turks have often blundered in the past and have sometimes been misled into dangerous courses through the folly of their rulers; but the Indian Mussalmans, though they always condemned them freely for their follies and blunders, could never help grieving with them in their griefs and suffering extreme misery and anguish whenever disasters have overwhelmed them and wrought their secular ruin. It would not, therefore, be supposed that the Indian Mussalmans would be indifferent to the fate of Turkey even though she might herself bring it upon her head. Their plight then can be well imagined in the situation in which they find themselves to-day. Through a cruel conjunction of circumstances their feeling of Islamic fraternity and their reverence for their Caliph have been brought into direct conflict with their sense of plain secular duty.

For such heavy trials, however, his religion has amply equipped the Mussalman. Whatever his feelings may be, his path is simple and clear and not a shadow of doubt can darken his sense of the duty that he owes to his country and his sovereigns. We have more than once stated fully and without reserve what the attitude of Indian Mussalmans would be in the event of an Anglo-Turkish war. We need not repeat those assurances again. From the point of view of Indian Moslems as loyal and peace-loving subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, we are confident no further assurances are needed on their part. The strain on their feelings may be great and terrible, but they can never forget that they

to a man, more than ever before, and all looks well for us, really well, though the Russians outnumber us three to one. Germany's financial condition is marvellous. They never required a moratorium even, and they just pour in for the war loan. The Americans here are mad with enthusiasm over the German nation. They say she cannot be beaten, and war to France and England. They have food for years, so don't worry about famine!! They haven't begun to call out the reserve, and they have millions more to put in the field. R — and B — are well, and none of the people we know in Austria have been killed or wounded yet. I am so happy and so confident, and have the greatest admiration and respect for this marvellous nation. Their stories of French and Belgian atrocities are awful. Eyes of the wounded gazed out, &c. too horrible. Here even the Russian wounded are so well cared for that their names and numbers are over each bed with an X ray picture of their wounds. Is this not remarkable for order and system? C — and I go round doing the goose-step and shouting 'Deutschland über Alles'!! We are having the time of our lives, and both look rosy and years younger!! The past weeks in England are only a nightmare. N — is crazy to write to the editor of *The Times* and tell him something of conditions here. He says it is pathetic to keep the English people in the dark as they do; but as a neutral he dares not. The three English cruisers were sunk by one torpedo, and every man on board has received the Iron Cross. Wins on Churchill must be foaming at the mouth!!! Hip, hip, hurrah!!! There were 1,800 British lost. The people here are disgusted with the restrictions put on enemy aliens in England. Here they have very few restrictions, and Nurse D — might perfectly have come with me. What a pity she didn't! — a passing remark to me at the — office in London has become classic here! You remember he said to me, 'Well, you will find Venus in chaos and the empire breaking up.' People shout with glee over this: it is so absurd, it is pathetic almost! Tell P — only one Zeppelin has been disabled so far!!' *The Times* declares to have received a great many letters with regard to this letter and says: — "As some of our correspondents, being surprised by the contents of the letter, doubt its genuineness, we may say that the letter is an absolutely authentic private letter. We are fully informed regarding the personality of the writer and of its recipient, and of all the persons referred to in the letter, their names having been deleted by us for obvious reasons."

Mr. MOHAMED ALI, Editor of the *Comrade* and the *Standard* interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press and *Banster*, on the subject of the action of Turkey and of the Allies said that the worst which he had feared for some months past had

to his deep distress at last come to pass. He had expressed his own views which he believes to be shared by the vast bulk of Mussalmans in the columns of the *Comrade* when writing on the *Times* article on "The Choice of the Turks" and there was nothing that he could add to it or take away from it? The Turks have now made their choice and it can cause Indian Mussalmans nothing but the deepest pain to find the Armies of the servant of the holy places of Islam and of the King-Emperor, who rules over the largest number of Mussalmans, facing each other as enemies. But now that their worst forebodings had come true he had no hesitation in saying that the anchor of Indian Mussalmans holds as he stated in the columns of the *Comrade*. They must commend their souls to God and place their services at the disposal of the Government for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of India. So long as as the Allies did not attack Arabia and endanger the protection of Islam's holy places by a really independent Moslem power, the conflict between the Turks and the Allies would have only a secular character. They should and he felt sure that they would consider the preservation of peace and order in India as much a duty of their own as of any officer of the Government but it is equally certain that the feelings of Indian Mussalmans in this awful crisis would be of the deepest distress. As he had already stated their position is that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with each other. Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering is in any case that of the children. Mr. Mohamed Ali's advice to the Mussalmans is that whatever their feelings, it was their clear duty to assist their Government to the fullest extent of their power in maintaining the peace of India at this supreme crisis, although it was his firm belief that the peace of India is as safe to-day as it has ever been.

form a large and responsible section of the people of India and are subjects of the British Crown. What these two conditions prescribe they realise to the full. They are ready to do their part in a manly and ungrudging spirit and bear any sacrifices that the exacting and growing demands of the situation may from time to time entail. They have no difficulty in recognising that this is a mere secular conflict having unfortunately arisen out of the hopeless muddle of the European situation. They may sympathise with the Turks in their difficulties, but are not bound by any temporal or spiritual obligation to back them in every mundane quarrel of theirs which might as often as not be the fruit of a bad and blundering policy. Whatever the Turkish case may be in the present crisis, the Indian Mussalmans are fully aware that it does not bear any religious character. We regret that in their hurry to convince the Government of their loyalty some otherwise sane and sensible Mussalmans have attacked the Sultan of Turkey, and declared him to be unfit to be the Servant of the Sacred Places. The Sultan in his capacity of the Servant of the Sacred Places, is not required to neglect his temporal interests, and we sympathise with him because when he believes, whether rightly or wrongly, that his temporal interests require him to act in a particular manner he must not expect that our temporal interests will invariably require us to act in the same manner as the Servant of the Sacred Places. Our religious duties are and must of necessity be the same. But our temporal interests may differ and in that case the Turks must pursue their interests and leave us to pursue our own. Such a contingency has now arisen to our deep grief and we must face the facts however ugly they may be. That, we make bold to say we are prepared to do. And as long as the Holy Places of Islam are free from hostile menace and the principle of the absolute and free Islamic protection over them remains intact, no Mussalman in India would shrink from any sacrifices that he may be called upon to undergo in the best interests of his country. The declaration made by his Majesty's Government about the safety of the Moslem holy places has, we are sure, been received with relief and gratification by Indian Mussalmans. In order to remove the least shred of anxiety in this connection we trust the principle of full, independent Moslem control over these places will be affirmed in the same unequivocal manner. The Moslem can be trusted to act on the precept of Jesus Christ whom he reveres as a Prophet of God, and render unto Caesar what is due to Caesar.

During this unhappy war many moments of dark anxiety and grief are bound to arise, and the whole period of its duration would be for the Mussalmans a time of acute and awful distress. The situation would make fearful demands on their patience and fortitude and we hope they will come out through the ordeal with an enhanced reputation for dignity and self-control. We trust that their friends in the Anglo-Indian press would abstain from causing any wanton and unnecessary offence to their feelings and thus adding to their difficulties and burdens, which are none too few or light as they are. The temptation to rant against the Sultan and his people proved irresistible to some of our contemporaries even in the Balkan war when our own empire was neutral. It may be still more irresistible to-day. We trust, however, that these journals have a better sense of their responsibilities at this crisis, and clearly realise the danger of uttering inconsiderate or reckless words which may put an intolerable strain on Moslem feeling. Indians Mussalmans know their duties. No one need be anxious on this score. They only wish that their unique plight in this crisis may win just consideration if not sympathy from those who profess to be their well-wishers and friends.

The Third Lesson

THE PREVIOUS LESSONS.

On the third of November the keeper of "The Comrade and the Hamdard Press" and his legal adviser were asked by the District Magistrate of Delhi to meet him, and when they met him he handed over to the keeper of the Press the Notice which we publish elsewhere. It was an order of forfeiture of the security deposited by Mr. Farooq Ali as the keeper of our Press some months ago. This is the third lesson taught to us. The first was taught us when in July, 1913, the Pamphlet entitled "Come over into Macedonia and Help Us" and all copies of the issues of the Comrade in which it had been reproduced, and of the Hamdard in which its translation was published, were declared forfeited under section 12 of the Press Act. The second lesson was taught when in August, 1913, immediately after our applying to the Calcutta High Court to set aside the order of forfeiture, the District Magistrate of Delhi cancelled the order exempting us from the deposit of any security which he had made in October, 1912, and ordered the keeper of the Press to deposit Rs. 2,000, the maximum amount of security that can be demanded under section 3 (1) of this Press Act. In each case the lesson has to be taught to us for our efforts to have justice done to the Turks, though in demanding security from us in August, 1913, the District Magistrate was also influenced by our action in getting justice done to the unfortunate Mussalmans of Cawnpore. If in such cases there can be better and worse, we must be thankful that we have not been made to suffer like a contemporary of ours. But even if we had been hit just as hard as the *Samadur*, it would have been a little proceeding to complain. The Press Act being what

it is, the poet's interpretation of his sighs and wails to his "cruelty-creating" object of love has often proved to be equally applicable to the grievances of journalists.

الجز حسن طلب ای ستم ایجاد نین می تاضای جنا شکوه یناد نین

(My wails are no more than an excellent method of asking for more, O, inventor of cruelties! It is only a demand for more unkindness, not a complaint of cruelty.)

The same poet whose name, existence and work cast a glory over our city and will survive every vicissitude of fortune through which this monumental capital of India may pass truly analysed the diverse feelings of human beings, and his analysis of chagrin to which we owe the order of forfeiture to lay witness against giving expression even to the most subdued complaint.

شکوه کی نام سی سی مہر خفا ہوتا ہے * یہ می مت کہہ کہ جو کہتی تو گہ ہوتا ہے

(My unkindness gets wroth with the very name of complaint. Nay, say not even that, for it thou sayst that it becomes a complaint.)

If, then, we say anything on the subject it is more in the nature of an explanation which we feel we owe to ourselves as much as to the Government of His Majesty the King Emperor for the accusation implied in the order of forfeiture is as grossly unjust to our intelligence as to our sense of duty. We ask the officials for nothing but a hearing, and we cannot imagine that the solid sense of fair play which has ever characterized the British nation throughout the long course of history could have deserted them in a crisis in which every virtue of our race even more than every able bodied male must be mobilized. Nazim, better known as Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan Bahadur, who ruled over the Rohilla State of Rampur during the Mutiny and saved British dominion in the North-Western Provinces during that great cataclysm, may well speak for us now.

فناء غم دل می یہ کہہ سوال نین ، دو حواب سنی جاو کہہ ملال نین

(It is but a narrative of the grief of my heart, not a request. Vouchsafe no reply; only hear me; I shall not take it ill.)

THE EFFECT OF FORFEITURE.

If our readers do not yet comprehend the all-comprehensive character of section 4 (1) of the Press Act, it cannot be our fault, nor that of the High Court of Calcutta. Under that section "whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book, or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely, or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" to do a number of things enumerated in six clauses of the sub-section, "the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such a press and all copies of such newspaper, book or document wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty." That is exactly what the Government has done by means of the notice served on Mr. Farooq Ali, the keeper of "The Comrade and the Hamdard Press." Sub-section (2) of section 4 lays down that "after the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1) the declaration made in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled." As the notice was issued by Mr. Wheeler on the 2nd November, though not handed over to the keeper of the Press till the afternoon of the 3rd by Major Beadon, the District Magistrate of Delhi, we may take it that on the expiry of ten days, that is after midnight of the 12th of November, the declaration made by Mr. Farooq Ali some months ago will be annulled, and either a declaration will have to be made for another Press under section 3 (1), or a fresh declaration will be made for "The Comrade and the Hamdard Press." That is to say, if the Comrade is to continue its existence and also continue to be printed at its own Press. As no other Press is ever likely to undertake the responsibility of printing it under existing circumstances, we may take it that the existence of the Comrade now depends on its having its own Press, whether a new one, with or without a security which may extend to Rs. 2,000 or the old one, with a security that may extend to Rs. 10,000.

Obviously the matter cannot lightly be dismissed, for the financial condition of the Comrade so frankly explained in our last issue makes the deposit of security of even a couple of thousand rupees the last straw on the camel's back. Half a dozen high officials have for some time past been drawing at least a part of their salaries from the public exchequer for reading every issue of the Comrade from cover to cover, and we do not mean it as a compliment to ourselves if we say that no doubt the "Governor-General in Council" (which may or may not mean the Viceroy) by whose order the security of our Press has been declared forfeited was fully aware of the extent to which the order of forfeiture would damage the Comrade when he authorized Mr. Wheeler to issue the notice to the keeper of our Press. Every person is presumed by law to intend the likely consequences of his acts, and what is true of a criminal is equally true of a Council. We are, therefore, not presuming too much when we say

that the "Governor General in Council," whatever the phrase may really signify, must have intended that the *Comrade* should cease to exist. In that case, may we not ask : **يا ذب قتلى**

(For what sin didst thou kill me?)

WHAT WE HAVE NOT DONE.

Section 4 (1) applies, in the first place, to the case of inciting to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1898, or to any act of violence. Instead of doing that we have consistently supported the cause of peace even in Europe and have prided ourselves on being in the right, with two or three times as many wrong with two or three hundred nations who have been clamouring for war. But as Mr. Wheeler's notice does not mention incitements to murder, whether by soldiers or civilians, as among our many sins, we need not trouble ourselves with that.

In the next place, this section applies to the case of seducing any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, and far from doing that we have reminded Indian Mussulmans in the same article to which Government has taken exception that they must be ready, if need be, to shed the blood of their own blood in Egypt or Turkey, just as they had not hesitated ere this in shedding the blood of their brothers on the borders at the bidding of England. But Mr. Wheeler's notice does not accuse us of this offence either, and we pass on.

Similarly, we have not been accused of putting any person in fear or causing annoyance to him, and thereby inducing him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do. The suggestion that Egypt may be evacuated to shame the Germans cannot certainly come under this head.

Again, we have not been accused of encouraging or inciting any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order. On the contrary, we stated in the very first issue of the *Comrade* after England's participating in the war that—

"Even if England may not need us, we have need of her.

Believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered the lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civil battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all assure the Government that so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone provincial satraps and the still greater despots of their districts, their ministers, if not their humblest policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere."

So much for law and order, and if even this does not convince we have documentary evidence that we placed our services at the disposal of the Local Government and received its full and generous appreciation of our offer. Lastly, it goes without saying that we did not convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom that public servant was believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions. We have, alas, long ceased to be on such intimate terms with public servants of any importance as to be able to induce them by cajolery to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of their public functions, and those with whom we have, been most intimate and for whom we have done much and forbore to do still more, have unfortunately sometimes proved to be most anxious to do us harm, often officially and still oftener demi or semi-officially. As for threats, with what could we who do not even possess a walking stick or an air-gun intimidate them?

THE CHARGE AGAINST US.

We have hitherto purposely left out one clause of this sub-section, and it is just that which includes the charge against us. But that is the most comprehensive and the vaguest clause. The offences under it are not connected with overt acts such as murder or desertion or wrongful acquisition of property or valuable security, but relate only to certain feelings which the offending publication may create or excite. If a publication incites its readers to commit murder or to make a bomb, or puts a person in fear or causes him annoyance to such an extent that he thereby delivers to any person any property, or encourages a person to break the law, or intimidates a public servant in a manner to induce him to neglect his duty or act against its dictates, we may have an opportunity of testing the character

of the publication by seeing if the murder has been committed, the bomb manufactured, the property delivered, the law broken or the public servant's duty neglected. Panicky-stricken officials may imagine anything no matter how horrible and far fetched, and unscrupulous officials may pretend to fear the most unlikely consequence; but if the consequence itself for fear of which the machinery of the Press Act had been set in motion does not come to pass the world at large could know how to appraise the fears of the officials. That may or may not explain why the other five clauses of section 4 (1) are seldom—in fact, never—used. But, at any rate, clause (c) of section 4 (1) is the happy hunting ground of the bureaucrat in search of a short cut for inducing public men who do not please him. The sections in the Penal Code which were incorporated in this clause are vague enough, but the way in which they have been incorporated it makes them vaguer still. The offences included in this clause are—

(1) the bringing into hatred or contempt of—

- (i) His Majesty, or
- (ii) the Government established by law in British India, or
- (iii) the administration of Justice in British India, or
- (iv) any Native Prince or Chief under the Suzerainty of His Majesty, or
- (v) any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India; or

(2) the exciting of disaffection towards—

- (i) His Majesty, or
- (ii) the said Government, or
- (iii) any such Prince or Chief.

This is a formidable enough list, and we are much relieved to find that, unlike the order of forfeiture of the Macedonia Pamphlet, the present order does not accuse us of exciting at one and the same time the diverse and dissimilar, and, in fact, mutually exclusive, feelings of hatred and contempt, whether conjointly or in the alternative. We may, therefore, rest assured that Government does not believe that we have excited either hatred or contempt, or both against any of the five objects enumerated above. What we are accused of in Mr. Wheeler's Notice is the exciting of "disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government by law established in British India." We are relieved to know that no Native Prince or Chief has been alleged in any way to have been adversely affected by our article. Perhaps our article would like us to reduce this charge on this occasion, but although we have a most excellent defence we do not desire to disclose our hand. At the proper time and in the proper place we shall certainly do so, and unless we desire to bring the administration of justice in British India into hatred and contempt we shall not that we have every hope of getting back every one of the two thousand rupees of our security that has been confiscated.

What we need not, however, postpone is an examination of the charge itself, for such an examination would in itself be a sufficient refutation of such a serious accusation. Now Explanation I of this section while it does not define it, says that the expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity, and we may presume that the condemned article exhibited at least some instances of our disloyalty and feelings of enmity towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India. On the other hand, Explanation II states what the expression "disaffection" does not include. It says, "Comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government . . . with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government . . . without exciting or attempting to excite . . . disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (c)." Therefore, we must presume that our accusers have carefully examined our article and not included in the words stated or described in the notice to the keeper of our press any "comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means."

Now we come to the condemned article itself. We are told in Mr. Wheeler's notice that the "whole tenour" of that article "is likely or has a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference or suggestion"—and to put the long string of "allusion, metaphor and implication" short—"or otherwise, to excite disaffection." That, we are told, is the opinion of the Governor General in Council, and as such it has to be referred to with extreme respect. But had it been the opinion of Mr. Wheeler himself or of any of the law officers of the Crown, we would have asked them to consult an oculist immediately and change the glasses that they use. Whatever may be the case with bureaucrats, ordinary human beings with some pretensions to common-sense would not view the condemned article in that light. Such a judgment shows an utter lack of understanding of what passes under the brain-caps of human beings. It betrays a warped intelligence wholly unable to comprehend the psychology

of normal men. There may be stray passages in the article which show some British transactions in a bad light; but unless we are told that during a war the law requires us to put the glass to the blind eye when viewing the seamy side of some British transactions, we maintain that this judgement clearly contravenes the view embodied by the legislature in Explanation II which excludes from the connotation of "disaffection" comments expressing disapproval of the measures of Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite disaffection.

BEATING THE BAT.

In a paragraph of that article which bore the cross heading "What Must We Do?" we said:

"What shall be our attitude towards our Government is a simple question and presents to us no difficulty. He who goes by principles and not by consequences should have not the slightest hesitation in answering it. We have of our free will and as masters of our destinies chosen to remain in this country as the subjects of our King and Emperor and the fellow-citizens of our neighbours. We have done this because the benefits of his rule and their co-operation exceed whatever discomforts we may have felt at any time or we may be likely in future to feel. To be more particular, we had taken no pledges from England that she shall not shed the blood of our brothers even in an unrighteous war. That was not in the bond. In fact, we have not hesitated ere this in shedding the blood of our brothers on the border at the bidding of England. We have therefore given a pledge of obedience to English behests as binding as that which guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and more binding than that which assured Egypt of its complete and early evacuation. This much must be presumed of a reasonable and intelligent being. When we entered the field we must have known all the rules of the game. And whatever the fortunes of the game, we must abide by the rules and take both defeat and victory in the manner of sportsmen. Sir Syed Ahmad's clean cut logic must come to the rescue of every one who finds his situation distressing. He said in his own inimitable way: 'Our attitude towards the Government established in this country must be governed only by one consideration—the attitude of that Government towards ourselves.' Every other consideration is foreign to the subject, and whether we fight the Turks or the Russians, our services we must place at the disposal of our Government and our souls we must commend to God."

To say of such an article that its whole tenour is likely to excite disaffection against His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India is to beat the bat at its own game. Blindness could go no further.

GOD HELP THE WRITER OF HISTORY.

To get to closer grips we must quote the condemned passages particularised in the schedule attached to the Notice. The first of the passages quoted by Mr. Wheeler runs as follows:—

"Turkey, hated and oppressed all her life by one of the Entente trio, neglected and in practice deprived of her rights by the other two since the exigencies of the last century, exploited by two of the Alliance Powers and only flinted and played with by the third, all of a sudden discovers herself to be a person whose attentions are of some consequence and are neither to be slighted nor altogether taken for granted."

If this is sedition, then God help the writer of history. For our part we are content to leave the decision to the Faculty of History at the University of Oxford, for it was at the feet of the men who compose it that we learnt our respect for facts and the method of comprehending their bearing. They at any rate cannot be accused of being pro-German.

PENALTY ON ESPIONAGE.

In another place, contrasting its threats to Turkey with the tactful tempting of Italy by the *Times* to do against Germany exactly that which Turkey has been so heartily condemned for doing against Russia, they said:

"Let us now turn to the tact displayed by the *Times* in trying to help the Turk to make his choice. Although we have already expressed it as our emphatic opinion that from the Turk's own point of view—after all the only point of view that the Turk could appreciate—it is better that he should maintain the strictest neutrality in the present struggle, it is with a pang of regret that we peruse the *Times* article on 'The Choice of the Turk' and fail to find the least trace of the possible existence of a third alternative besides the two, neutrality and support of Germany—the alternative of supporting the Ally of the Crimean War and of the Berlin Conference. To the extent that the Turk has wantonly

destroyed the capital of goodwill that stood to his credit in England in the days of Palmerston, of the 'Great Elchi' and of Disraeli, he stands guilty and condemned. [But how many Mussalmans are convinced that not an iota of responsibility lies at the door of the England of fanatical Gladstone, of cynical Salisbury, of sleepy Lowther, and of a whole host of present day Ministers, both of the silent and the blabbing varieties, for the deplorable estrangement of to-day?] But let that pass. This is not the time to apportion praise or blame. We have launched our bark on this perilous sea for another and a more practical purpose. Whosoever may have been responsible for the present state of Anglo-Turkish relations, we desire that instead of there being no trace of a possibility of Turkey throwing in her lot with the English, there should at least be no trace of the possibility of her throwing in her lot with the enemies of England. But for that, is the tact of the *Times*—the other quality—the most effective method?"

The lines we have now enclosed within brackets have been declared to be seditious, and the only test that we can suggest of our loyalty is to pick out a dozen Mussalmans at random and ask the C.I.D. to ascertain in the customary manner which way they are convinced. To pay the C.I.D. to ascertain the convictions of Indian Mussalmans and to mulct us in a heavy fine for giving the authorities exactly the same information free of charge seems to us to be putting an undue premium on espionage and unduly discounting journalism. How it can be seditious, and in what way His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India are affected by this passage at least our understanding.

SYMPATHY AND SEDITION.

We do not like to quote from our article more than is absolutely necessary, and we trust readers would pay due attention to the context. But even if the following sentence stands by itself, can any one call it seditious?

"And if ever a judge was guilty of gross partiality it was the Powers to whom Turkey appealed repeatedly in her need and appealed invariably in vain."

If this is really seditious, then we ask His Majesty's Ministers to lay a charge at once against Lord Lamington, formerly Governor of Bombay, and the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., and Mr. Walter Guinness, M.P., who repeatedly spoke in Parliament on the wrongs of Turkey at the difference of the Powers to her urgent appeals. Their speeches were cabled to India and published broadcast here. Are we then to believe that what is sympathy for the weak and the suffering in a 'Tory M.P.' is a dition against the strong in an Indian journalist?

LEGAL UPORDEMAIN.

Dealing with Turkey's losses in the recent war and comparing them with those of France 41 years ago, to which M. Ernest Lavisse, the eminent French historian, had alluded in an eloquent article, we said:

"If France can remember the loss of five thousand square miles and a million and a half of her population in forty-four years, and cannot forget that her 'permanent duty towards the lost provinces' is summed up in the one word 'Revenge,' a schoolboy's sum in arithmetic ought to tell us how long Turkey should keep the memory green of fifty thousand square miles and four and a quarter million people. The poet thought only of a single life when he wrote:

مری اگر بگره میر شدی وصال! صد سال میتوان به تنای گریستن

(With, if union could be secured through tears, it would be possible to weep through a hundred years).

[But what is the life of an individual, specially in the East, to the life of a nation? For nearly six hundred years the Turks have ruled over Europe, and the House of Osman may well shed tears over its recent losses for a thousand years if it can shed nothing more manly. But its tradition, even as its traducers must admit, has always been to shed blood instead of tears, whether it be its enemies' or its own,] and without the efforts of eminent historians to explain to them their 'permanent duty' to their lost country hundreds of thousands of little children in schools remember twice a day, with all the fervour of patriotic song, the Balkan hills where the sun is still bleaching from day to day graveless bones of their fathers and brothers, their mothers and sisters. How could they dry their tears before the blood of their martyrs is dry on the Balkan soil? Chauvinists! Why, the Turks would be something more than angels, if not something less than brutish beasts, if they could forget their loss, or the divine truth: 'In Revenge there is Life.' Being men, they have not forgotten it, and within a week of mobilization enough of them had flocked under the flag to satisfy the first requirements of the army."

The notice has particularised the lines we have now enclosed within brackets. If this should have caused annoyance or remorse anywhere in Europe it should have been among the Balkan Allies of the last war against Turkey, and particularly in Greece. Where His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India come in is beyond our non-official comprehension. And we should give much to know the name of the lawyer who deceived the Governor General in Council with such legal legerdemain.

AS SUBJECTS OF THE HOLY TSAR.

The same applies to the following extract of which it is not quite clear which four lines Mr. Wheeler particularises.

"Hitherto we have discussed the question of a conflict between the Turks and the Greeks. Let us now turn to the question of a conflict between the Turks and one or more of the Allies. Against Russia the Turks have innumerable grievances, for after the Hungarians and the Poles had stemmed the tide of Turkish advance the Russians found them an easy prey and have ever since been assailing them in their retreat from the walls of Vienna."

Even if we were the subjects of the Holy Tsar, we do not think we could have been called seditious for stating a bare historical fact such as this. But, thank God, we are not the subjects of the Tsar or we would have found this to be an excellent opportunity to organise a rebellion against an unchanging tyranny wholly unlike British methods of governing, instead of working, as we are doing, to the knowledge of Government, for the continued existence of Pax Britannica, and we are amazed at the selection of this passage even more than those that have gone before as a particularly offensive sample of our seditious.

WORTHY OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR.

Again what shall we say of the next choice bit of seditious?

"Is the Turk likely to stand up for France to-day or spare the French when he can regain the suzerainty over Tunis?"

Would a Frenchman or even an Algerian Turk have been punished for writing this to-day? After the acquittal of Madame Caillaux we should imagine that the man who could state anything so commonplace would have been awarded the Legion of Honour for being so eminently ordinary in a country where originality is worshipped above truth.

MYSTIC WORDS.

The next passage is a puzzle, for the schedule attached to the Notice particularises on page 237, second column, line 40 only, and if it is not the cross heading "Turkey, England and Egypt," it must be only the words, "As regards England, her attitude towards Turkey in the," which mean even less than the cross heading. Mr. Wheeler would perhaps condescend to explain which of these mystic words contains the poison that would kill the loyalty of three hundred and fifteen million Indians, or, at least, of seventy million Indian Mussalmans.

THE HEAD AND FRONT OF OUR OFFENDING.

Then we come perhaps to the head and front of our offending. The next passage declared to be pointedly seditious, when read with the quotations reproduced on page 237 second column and 238 first column, runs thus:—

"We have never disguised our views about the British Occupation of Egypt and have no desire to recant to-day. But no purpose would be served by going over old ground once again, and it might be thought that we desire to excite the Turks and Egyptians or the Mussalmans of India with a view to embarrass the authorities in India and in England. So we refrain. But we do not like to play hide-and-seek with the authorities or with our readers. If we are asked whether the Turks or the Egyptians would have a moral justification in urging on the British the evacuation of Egypt our reply must unequivocally be that in view of the following clear and emphatic pledges of British statesmen we cannot consider such a request unjustifiable. Now that Europe seems to have earned her respect for old pledges and guarantees the following should be read with interest."

The quotations that followed were from the speeches and writings of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, (1882) Mr. Gladstone (1882, 1883, and 1893), Lord Granville (1883 and 1884), Lord Dufferin (1883) Lord Derby (1885), Lord Salisbury (1887 and 1890) and Sir Eldon Gorst (1908). What have we said in all this to excite disaffection against His Majesty or the Government by law established in British India? If seditious does not lie in our own words, then, is it seriously contended that it lurks in the words of His Majesty's Ministers, of the Admiral Commanding the British Fleet at Alexandria, or of the Agents of His Majesty in Egypt? If so, what an irony of fate that His Majesty's Government is considered by the Governor General in Council to be likely to be brought into hatred or contempt by the words deliberately spoken by the most distinguished members of His Majesty's Government. We can defend our own words and actions, but it is too much to ask us to defend the actions

and words of His Majesty's Ministers and dignitaries of State, and we decline the invitation. What would have Englishmen said if the Kaiser had punished the *Forwards* for seditious merely for reproducing their treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium signed among others by the King of Prussia?

"QUITE CONTRARY."

In the original passage which we prefixed to the pledges given by British Ministers and others we had stated that if we were asked whether the Turks or Egyptians would have a moral justification in urging on the British the evacuation of Egypt our reply must unequivocally be that in view of the clear and emphatic pledges of British statesmen we could not consider such a request unjustifiable. This was our crime, and for this reply we are mulcted in a fine of Rs 2,000. But the "Mary" of the English nursery rhyme could not have been half so "contrary" as the intelligence which, while condemning our moral justification of a certain Turkish action, condemned in the same breath our opinion that such action on the part of Turkey was wholly inexpedient at the present juncture. We must apologise for reproducing so long an extract from our article, but we are compelled to do so in the face of so cruel and unjust an accusation, and we appeal to every Briton who claims to be a just and upright man to judge between us and those who have accused us of disloyalty and enmity towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India. The portions enclosed within brackets are those which the Government Notice characterises as particularly seditious.

WHAT SHOULD THE TURKS DO?

"So much about moral and legal justification. But the matter does not end there. Every act that is not illegal or immoral is not on that account obligatory. The expediency of an act has also to be taken into consideration. When morality and expediency are opposed to each other no one who values principles can say that morality must be sacrificed to expediency. But where morality is not opposed to expediency, he who does what is both expedient and morally permissible does better than he who does what is inexpedient though morally permissible. [For the Turks or Egyptians to demand by force the evacuation of Egypt is to our mind morally permissible but wholly inexpedient at this juncture.] Before England intervened in the Egyptian troubles she asked the Suzerain to join her in the enterprise. Abdul Hamid Khan did not join England and France also held back. That does not by any means deprive Turkey of her rights as a Suzerain of Egypt, and it certainly did not deprive France of the power to intervene later—a power that she exchanged for a "free hand" in Morocco. [But when British intervention was not forcibly opposed by Turkey nor by the Khedive himself it is more expedient to ask for the fulfilment of British pledges in a friendly manner rather than a hostile manner.] Had Mr. Redmond asked for the Home Rule Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill at this juncture as the price of peace in Ireland, England would have been compelled to purchase peace on his own terms. But England's difficulty was, in a sense other than that generally understood, Ireland's opportunity, and in acting as he has done Mr. Redmond has made the best of Ireland's opportunity. Mr. Balfour's churlish attitude on a recent occasion will bring in its train its own Nemesis and we feel certain that Mr. Redmond's bread cast upon the waters will return to him not after so very many days. [We say the same to Egypt and Turkey. However just their demands, however great their need, however long they may have waited for the fulfilment of British pledges, however weak the present day statesman's sense of the solemnity of promises made in the sight and hearing of the entire world, if they give England one more opportunity to redeem her pledges and fulfil her promises they would do that for which none will blame their generosity of heart, even though some may blame their judgment.] England has gone to war with the noblest sentiments on the lips of her statesmen. No one can predict the end of such a struggle. [But if England emerges out of this supreme trial of her manhood, resources and organisation a stronger and a still more beneficent Power than the Turks and the Egyptians just as much as the Irish and the Indians will pin her down to her promises even if she showed the least disposition to wriggle out of them. No one can say that even such a struggle would be final. The settlement may only prove—as so many settlements have proved—the seed of another and still more terrible war, and unfulfilled promises have an inconvenient habit of coming home to roost. Nations do not generally trust twice without good grounds and unfulfilled promises provide their own punishment. In asking the Turks to defer the pressing of their demands by force we wish to remind them

that] something is even to-day due to the Allies of the Crimean war and the supporters of the Berlin Congress. Palmerston and Disraeli's assets of military and diplomatic support ought to be able to balance the liabilities of the foolish word recklessly uttered and the wise word heedlessly left unsaid by some of their successors."

CAUTION.

"We are not unappreciative of the temptations and trials of the Turks; but even here a word of caution must be uttered. They must not be lured by the blandishments of those opposed to England and her Allies. They must remember that 'War is Deceit.' We desire from the bottom of our heart that this may be the last of the wars, and that human intelligence and human sense of justice may never know such constantly recurring eclipses. [But we are bound to admit that as things are to-day there are some things worse than war. We shall not, therefore, pretend to believe that the Turks must have peace at any price. They must beware of entering into a quarrel, but once in it they must not come out of it till the claims both of honour and self-interest are satisfied. God knows they will have enough occasions to fight, for they have to contend against numerous army corps of prejudice and passion. That is all the more reason that they should fight only their own battles and not those of another. At present the fear is that they may be led into the firing line in a quarrel only outwardly their own. The Turks are not wanting in gratitude. In fact, few nations could equal the Turk in those characteristics which have extorted for him even from his enemies the title of 'The Only Gentleman in Eastern Europe.' To quote the old Arab saying mentioned by Gibbon, their women know not how to grant favours and their men know not how to refuse. Every Indian whom we know who has had any relations with them is loud in praises of their courtesy, which is as natural to the peasant as to the prince. But if courtesy is one of their great qualities, they also possess the defects of that great quality. In matters of business they are imposed upon, and often imposed upon knowing that they are being imposed upon. Now nothing is a more serious business than war in which a nation can destroy in a month in the way of life, energies and resources what it had taken a generation to build. The Turk knows not what fear is, but life can be valueless only to those in the lowest scale of humanity. It is a rich treasure and a divine gift which we are not permitted by our Maker to squander. We must learn in war even more than in peace the importance and value of economy in human life. As regards material resources, the Turks have never had even so much as could balance their peace requirements. All these considerations point the way in the direction of peace. This is not all. Almost every other great nation of Europe has had peace for a generation or more. Even Russia with her immense resources did not find herself equal to a second war three years after her first in which she had to fight only a small island kingdom. She has launched this new enterprise no less than a decade after her last war. France, Austria and Germany have each enjoyed nearly half a century of peace. England has not fought in a continental war for a century, and her little war against two little peasant States of South Africa, which was enough to prostrate her for many years after, was fought no less than fifteen years ago. Serbia and Montenegro alone are fighting soon after their last war. But only a child could believe that they are paying their own way. [Turkey must therefore proclaim a moratorium against her warlike instincts and her clamant revenge. But if she cannot do so, and must enter this terrible business, let her make sure that the quarrel is her own, that her good nature and courtesy are not being imposed upon, and that she is not hatching a cuckoo's egg believing all the time that it is her own."

SAMPLES OF SEDITION.

Does this indicate disaffection, disloyalty, and feelings of enmity towards His Majesty and the Government by law established in British India? If so, words have changed their meaning or men have lost their senses. In particular we ask for the esoteric significance of the following sentences which have been selected as particularly seditious:—

"For the Turks or Egyptians to demand by force the evacuation of Egypt is to our mind morally permissible but wholly inexpedient at this juncture" (p. 238, col. 2, lines 47-49).

"But when British intervention was not forcibly opposed by Turkey nor by the Khedi himself, it is more expedient to ask for the fulfilment of British pledges in a friendly manner rather than in a hostile manner." (ibid, lines 55-58)

"In asking the Turks to defer the pressing of their demands 'by force we wish to remind them that something is even to-day due to the Allies of the Crimean War and the supporters of the Berlin Congress (p. 239, col. 1, lines 3-6)

"Turkey must therefore proclaim a moratorium against her warlike instincts and her clamant revenge. But if she cannot do so, and must enter this terrible business, let her make sure that the quarrel is her own, that her good nature and courtesy are not being imposed upon, and that she is not hatching a cuckoo's egg believing all the time that it is her own". (ibid, lines 59-64)

ABUSE YOUR ENEMIES.

If this is sedition, we cannot complain if the following is also sedition:—

"We cannot withhold our admiration from the German nation that is facing the odds against itself with such courage and determination, and we sometimes find it hard to repress the expression of disgust against the campaign of vilification that is being carried on with greater vigour and persistence than is deserved by German actions, harsh and ruthless though they undoubtedly are."

But in that case Field Marshall French, who knows to fight with the sword better than with the pen, and has rebuked those who exaggerate German harshness and ruthlessness and deny him courage and organisation, is equally seditious. Verily we are emending even divine commandments to day, and instead of learning to love our enemies have learnt to abuse them. However, abuse cannot kill, and by abusing our enemies we shall not certainly be breaking another divine commandment, which says, "Thou shalt not kill"

The next passage which is condemned has been carefully detached from its context, but anyone can see that this cannot be done without lacerating the whole paragraph. We, therefore, take leave to reproduce another long extract. We wrote:

"[Lest any one should suspect us of being isolated in having these views and expressing them in order to excite others, let us assure him in advance that he is woefully misled if he believes that a vast majority of Indians think otherwise. Had the country not been demoralized by the constant condemnation of unpalatable truths and the repeated rewarding of cheap lies, everyone in India would be confessing such admiration and sympathy openly.] But admiration and sympathy are one thing, making the cause of Germany our own is another. If any cause can be ours it is the British, and if Germany counts on us she is grievously mistaken. It will be bad business for Turkey also to lavish on Germany the lives and energies and resources that she needs for her own quarrels and that Germany never spared for her when she was least by still greater perils. We do not wish to be cynical, and selfishness has not yet come to be regarded by us as a virtue. But self-preservation is the first law of nature and nature is inexorable and ruthless in punishing disobedience to her decalogue. Germany has done nothing yet for the Turks to deserve the sacrifice of a single Anatol, much less a street riot in a single town or village of India by the Moslem sympathisers of Turkey with a view to embarrass their own Government. This is what we had felt impelled to tell that level-headed Turkish statesman, Talaat Bey, in private, and through him that astute diplomat, His Highness Prince Said Halim, and that soul-inspiring soldier, Damad Enver Pasha. This is what we said to the Turkish nation publicly in brief on a recent occasion. This is what we say to-day in greater detail and without the least effort at disguise."

The passage within brackets is condemned, but no allowance has been made for the passages which we have now italicised. And this is called justice!

SETTING THE EXAMPLE.

As the above passage closes with a reference to a message which we sent to Turkish Ministers, we should like to reproduce it here, and to say that it was sent by Dr. Anvari and Mr. Mohamed Ali with the knowledge and through the assistance of Sir Charles Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence Department, who fully approved of it, although he had no hand in framing or initiating it. It was sent on the 23rd August, and was, so far as we know, the very first message sent to Turkey from India on this subject, the Calcutta cable and others following it after an interval. It ran thus:—

"His Excellency Talaat Bey,
"Minister of the Interior,
"Constantinople."

"Having most carefully considered the situation, we emphatically believe it would be disastrous for Turkey and the entire Moslem world if Turkey does not maintain the strictest neutrality. We entreat you think a thousand times before launching into war. In

case of war between Turkey and England our condition also will be extremely sad. Please convey this our respectful and earnest message to Sadr-i-Azam (Grand Vizier) and Enver Pasha.

"Ansari,
"Mohamed Ali."

And yet the Comrade excites disaffection, disloyalty and enmity against His Majesty and the Government by law established in British India. After this what can we say but echo the question of the poet:

بہ کام جب آئی بگر جانی ہو * وہ طرہ تو بتادو نہیں چاہیں کیونکر

(You get wroth at the mention of love.
Then tell us the way we should love you)

It is at times such as this that the iron enters into a man's soul and his reason deserts him. It is such a condition of mind that *Ghalib* has depicted for us in his well known verse

وہ کیسی ! کہاں کا عشق ! جب سر ہموں تو لہرا * نہ پھری سنگدل تیرا می سنگ آستان کیوں ہو

(What fidelity and what love! When it has come to battering one's head, why then should it be the stone of thy threshold O, stone-hearted one!)

What we did was in the interests of Turkey, of Islam and of Indian Mussalmans, and if it was also meant to help Government, it was our plain duty to help it. We do not even after the treatment now meted out to us regret what we did on that occasion and should occasion ever arise again we would still do it. Our only regret is that we could not induce the Turkish Cabinet to keep Turkey out of the vortex of war. But it does confound one a good deal and perplex him when such efforts are branded as sedition and enmity.

OUR ANCHOR HOLDS.

If any doubt still exists about our motives or the tendency of our writing it ought to be cleared up by the last two passages particularly condemned by Government and the conclusion that followed them. We wrote:

THE TEST OF CONSCIENCE AND COURAGE.

"But the truest test of conscience and of courage for England is not so much to declare war on Germany for a breach of Belgium's treaty rights as to evacuate Egypt of her own free will even before a diplomatic demand is formulated by Turkey or Egypt. Nothing would shame Germany so well as this act of clear justice. The embarkation of the last English soldier from Alexandria will put the fear of God into the heart of the Kaiser more assuredly than the disembarkation of the last English soldier available in the Empire at Boulogne or Havre. The Uzbeks had troubled the Moghuls a great deal on the borders of India when Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb to punish them. The battle was at its hottest when the hour of evening prayer arrived. With characteristic coolness Aurangzeb spread his prayer mat on the ground in the thickest part of the battle and bent his head in silent submission before the Lord God of War. The Chief of the Uzbeks was an unobserved witness of this simple scene, and when Aurangzeb had finished his prayers he came and laid down his arms before him. 'To fight against such a man', said the Chief of the Uzbeks, 'is madness. I'll have none of it.' [It is this is really a war of Right against Might, of Conscience against a blustering Militarism, of the Sacredness of Treaties and the Dignity of Law against their destruction as mere 'Scraps of Paper' and Moral Impediments in the advance of Brute Force, and Clean Hands are sincerely adjudged better than Clutched Hands, then England must go to the Land of the Sphinx and solve the new riddle of this war in the only way it can be solved. She must leave Egypt. Need we say this will win over to her side the Mussalmans of the world better than all the threats of the tactful Times and the promises of destroying Turkey's contracts with Germany after Germany has herself been destroyed.] This is the claim of self-interest. This is the demand of honour. This way lies the path of duty. Whatever may have kept England in Egypt thirty or twenty years ago, to day the need is there because she prefers the route of 1,500 miles to India to that of Vasco da Gama. Germany needed only a temporary right of way through Belgium. England should in all conscience be satisfied with a permanent right of way through Egypt. But to come as friends of the owner of the land and to protect him from unruly tenants, and then not to be satisfied even with the right of way through his fields but to

claim a practical ownership is neither friendly nor honourable. Let England have the *str*, but the *dominium* must remain with Turkey and the usufruct with the Khedive. Will not England be satisfied with the easement?

No Bribes!

"We have already filled many pages, but before we conclude let us repeat that, whatever England may do to Turkey or Egypt, our anchor holds. All truly loyal people have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more reasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dreamt, if, for instance, the Moslem University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced, or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes!"

After perusing all these passages which have been declared to be particularly seditious, all that we can say of our crime and its punishment is that:

اس کہ بر مجھ مارا کہ گنہگار نہ تھا

(I was killed for the crime that I was not a criminal)

AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIANITY.

In this war few evidences of Christian charity have hitherto been given, but we shall not be so unjust or uncharitable ourselves as to suggest that Christianity does not exist in Christendom to-day. We appeal not to the official conscience of bureaucrats and parliamentarians for has not the poet said:—

شرع و آئین در مدارسی * ایسی قاتل کا کیا کری کوئی

(One may depend on law and constitution; but what is one to do with such a murderer?)

We appeal to the Christian principles of both and ask them to consider every word that we have written and then say if justice has been done to us in this matter. To us the whole thing appears to be the result of petty chagrin, and some persistent intriguers have managed to obtain a half reluctant consent from those in authority by playing on their exaggerated fears. But at no time was Burke's warning, that little minds and great empires go ill together, more needed than to-day, and nowhere more than in India.

TIMELY?

We ask, was this the time to wreak vengeance for criticism of the bureaucracy which acquired all its pungency and sting through its essential sanity and truth? Apart from the justice of it, was it expedient to exasperate the Mussalmans of India immediately on the declaration of war against their co-religionists? To quote Nawab Yousuf Ali Khan Bahadur of Rampur once more,

وفا شاری نامہ یقین نہیں نہ سی

یہ کون شخص ہی اسکا بھی کچھ خیال نہیں

(Even if you distrust the fidelity of *Nasim*, let it pass.

But do you not even heed what kind of man he is?)

God knows we have enough to do in these days to keep events in their proper perspective. Of course we get no credit for it, and we ask for none. But when will stupidity cease? We have had a series of blunders each more thoughtless and petty in its origin than the other. Under the circumstances, it would be well if Lord Hardinge became for the time being the dictator of India in a crisis which cannot adequately and safely be met with the brains and the hearts used to deal with nothing more serious than street brawls and none too satisfactorily even with them. Although democratic at heart and in every pore of our body, we are not sticklers for form.

Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,

Like some of the simple great ones gone

For ever and ever by;

Whatever they call him what care I,

Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat, one

Who can rule and dare not lie!

So much by way of our justification and appeal to the British nation. A word now to our subscribers. In our last issue we had told you that unless our dues were paid considerably before the expiry of that period, and the paper put on a sound financial basis, the Comrade would cease to appear at the end of this year. We had said that it was to us a painful alternative as perhaps even you could realize. But it was the only one that was possible and it was no use regretting the impossible. After four years of vigorous living we should not regret the task of writing our obituary, for we can live intensively as well as extensively, and we had lived in fact.

as much as come do in forty. We had played our part at least to our own satisfaction and we should have bowed ourselves away cheerfully enough when the curtain was rung down. When we wrote this we meant every word of it, but we did not know at the time that the poor player would not be allowed even to strut his hour upon the stage before he was heard no more. But a hand more powerful than ours has pulled down the curtain even before the play was over and the actor had made his exquisite farewell speech before plunging the dagger into his bosom and ending another of the daily tragedies of life. But if it be so, so be it. What matters when and how? The readiness is all. Unless you play the Messiah and breathe new life into us we go the way of things past their appointed hour. But let there be no sadness of farewell. The poet had already anticipated us when he said:

غالب خستہ کی شیر کون سی کام بند ہیں * روئی زار زار کیا کیجی مای مای کیوں

(What is there that cannot go on just the same without Ghalib? Then wherefore weep fast falling tears and why make mean?)

To us it is a satisfaction that our last breath was spent in the cause of truth, justice and righteousness, and what is true of men is also true of institutions:

ولا قولوا لن یقتل فی سبیل اللہ اموات بل احياء ولیکن لا تدریون

(And of those that are killed in the way of Allah say not they are dead. Nay, they are alive, although you do not know it.)

We began our career with the words of hope and courage that have appeared for close upon four years on our title page:

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare.

Whatever truth we had we have declared freely and shared it with all. Everywhere that we could we have proclaimed it, and even if truth has not always been proclaimed from the house-tops, untruth has not been even whispered. No; we shall not die in the real sense of life and death. We have lived because we have dared, and we shall still dare and we shall still live.

Magisterial Makeshifts.

Just as we were going to press we came to know of the order passed by the District Magistrate on the application of Mr. Mohamed Ali. We give it in full below:—

"The declaration of Mohamed Ali S/o Abdul Ali Khan that he is the keeper of a press situate in Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi, having been duly made in accordance with Section, Act XXV of 1867, the question arises as to the furnishing of security agreeably to the provisions of Act III (71) of 1910. The petitioner claims that an order should be passed by me under section 8 (1) of the Act, but I have also to consider whether an order under Section 5 is not more appropriate.

"The file in my office shows that a certain press known as the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press situated in Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi, was opened by Mohamed Ali as the registered keeper in October 1912. About the time (in 1913) that he left British India, the Sadiq Ali Khan became the registered keeper and finally one Farooq Ali registered himself as such. The press in question undertook the printing and publishing of at least two papers, the *Comrade* and *Hamdard*, of which Mohamed Ali has been and is the Editor.

"The security (Rs. 2,000), which was lodged under Section 2 (1) of the Act originally by Mohamed Ali was continued by transfer in the names of Sadiq Ali and Farooq Ali in turn, and this security has been forfeited under Section 4 (1) by the order of the Government of India as recently as November 2nd 1914. With these facts on official record I have examined the petitioner Mohamed Ali and have recorded his statement which he has signed. He is not willing to admit that the press which is the subject of his declaration is the press (known as the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press), the security of which has been forfeited. The new press, he alleges, has not yet been named, but it is located admittedly in the same building as that in which the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press is at the present moment, the machinery is a limitedly the same machinery as is now being used by the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press under the benevolent provisions of Section 4 (2), and the keeper of the new press is the man who was the first registered keeper of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press.

"The *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press, owing to the unsatisfactory state of some of its productions, has been for many months under close

observation; there is quite sufficient on official record to show that although Sadiq Ali and Farooq Ali have been its registered keepers they have been in reality the petitioner's representatives. It is a somewhat significant fact that the petition which introduced this declaration under my consideration was made out in the name of Sadiq Ali Khan and was signed by him, but before presentation in Court the name and signature of Mohamed Ali was (sic) substituted and those of Sadiq Ali Khan erased.

"Now the petitioner urges that the keeper of the 'new' press can be required to furnish the enhanced security only if the declaration refers to 'such press' as has been subjected to an order under Section 4 (1). A considerable amount of forensic argument has been applied to the meaning of the words 'such press' which it would be wearisome to set forth in detail, but of which the general trend is that any deviation in form, name, location or substance from those of the former press would render the petitioner immune from the more drastic provisions of Section 5.

"The petitioner urges that as an applicant on whom the Press Act weighs heavily, he is entitled to avail himself of any flaw in the wording of the Act, and that Section 5 is so worded that the Magistrate cannot demand the enhanced security, so long as the declarer does not admit his liability.

"I need not deal with these arguments and contentions. My duty as controlling Magistrate in this case is not to decide hypothetical questions of law, but to decide one issue of fact and that issue is whether or no the press referred to in the declaration of the petitioner is a press, the security given in respect of which has been declared forfeit under Section 4.

"To decide this question of fact I have visited to-day the premises in Kucha-i-Chelan accompanied by the petitioner. He conducted me to the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press building where work was in full swing. He stated that his declaration before me referred to only three of the machines in the building. One of these machines is new, but the other two were being worked, one (or both) of them being used at the moment for printing the *Hamdard*.

"It is quite clear to my mind that the press which petitioner declares to be kept by him is indistinguishable from the press which is known as *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press. So I am forced to reply to the issue framed in the affirmative.

Accordingly I find that the petitioner in respect to his declaration has qualified for treatment under Section 5, Act I of 1910 and I direct that before publishing his press, he shall furnish a security of Rs. 10,000 (ten thousands only).

(Sd.) H. O. BEADON,

"District Magistrate."

We find that Major Beadon has altogether avoided the questions of law involved in the case. He has failed to show in his order that he had considered the important question whether he was entitled to go behind the application to declare under section 3 (1) of the Press Act and apply section 5 not as if that section applied not only to the case of a press of which the security had admittedly been confiscated but also to the case of any other press which was the same in substance. Section 10 gave him full discretion to examine the declaration of the publisher of a newspaper with a view to ascertain whether the newspaper was or was not the same in substance as the one of which the security had been forfeited. In the case of a press he had no such discretion and is recording the statement of the applicant and inspection of the premises and machines of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press was absolutely *ultra vires*. He has altogether avoided in his order the expression of any opinion on the applicant's contention that he must accept and authenticate the declaration as made before him without any further enquiry, obviously because he could not base the justification of his action on any provision of the law. We know that judges and magistrates are not there to deal with hypothetical cases, but to decide those they have before them. But judicial decisions have to be based on legal principles which have to be explained in the judgment or order if there is any doubt or ambiguity about them. If judges and magistrates cannot do so, why not toss up for the result rather than leave things to the whims of judges and magistrates? The result, in fact, may possibly be no worse. Orders of forfeiture were bad enough because the reference to the High Court had already been proved to be illusory. But orders on applications regarding security are far worse because there is not even the fiction of an appeal to the High Court. Local Governments have known that they are practically the masters of the situation, and no one should be surprised if they are arbitrary in their orders of forfeiture. But magistrates are masters of the situation in theory as well as in practice, and no wonder Major Beadon paid no heed to Mr. Mohamed Ali's contention that the magistrate had no jurisdiction to question the correctness of a declaration falling under section 3 (1) of the Press Act, and to apply section 5 to it when the declaration was not made under the latter section. Again, he refused to lay down wherein lay the identity of a press, in its name, location, keeper or machinery

The learned Magistrate is clearly wrong in this. Mr. Mohamed Ali's security (Rs. 2,000) was duly returned to him some months ago by Mr. Connolly, who was acting for Major Beadon when the latter was on leave in England. Mr. Farooq Ali deposited Rs. 2,000 separately in some time before Mr. Mohamed Ali got back the Notes.

etc., obviously because it would have been preposterous to make the machinery etc., a *domus avaritia* suffering eternal punishment for the original sin of printing an article to which it occurred to some one in office to object under an Act which made the publication even of the Bible, the Vedas and the Quran an offence. If he had declared that the "sameness" of the press did not lie in the machinery but in something else, the utility of the Press Act as an engine for crushing all opinion unpalatable to the bureaucracy would have disappeared that instant. Secure in the fact that there could be no appeal from his decision a magistrate could pass any order he pleased, and Major Beadon's order does not in the least come as a surprise to us.

With reference to his visit to the premises of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard Press* and inspection of the machines, etc., we fail to see the purpose thereof unless Major Beadon wanted to be able to swear that he had done so. How did it, and how could it affect his order? Mr. Mohamed Ali's own statement was clear enough on the point and there was nothing to see in particular. The *Comrade* and the *Hamdard Press* is still working in full swing, and Major Beadon could only expect to find the *Comrade* and *Hamdard Press* indistinguishable from itself. It must work till the 12th as it has hitherto worked, for the law allows ten days for making new arrangements. How then on the 9th instant could it have been different under section 3 (1) and yet the same under "the benevolent provisions of section 4 (2)"? Whatever changes the law required for a change of identity would have been made when the period of ten days allowed by section 1 (2) had expired at midnight on the 12th. This was explained in anticipation to Major Beadon, but he had already completed the order on his return from the Press and the finger of fate having writ moved on. Not a line or word could now be altered by any human being in an Empire of four hundred million souls. Such is the law. It is not in the bond.

But there is something more serious than all this. To refuse to apply section 3 (1) to the declaration and not to explain under what circumstances that section becomes applicable is to revert to the days of the college of pontiffs in ancient Rome when only the pontiffs knew the law that they applied. Such retrogression is preposterous in the 20th century and tends to bring the administration of justice into contempt.

Major Beadon was wrong in some of his facts also, as for the example his statement that Mr. Salig Ali's security was transferred to Mr. Feroq Ali. That was not so and it may be a violent provision of the law allows him to correct his own mistakes, we hope he would do so after a perusal of his office file. And it is hardly a profitable task, and may sometimes be even puerile to try to decipher what had already been crased in an application before it was presented. If it could have any legal significance surely another application could have been put in to avoid the searching of lynx eyed law. But as it was, no attempt was ever made to make the wrong correct. As the case is more details it would serve no purpose to discuss them any further.

There is one point, however, which the learned Magistrate may learn even from a journalist. The keeper of a press is not necessarily also its proprietor, and if the two are not the same the keeper of a press must needs be the representative of the proprietor. Messrs. Badiq Ali Khan and Feroq Ali were never the proprietors of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard Press*. As Mr. Mohamed Ali has always been the proprietor, the two other keepers mentioned in his order by Major Beadon could not as being the representatives of the proprietor to that extent. So is the Manager of the *Comrade*. So also is the Manager of the *Hamdard*. The same is also true of the Superintendent of the Press. Are not the keepers of the *Vance*, the *Times of India* and the *Englishman Press* etc. among only a few—the representatives of their respective Proprietors some of whom may not be within the jurisdiction of even the Government established by law in British India. If this simple fact is borne in mind the discovery of Major Beadon from the office record is no better than the discovery of Amerigo Vesputi a Magistrate of India followed in the footsteps of Christopher Columbus some centuries after that traveller or the discovery of Moliere's father that he habitually spoke prose!

In our opinion the Press Act is too defective a piece of legislation even from the point of view of the class of officials that underestimate the value of a free Press in India and it was time that Local Governments and Magistrates were freed from the duty of devising legal fictions and other disingenuous makeshifts.

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OPINION

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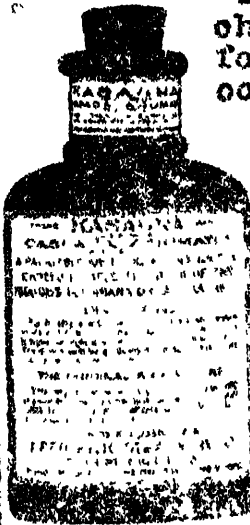
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